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ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.,

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CONTENTS

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BOOK-NOTICES.

SUPPLEMENTS.

PLATES.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

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SIVÂJI'S RAID UPON SURAT IN 1664.

BY WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.

(*Continued from Vol. L, p.* 321.)

II.

The Dutch factory was in the southern part of the city,[7] not far from the castle. They had occupied it since 1616, previous to which it had been rented by the English (*Factory Records, Surat,* Vol. 84, Part I, fol. 69). The Directeur, Dirck van Adrichem, had at his disposal a far smaller number of Europeans than Oxenden and was compelled therefore to adopt a more cautious policy, standing strictly on the defensive. He and his companions had, however, a very anxious time, mainly owing to the danger to their building from the conflagration that raged around them. A fairly long account of their experiences will be found in the *Dagh-Register, Batavia,* 1664 (p. 195), based upon advices from Surat, written in the middle of March ; and a still fuller one is contained in *Hague Transcripts* (at the India Office), series I, Vol. XXVII, No. 719.[8] This is a copy of the Surat Factory Diary for those eventful days ; and, as it has not hitherto appeared in English, a translation (somewhat condensed) is given below, the original spelling in the case of names of persons and places being adhered to, but the dates being altered from New to Old Style, to correspond with those in the English narratives.

> "5 *January* (*Tuesday*). About nine o'clock in the morning, while we were busy over the unloading of the *Haarlem,* came tidings that the Governor, Anaietchan, had been advised from Gandivie that last night had suddenly arrived there a great commander, who refused to disclose his name but declared that he was the Emperor's servant and was bound for Amadabath. He had with him a force of eight to ten thousand soldiers, horse and foot, and from the talk of his own men it was gleaned that he was the redoubtable Sivagie. We paid little attention to the rumour ; but soon the intelligence was confirmed, and many of the inhabitants began to flee, after hastily collecting their belongings.
>
> "The Directeur was told that the English President had asked the Governor's permission to withdraw to Swally,[9] but the latter had angrily refused, saying that if the English and the Dutch forsook the city at this crisis no one would remain. This continuance of bad news made us anxious, especially as the *Leerdam's* cargo was for the most part in the Company's warehouse. The

7 'In the centre of this division [the *Bareh Khân chaklo*], behind the Desâipol street, is the *Walandân kothi,* or Dutch building. This is the site of the Dutch lodge or factory, for long the best built and healthiest house in Surat. Even the ruins of the old house have been carried off. The only relics of its former splendour are an underground chamber and the basin of the fountain.'—(*Bombay Gazetteer,* vol. II, p. 307.)

8 See also the account given by Valentyn in his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* (Book IV, part II, p. 265), which is obviously derived from the same source.

9 There seems to have been no foundation for this rumour.

Directeur dispatched the junior merchant Vollert to the customhouse, with orders to reship in the *Haarlem* the goods not yet brought to the factory and to bring up two small guns from that vessel. He also considered it advisable to ask permission from the Governor to send his wife and children on board for safety; but on going to the house of that functionary, accompanied by the senior merchant Abraham Hartman, he found him absent, engaged in placing scouts round the city, breaking down bridges (though the water channels were mostly dry), and placing cannon in various places; so the message was entrusted to the broker Kissendas [Kisun Dâs]. Meanwhile the Directeur visited the house of the [English] President, where he found everyone busily engaged in putting the place in a condition for defence.

"On his return Kissendas communicated to him the Governor's answer, which was similar to that given to the English President, except that the Governor had said in a desponding manner that we and the English ought to assist him in this extremity. Since it was his duty to protect both his own people and strangers, his reasons for refusing so moderate a request seemed trivial. As the danger appeared to be increasing, we engaged from 50 to 60 Moor soldiers to assist in the defence of the Company's property. We were lucky to be able to secure these, though at more than the usual rates. With the ordinary house servants they made up a body of about 80 men, well armed with bows and arrows, swords, and pikes. For greater security an express was sent to Conraedt Roermondt, directing him to furnish from the *Leerdam* 15 seamen, with cutlasses and muskets. Eight free Europeans offered their services; and, with these we mustered about 40 Europeans.

"As the day wore on, the enemy drew nearer and the number of fugitives increased. The Directeur decided, in spite of the Governor's prohibition, to send all the women on board the *Macassar*, which, with the little *Amsterdam*, had embarked the goods, and had gone, together with the *Haarlem*, to lie off the castle landing stairs. This was effected before dark, and the Captain, Pieter Willemsz, was ordered to lie in the middle of the river and watch for signals from the factory, to direct his departure for Swally. The Directeur now divided his force into three watches, and dispatched letters to Amadabath acquainting the Dutch there with what had occurred.

"6 (*Wednesday*). In the early morning the mate of the *Leerdam* arrived to report that his boat with 15 sailors was in the river. News came that Siewagie and his army were approaching Oudena [Udhna], about 4½ Dutch miles from Surat. We understood that the Governor, Enajetchan, had sent one of his chief servants thither to demand of the stranger, since he gave out that he was a servant of the Emperor and had been summoned by Mobetchan [Mahâbat Khân] to put down a rising in Pattan,[10] but had been delayed on the way, that he should not approach any nearer to Surat, as suspicion of his intentions had already dispeopled the city. This message so irritated the rebel that he sent no reply, but kept the bringer of it a prisoner. Two servants of the Dutch, sent to glean intelligence,

[10] In the *Dagh-Register* (*ut supra*) the rising is stated to have been headed by Prince 'Supper Secour,' *i. e.*, Sipihr Shikoh, son of Dâra Shikoh. Professor Jadunath Sarkar, in his *History of Aurangzib* (Vol. III, p. 28), say that 'a false Dara Shukoh appeared in Gujrat in August, 1663'; but the Dutch story is the more probable, seeing that Dâra was known to be dead, whilst his son was still alive, although a prisoner.

were likewise seized, but they were released towards evening and returned, bringing news that the invader was certainly Siwagie, for one of them had seen him before at Ragiapoer.

"About seven o'clock the sailors from the *Leerdam* were brought into the factory, and two guns from the *Macassar* were placed in position. Some piece-goods from Broach, which were lying on the *maidân*, were also carried in, without waiting for permission from the Governor. Messages were sent to the weavers and dyers to bring to the factory any cloth they had belonging to the Company and this they did in great haste and confusion.

"Whilst we were thus engaged, the English President Oxenden about ten o'clock came marching over the green, past the castle, and then by our factory. He had with him a goodly number of Englishmen, as, fortunately for him, there were two ships from England lying at Swally, besides four or five smaller vessels for local trade. He took the occasion to pay a visit to the Directeur, and showed himself so full of spirit and so confident, because of his 200 Englishmen (in addition to the Moor sailors), that he declared himself ready to attack Sivagie, should he approach the English factory.

"Our Directeur replied that on his part he meant to stand on the defensive and do nothing unless attacked, in which case he and his companions would resist to the death. At the close of the interview a report came that the enemy was approaching the gates of the city; and shortly after the President's departure (about midday) this was confirmed. Thereupon the Directeur signalled to the ships to depart for Swally Hole.

"No sooner had we closed the gates of the factory and repaired to the roof than we saw flames burst out with great fury in the middle of the city. Some of the robber's troops made their way, quite unopposed, to the custom house and there found plenty of booty. The Governor, though the commander of 1000 horse and charged with the duty of defending the city, took refuge in the castle, with his suite and 100 horsemen (all that he had of the aforesaid numbert) as the principal inhabitants had already done, though, if they had had the presence of mind to do so, they might, by hiring a few Moor soldiers, have defended their houses and saved their goods. Thus the whole city was left as a prey to burning and pillage. The robbers, finding themselves nowhere opposed, had the boldness this evening to come close up to the castle, the guns of which did them no harm, while inflicting considerable damage on the city itself. During the first watch of the night the firing continued very briskly. The thieves could be heard all round the factory, calling to one another and breaking into the houses; but the conflagration did not seem to increase perceptibly.

"7 (*Thursday*). Early in the day came an emissary from Sievagie, in the person of Nicolaes Calostra, a Greek merchant who lived in Surat, accompanied by a horseman. The Greek was admitted and told us in Portuguese that he had been dragged out of his house and had been ordered to tell the Dutch and English Chiefs that Surat had been given to Sivaji by Prince Siasousa [Shâh Shuja], who was now living with him: that he needed money to maintain his army: and that unless they gave him some (the amount not being specified), the whole city would be burnt. This pretext was obviously false, it being well known that the Prince had died three years ago in Arracan,

" The Directeur sent in reply a message that we were merchants and did not keep our money idle ; therefore we had but little in hand, and could not place any at his service ; if, however, a little broadcloth or spices would be acceptable, we should be pleased to make him a present of some. The Greek was further charged to tell Siwagie that, since he had never injured our Company at Wingurla, but on the contrary had treated our factors there very well, we trusted that we should receive equal consideration from him here, and that we were merely endeavouring to protect our property against any who might, without his knowledge, have designs against us. All this the Greek undertook to deliver in the most persuasive way and to let the Directeur know the result ; and after drinking a glass of wine he took his departure.

" No sooner had we finished our midday meal than an alarm was given ; but our two guns placed at the door of the factory, intimidated the would-be marauders. About one o'clock the conflagration burst out afresh, principally in the northern and eastern parts of the city, and the flames spread so rapidly that our destruction appeared imminent ; but God was merciful, and a change of the wind from east to north stopped the fire about a musketshot from our factory. Understanding that the English had made sorties in various directions, we sent a few lines to their President, inquiring as to the truth of this and asking what reply had been made to Siwagie's demands, at the same time stating what we had done in the matter, and adding that what we most feared was the fire. The bearer was the Company's waterman, who, looking like a beggar, had no difficulty in passing through the enemy. He brought a reply that the President meant to hold out till the last : that two or three sorties had been made, in which two of the rogues and a horse had been killed and two more taken prisoners. As the conflagration seemed to be increasing again, it was determined to pull down the thatch of part of the factory ; and as a precaution against attack we built barricades of goods inside the gates.

" The king's *wâkiahnavîs* [intelligencer], who had taken refuge in the castle, wrote to the Directeur, asking that certain chests in his house (hard by ours) might be fetched into our factory for safety ; but this was refused, it being his business to look after his own property, and moreover, if we complied with his wishes, he might hold us responsible for their loss, should the factory be burnt. Our anxiety was increased by the fact that the *Macassar* and her consort had been delayed in their departure by having to wait for the tide to turn, and there were strong rumours that forty of Siwangie's frigates were in the river and were seizing all shipping.

" Happily, however, before dark our fears were allayed by the arrival of a note from Signor Roermont, announcing that our vessels had reached Swally Hole in safety. We were still uneasy because the Greek had not returned with an account of Souwagie's reception of our answer ; and the more so because Signor Roermont had sent us word that he was dispatching the *Macassar* to us again with four or five seamen and a supply of lead and hand grenades.

" During the first watch of the night the fires continued burning fiercely round us in a semicircle, and there was a great noise of musketry and drums, mingled with yells and groans. We were thankful, however, to find that the rascals appeared to be so much afraid of us that they kept as far as possible out of our sight.

" 8*January.* About six o'clock in the morning came an alarm, but as before, it proved false. While we were at dinner, the Captain of the castle sent as ervant with an offer of ammunition, which was gladly accepted. At this time the conflagration seemed to be abating, and, as the tumult was also dying down, we concluded that the robbers were preparing for departure. Rumour said that an order to this effect had been issued by Suagie, who was encamped about two *kos* outside Surat, having for his own use merely a 'semiaen' [awning], while none of his officers possessed a tent. The camp was crowded with *mazûrs* [carriers] and oxen to carry away the plunder; and every rider had a spare horse. In short it was evidently but a temporary camp.

" To ascertain the truth, the Directeur sent out a peon, who had volunteered his services, entrusting to him also a note for the English President, acquainting him how things went with us, and giving him the news received from Swally. Later in the day a reply was received, in which it was suggested that, should Swagie make another demand upon us, we should answer that we and the English were pledged to stand by one another. To this proposal we returned no reply, not wishing to bind ourselves. We also learnt that Antony Smidth had been captured by the marauders and carried to Swagie, but had had the good fortune to be taken for a menial servant (being badly dressed) and so released for a ransom, carrying a message to the English threatening an attack if they did not give satisfaction. The French Capuchin Fathers had taken refuge in the English factory. They sent word that Mons. Duguede had been with Swagie and had reported on his return that the nswers by us and the English to the rebel's demands had much enraged him.

" The reason why the Greek had brought us no reply was that on his way back he had been wounded by some of the rascals and had sought refuge in the English house, which was nearer than ours. Our spy on his return reported that he had been through the whole of the city and had seen several parties of robbers, five or six in each. In the house of the Company's broker Kissendas and in that of his neighbour, the Banian Zom Zom, standing about a musket shot from our factory, he found 50 to 60 marauders pulling down everything. The dwelling of the famous merchant Wiergewora [Vîrji Vora] was in ashes, and the same fate had befallen that of Suwadrae and innumerable others, few of the great houses having escaped spoliation. He had been outside the city to the camp and had seen Siwagie sitting there with only a 'pael' [*pâl*, tent-sheet] over his head and no 'canaets' [*kanâts*, side walls of a tent], his men continually arriving with booty, which they laid before him. He put by the gold and silver and the best of the goods, and distributed the rest among the bystanders. The peon was unable, owing to the crowd, to find out whether the camp was about to be moved. It extended from the 'Pemsische[11] graven '[tombs] to the Princess Saha Begem's[12] garden, and contained not a single tent.

" The *Macassar* having now arrived from Swally and anchored close to the castle the four sailors and the ammunition she brought came safely to our house. Towards evening the Marauders were busy again, and the fires burst out into fresh violence.

11 Possibly the original had 'Perzische' = Persian

12 The Sâhib-Begam, *i.e.* the Princess Jahânâra. The position of her garden is indicated by the suburb known as Begampura, on the eastern side of the city.

"9 (*Saturday*). We kept vigilantly on guard all night, as the uproar continued and thieves were prowling round the factory. However, all we could see in the moonlight were the miserable inhabitants fleeing before the flames. The Kotwâl's brother came out of the castle with 40 soldiers, and a trumpeter sent from the Captain to the Directeur, proposing that we should send out some of our men, as the English had done, to assist in driving away the marauders. Reply was made that we had no men to spare, that it was the Governor's business to clear the city, and that we were determined to remain on the defensive.

"About eleven o'clock came a rumour that the 'Bielpaars Raadja'[13] and the Governor of Broach were marching to the relief of the city with a strong force. The conflagration was now very violent around us, and we gave up hope of our factory escaping destruction, concluding that our only course was to take refuge in one of our small vessels. We had collected our books and papers for this purpose, when God was pleased to send again a change of wind, which saved us.

"The English President being unable, owing to the smoke, to see from his house whether our flag was still flying, and fearing we were in extremities, sent his servant to the Directeur to offer assistance. We thanked him heartily, but said we hoped by God's help to save ourselves. All through the day and the night we watched vigilantly.

"10 (*Sunday*). In the morning it was reported that Swagie's forces, with their booty, had left the town and marched away. This was confirmed by a peon who was sent out to report, and also by some servants dispatched by the English President with his greetings to the Directeur, who returned a suitable reply.

"The goods from the *Leerdam*, which had been stored in a warehouse near the custom house and on which no duty had yet been paid were removed to our factory, with the intention of disputing the payment of any customs for them, seeing that the Governor had so shamefully failed to protect us. A letter from Signor Wagensvelt at Brotschia [Broach], dated the 8th instant, apprised us that many fugitives had arrived there: that the Duke 'Suberdescham',[14] with a large force, was marching to the relief of Surat: and that 'Mirfetta' [Mîr Fateh] was to follow. Had they started earlier, they might have prevented much of the destruction that has taken place.

"11 (*Monday*). It was now evident that Swagie had really departed,[15] for the inhabitants were coming out of their hiding places, only to find in most cases that their houses had been burnt to the ground. Half of this important city has been laid in ashes. Besides the English and Dutch factories, and the new *sarâi* (in which some Armenian and Turkish merchants were lodging), there were not ten houses which offered any resistance and thus escaped spoliation.

"Had Hagia Sjasbeecq [Hâji Zâhid Beg] and Virgia Wora been willing to spend three or four thousand rupees on peons, they might have been able to save their dwellings and thus have avoided an immense loss. The house of the Company's broker, Kistendaes, with all its contents, was destroyed. The Ethiopian ambassador, who, according to report, was lodging in the old *sarâi* and was about to start for Delhi, was taken prisoner and carried to Swagie, but was released on giving up the presents he had brought for the Emperor, these being the only things of value he possessed."

13 In the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. I, pt. I, p. 284), the Chief of Belpâr is mentioned as one of those who marched to the relief of Surat. 'Belpâr' appears to be Bhilâpâr, about 12 miles south of Baroda.

14 Sûbadâr Khân ? Mahâbat Khân, the Sûbadâr of Gujarât, is evidently intended.

15 The *Dagh-Register* (*loc. cit.*) says that he left a rearguard of four to five hundred horse, who soon after departed as well.

VACHANAS ATTRIBUTED TO BASAVA.

TRANSLATED BY RAO SAHIB P. G. HALKATTI, M.L.C.

[BASAVA was a leader of the Vîra Śaiva or Liṅgâyat sect in the middle of the twelfth century, and probably was its founder. The sect has produced a large and varied literature, chiefly in Sanskrit, Kanarese and Telugu. The *Vachanas* are brief practical utterances in Kanarese prose, some expository, many hortatory, written by the early leaders. Rao Sahib P. G. Halkatti has translated a large number of those attributed to Basava into English. From these Dr. J. N. Farquhar has made a selection, and has prepared the MS. for the press.

The sect is noteworthy in several respects. They are called Vîra Śaivas, because they are staunch Śaivas, recognizing no god but Śiva. They are called Liṅgâyats, because each member of the sect wears a small *liṅga* in a reliquary hung from his neck, and uses this *liṅga* in his daily worship. The Jaṅgama *guru* and the monastery play a great part in Liṅgâyat life. Bhakti and morality are deeply emphasized in the practice of the sect. Spiritual progress has six stages :—

1. Bhakti .. .. .. Devotion.
2. Maheśa .. .. .. Divine Power.
3. Prasâda .. .. .. Grace.
4. Prâṇaliṅga .. .. The Liṅga in the Life.
5. Śaraṇa .. .. .. Self-surrender.
6. Aikya .. .. .. Oneness with Śiva.

The *Vachanas* here translated, expounding, as they do, each of these stages in turn throw a good deal of light on the beliefs of the sect.

The question whether these *Vachanas* are actually the work of Basava or not has never been settled ; and certainty can scarcely be attained until all the utterances attributed to him have been critically examined from the point of view of language as well as history. But there is one passage in these selections of special interest in relation to the question; for we can scarcely believe it to have been written by any one but Basava : see number 5, under Prasâda. Further, the vigorous good sense and the fresh moral outlook of many of these utterances give the impression of a mind of originality and power such as the founder's must have been.]

State I : Bhakti : Devotion.

A. *Seek Liberation from Worldliness.*

1. I appear in all the splendour of a full moon, but alas ! this Rahu of wordliness has encompassed and swallowed me up completely. To-day there has been an eclipse of my body. Oh, when shall I be released, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva[1] ?

2. Oh, when shall these worldly troubles cease ? Oh, when shall I have realization ? Oh, when will it be ? When will it be, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva ? When shall I be in the highest joy ? Oh, when shall I be?

3. Alas, like an oyster-shell in the sea, I am lying with my mouth opened. Oh, see there is no one but Thou that can'st know me. Behold, there is none else ; only Thou can'st take me within Thee, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

[1] *Saṅgama* is the Sanskrit word for the point where two rivers meet. At Kudalasaṅgama, in the Southern Maratha country, there is a temple to Śiva. The author of these utterances addresses Śiva as the God of this temple.

B. *Destroy Egoism.*

1. My life is bearing the burden of a hungry stomach, and says, " How is it to-day ? How will it be to-morrow ? " It feels no disgust that it has come through so many births already, nor has it planned how to obtain liberation hereafter. Alas, this egoism never allows me to meditate upon God with constancy, and has killed me, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. When I try to meditate upon one thing, egoism makes me meditate upon another. If I turn this way, it turns me that way. It makes me weep, and torments me. It makes me weary, and torments me. If I say, I will join with Kudalasaṅgama Deva, it confounds my way, this my egoism.

3. Alas ! you all go riding an elephant. Alas ! you go anointing yourselves with saffron and musk. Alas ! you go riding a horse. But alas ! you do not understand the place of truth. Alas ! you turn aside from sowing and reaping the fruits of virtue. Alas ! you are entangled in the three states, and go riding an elephant in rut called pride, and so spoil yourselves. Alas, through not knowing our Kudalasaṅgama Deva, you become subject to hell.

4. When egoism has occupied your mind, where will the Liṅga be ? Hence you should not give room to egoism, but should be Liṅga-bodied. If you be without egoism, Kudalasaṅgama Deva will remain within you.

C. *Seek the Protection of God.*

1. The sea swells up at the rise of the full moon ; but it ebbs when the moon wanes. When Rahu tries to swallow the moon, does the sea shout and rush up ? Or, when the sage was drinking up the sea, did the moon stop him ? There is no helper for any one ; there is no friend for the distressed. Only Thou, O God, art the friend of the world, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. When the fire is burning on the hearth, there is standing-room left ; but if the whole earth catches fire, one can find no standing-room. If the dam drinks up the water in the tank ; if the hedge eats up the crops in the garden ; if the woman steals in her own house ; if the mother poisons the milk and kills the child ; alas, to whom shall I complain, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva ?

3. Alas, it has happened to me as to a frog that seeks protection from a serpent. Alas ! alas ! this life is false, and is passing fruitlessly away. O Creator, Kudalasaṅgama Deva, free me from this state, and protect me, O Lord.

4. What is comparable with devotion towards God ? O, how shall I obtain godly behaviour? I am tied down with the bonds of lust, anger, greed, passion, pride and jealousy. I am boiling in thirst, hunger and passions. The five senses and the seven fluids have made me a frying pan, and are tormenting me. Hear my cry, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

5. Take from me and cast away my covetousness, lust, fierceness, falseness, sensuality, cunning, dissimulation, anger, meanness and lying; for they hinder me from approaching Thee, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

6. Destructive weeds have grown in uncultivated soil. They do not allow me to understand, nor do they allow me to awake. Root out these weeds of wickedness and protect me, O Father Liṅga. There I shall plough and cultivate, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

7. Oh, do not spread before me the green leaves of temptation. What does the heart know of them ? It is tempted to them as being green leaves. But, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, make me void of temptation ; feed me to the full with the food of faith ; pour wate of good knowledge upon me ; and thus care for me and protect me.

8. Make me an insignificant parrot in this human forest, and then make me repeat 'God,' 'God,' and so protect me. Place me in a cage of faith, and so protect me, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

9. O Father, make me a lame man, that I may not walk hither and thither. O Father, make me a blind man, that I may not see how to wander and turn away. O Father, make me a deaf man, that I may not hear anything. So keep me that I may not be drawn to any other temptation than the feet of Thy servants, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

10. Ah, do not say, "Who are you ?" "Who are you ?" "Who are you ?" but say, "You are mine," "You are mine," "You are mine." Regard me as a son in Thy house, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

11. If, after creating me in this world, saying, "Be born," Thou wert to thrust me aside, how the people would laugh at Thee ! O keep me in the path of God. O God, I am purposeless ! Ah, show me the way. I keep crying and crying. O faithful companions of God, hear me : Kudalasaṅgama Deva is tormenting me.

12. Alas ! alas ! O God, Thou hast not the slightest pity for me. Alas ! alas ! O God, Thou hast not the slightest mercy for me. Why did'st Thou create me, who am far away from the other world ? Why did'st Thou create me, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva ? O hear me : were there no trees and shrubs for me ?

13. Thou wast pleased with Arjuna who drove the sharp arrow into Thee ; but Thou did'st burn Cupid who shot the flowery arrow at Thee. Thou did'st take that Virâdha to Kailas who slew Day and Night. Then why dost Thou not want me, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva ?

14. If Thou art angry with me, will it not suffice if Thou dost once scold me ? Alas alas ! Should'st Thou sell me to Cupid ? Is it proper that Thou should'st sell Thine own people to Thine enemies and surrender them, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva ?

15. If Thou art pleased, even dry wood will sprout. If Thou art pleased, the barren cow will yield milk. If Thou art pleased, poison will become nectar. If Thou art pleased, all that is desired will come, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

16. Does Mount Meru consider the qualities of a crow ? Does Parusha[2] consider the qualities of iron ? Does a fragrant flower consider the qualities of the wicked man that wears it ? Does a sandalwood tree consider the qualities of the neighbouring trees ? O Liṅga, replete with all excellent virtues, should'st Thou mind my evil qualities, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva ?

17. Oh, my faults are crores innumerable, but Thy patience is immeasurable. If I err, only Thy feet are my salvation. To this, Kinnari Brahmayya[3] is witness before Thy Pramathas,[4] O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

D. *Be Virtuous.*

1. O consider, if iron cannot remain iron after contact with Parusha, then one should not have mean qualities after contact with Liṅga; for the servants of our Kudalasaṅgama Deva should possess no other qualities than His.

2. You can see Liṅga in the mirror of a devotee's face. That Kudalasaṅgama Deva, who has as His body the body of His devotee, that all-pervading One is lying in heaps in the midst of the words of the devotee.

3. Why do you propose to mend the crookedness of the world ? First, correct your own body. First, correct your own mind. Our Kudalasaṅgama Deva is not pleased with those who shout about the errors of their neighbours.

2 The philosopher's stone. 3 One of the companions of Basava.

4 These are angels or ministers attendant on Śiva.

4. Desire for wealth cannot cease, and anger cannot subside. As long as you cannot give up cruelty, insincerity and evil words, where are you, and where is Liṅga ? Get you hence, madman ! So long as you cannot get rid of this darkness, this disease of worldliness, where is Kudalasaṅgama Deva, and where are you, O madman ?

5. Is there, or is there no Lord of the house within ? Grass has grown over the threshold, and dust has filled the house ; is there, or is there no Lord of the house within ? Falsehood has filled the body, and sensual passions have filled the mind. The Lord of the house is not there, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

6. Are what we call God's world and the mortal world to be found anywhere else ? There are innumerable worlds in this very world ! Yes, godly conduct is God's world ; the spot where God's devotee lives is verily God's world ; ay. God's devotee's yard is verily Benares ; his very body itself is Kailas[5] ! That is true, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

7. Do not steal. Do not kill. Do not lie. Be not angry. Have no contempt for others. This is internal purity. This is external purity. This is the way to please our Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

E. *Speak the Truth.*

1. My brothers, behold, what are called the divine world and the mortal world are not far away. To speak the truth is the divine world, and to utter a lie is the mortal world. Good conduct is the divine world, and bad conduct is hell. For this Thou Thyself art our authority, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. What can a sword do, when its edge is gone ? What can a serpent do, when its poison is gone ? What can a devotee do, when he has broken his word ? When he has broken his word, if he loves his life, consider : it is like sacred food touched by a dog.

3. If you inquire what the true path of a servant is, it is to speak the truth and to behave as he speaks. Kudalasaṅgama Deva desires not that worldly man who lies in speech and errs in behaviour.

F. *Be Merciful.*

1. What is that religion wherein there is no mercy ? It is mercy that is wanted for all creatures. It is mercy that is the root of religion. Kudalasaṅgama Deva wants not that which is unmerciful.

2. You should look upon all creatures as yourself. If there be difference in this, even to the smallest extent, will God fail to see it and to throw you away ? If I make a difference as between high and low, how can God be pleased ? If you look upon all lives and souls as equals, will not God make Himself one with you ? If you show mercy to all living creatures, believing that wherever there is life there is God, will not Kudalasaṅgama Deva come down from Kailas and carry you up ?

3. Ah, I cannot kill animals, nor can I eat their flesh as a titbit for my tongue[6] ; for I know I should have difficulties hereafter, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

G. *Be not Angry.*

1. If people condemn you behind your back, rejoice when you hear of it. Why so ? Because they find pleasure without taking anything from you and without giving anything to you. O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, crush hatred of others out of my heart, and favour me, so that I may constantly say to Thy servants : " I submit, I submit."

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5 Śiva's heaven.

6 Vîra Śaivas are strict vegetarians.

2. Why should you be angry with those who are angry with you? What do they gain, or what do you lose? Anger in the body causes you loss of dignity. Anger in the mind causes you loss of knowledge. Will fire in a house burn the neighbouring house without first burning its own house, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva?

3. Some of us were stabbed and yet became devotees; others were reviled, and yet became devotees. But I got angry with the servants of Kudalasaṅgama Deva and lost half my faith.

4. If I see people talking sixteen to the dozen, glaring with their eyes, tearing their hair and clenching their fists, I am afraid of them and run away. Let me be called coward for running away from them! I will not touch the boundary of the fields of those that have no knowledge of the servants of Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

H. *Be Chaste.*

1. I am not afraid of the darting serpent; I am not afraid of tongues of flames; I am not afraid of the edge of the sword; but one thing I am afraid of; one thing I do fear: I am afraid of other men's wives. What fate did Râvaṇa meet who had not that fear? I am afraid, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. You pass her by, you look back at her, and you feel you ought to have her. That is adultery, and you will not escape a terrible hell. What they call other men's wives is in truth Thy harem; it belongs to heaven, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

3. If my mind becomes attached to what it sees, I swear; I swear in Thy name; I swear in the name of Thy Pramathas, that I regard every woman as a great goddess, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

I. *Be Charitable.*

1. You hoard wealth, thinking that you will live and not die; but, when your life ends, and death comes upon you, you will not enjoy that wealth. Hence, do not dig and bury it. If it is lost in the earth, will the earth throw it out again? Do not mix it with dust, gaze at it with your eyes and then go away without enjoying it. If you say, 'Let it remain for my wife', your wife may have crooked designs of a different character. When your body drops away, will she fail to give it to somebody else? So do not, like a silly sheep, throw your wealth to others and so be deprived. You ought to spend it on the servants of Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. When a crow sees one grain of corn, does he not call all his kindred? When a cock sees one morsel of food, does he not call all his family? If a man who is God's devotee shows no partiality in his faith, he is worse than a crow or a cock, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

3. It is said: "The gift of him who offers a gift that is not in accordance with the faith of Śiva will be fruitless, and he will go to a terrible hell." Since such is the saying, alas! that man's wealth who spends money to win fame and name, not recognising the servants of Kudalasaṅgama, goes all for nothing.

4. I say, "My body is Thine"; I say, "My mind is Thine"; I say, "My wealth is Thine"; yet deceit leaves me not. I do not realize that the things that I have and the wealth that I have are all Thine; and so I am ruined all for nothing, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

J. *Be Gentle.*

1. He is a devotee that folds his hands before a devotee when he sees him. Yes, gentle words themselves are penances. That excellent modesty itself brings love of God Kudalasaṅgama Deva wants not those who are not so.

2. When devotees affectionately call you near, saying, "Please come here, please come here," if you go sideways to them and fold your hands over your mouth; if you are humble and speak as a servant; if you are modest and attentive to them; then Kudalasaṅgama Deva will take you up to His Pramathas.

3. If you speak, your words should be like a string of pearls, your speech should have the lustre of jewels, should be like a bar of crystal. The Liṅga within you, pleased, should be saying, "Yes, yes." Otherwise, how will Kudalasaṅgama Deva be pleased with you?

K. *Be Humble.*

1. Instead of making me a golden crown over a temple tower, on which crows sit and drop dirt, make me a leather-shoe to be trod on by the masters[7]. It is said, "Some are followers of karma, and some of knowledge, but we are followers of the shoes of God's devotees." O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, I spread out the ends of my garment[8]: this is the only boon that I crave from Thee, "O have mercy."

2. I do not want the place of Brahmâ; I do not want the place of Vishṇu; I do not want the place of Rudra; I do not want any such place. O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, favour me with the high place that knows the feet of Thine excellent devotees.

L. *Keep Good Company.*

1. You are to keep company with the excellent and the good. But ah, do not seek the company of the wicked and the bad. The company of those whose inner heart is impure is like the terrible poison of Siṅgi Kâlakûṭa[9], O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. Be not a neighbour to lukewarm devotees. Do not go with them. Do not accompany them on the road. Do not talk to them even from a distance. It is far better to be the slave of him who is dissolved in the Liṅga, who is the servant of Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

3. If a blasphemer offer you a whole kingdom, do not desire it, and do not live near him. But if a Mahâr[10] be a devotee of God, it is far better to be his slave. The servants of Kudalasaṅgama Deva fetch leaves from the forest, fry them in a pan and live upon them.

4. The husband is a devotee of God, but his wife is a devotee of the cholera-goddess and spirits. What the husband takes is the water of his *guru's* feet and food offered to Śiva[11], but what the wife takes is wine and flesh. The faith of those who have such an impure receptacle is like washing the outside of a toddy pot, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

M. *Be Pure in Mind.*

1. O my mind, be not like a monkey that has tasted jaggery (*i.e.*, brown sugar) thinking only of what is sweet. Mind, be not like a fox that has tasted sugar cane: do not think of what you have enjoyed. Mind, do not—like a crow that has flown high in the air—do not cry in every direction. But, when you have seen the servants of Kudalasaṅgama Deva, O my mind, do believe them to be the Liṅga.

2. When you see the masters, O my mind, act not as a thief to them. If you wish to avoid worldly troubles, be strict, be full of fear, be not proud, and then say, 'I submit.' If you wish to show your faith to the servants of Kudalasaṅgama Deva, O mind, be to them as a servant, and so live.

3. O my mind, do not hurt others in speech. Do not be reluctant when you do good. Do not speak unwisely in company. Take care not to say 'No' to those who ask of you. Use no vulgar words, but humbly offer prayers to the servants of Kudalasaṅgama Deva, spreading out the ends of your garment.

4. My skin is clean, but I am not pure in mind. If I wish to worship Thee, touching Thee with my hands, alas, my hands are not clean! If I wish to worship Thee, approaching thee with my mind. alas, my mind is not clean! But if my heart is truly clean, then Kudalasaṅgama Deva will certainly take me up, saying, 'Come here.'

5. Alas! my wicked mind torments me. I am like a pot broken upon a stone. I am a madman without sense. I am a poor man with no faith. I am an unlucky man with no thought of Thee. O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, have mercy upon me.

(*To be continued.*)

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7 'Servants of Śiva' and 'Masters' are used for Vira Śaiva ascetics.

8 A gesture of humility.

9 Kâlakûṭa is the name of a dark blue poison produced at the churning of the ocean.

10 Mahârs are a class of untouchables found in the Marâṭhâ country.

11 That is vegetarian food.

THE APABHRAMŚA STABAKAS OF RĀMA-ŚARMAN (TARKAVĀGĪŚA).

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I E.

(*With three plates.*)

THE welcome edition by Professor Jacobi of the *Bhavisatta Kaha* (Munich, 1910) has again drawn attention to the importance of Apabhraṁśa in the linguistic history of India. Its appearance has suggested to me the propriety of offering for publication a text and translation,—so far as I am capable of preparing either,—of the Apabhraṁśa sections of Rāma-śarman (Tarkavāgīśa)'s Prakrit grammar, known as the *Prākṛta-kalpataru*. This exists, so far as is known, only in one MS. now in the India Office Library, which is very incorrect, and which can be read only with considerable difficulty and hesitation. I have been studying it for some time, and have, I hope, succeeded in restoring the text to something like what it was when it left its author's hands. The section dealing with the Vibhāṣās partly appeared in the *JRAS.* for 1918. That dealing with Paiśācī will I hope soon appear in the Sir Ashutōsh Mookherjee Commemoration Volume, and that dealing with Apabhraṁśa forms the subject of the present paper.

It is, I think, certain that there were two distinct schools of Prakrit philology in India. The first, or Eastern School[1], was derived from Vararuci (himself an Easterner), and descended from him, through Laṅkēśvara and Kramadīśvara, to Rāma-śarman and Mārkaṇḍēya. The second, or Western School, is based on the so-called Vālmīki sūtras, now extant only in a much expanded form. From this teaching are descended the grammar of Hēmacandra, who used a technical terminology of his own, and the works of Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara, Siṁharāja, and others, who followed the whole system of terminology found in the expanded Vālmiki sūtras. Even when dealing with standard Prakrit the two schools not unoften contradict or supplement each other, but their main difference consists in their respective treatments of the Vibhāṣās, of Apabhraṁśa, and of Paiśācī. For instance, the Paiśācī described by Vararuci and his successors, who in their accounts actually give a quotation from the Bṛhatkathā, is not the same language as that described by Hēmacandra and Trivikrama[2]. It is unnecessary to go into further detail on this point. I mention it here merely to show the importance of Rāma-śarman's work.

The *Prākṛta-kalpataru*, or 'Wishing-tree of Prakrit', is, according to its author, based on the *Prākṛta-kāmadhēnu* of Laṅkēśvara, a work described by Rājēndra-lāla Mitra in Nos. 3157 and 3158 of Vol. IX of his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, but which has since, to my great regret, disappeared.[3] The *Kalpataru* is divided into three *Śākhās*, or 'Branches.' Each *Śākhā* is divided into so many *Stabakas* or 'Clusters,' and each *Stabaka* into so many *Kusumas* or 'Flowers', each consisting of a single verse, with, in the earlier *Śākhās*, a full prose commentary. The first *Śākhā* deals with Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, in nine *Stabakas*. The second *Śākhā* (three *Stabakas*) deals with Śaurasēnī, Māgadhī, and their sub-dialects, and the third describes (1) the Vibhāṣās (one *Stabaka*), Apabhraṁśa (two *Stabakas*), and

1 It is a mistake to suppose that Prakrit was not employed for literature in Eastern India. As examples of Apabhraṁśa I may quote the *Kīrti-latā*, a historical work by the famous Vidyāpati Ṭhākur of Mithilā, and the *Dōhā-kōśa* of the Bengali Kṛṣṇācāryapāda.

2 The only writer referred to by both schools as authoritative is Bhāmaha, who was a Kāshmīrī and belonged to neither.

3 I would draw the attention of Indian scholars, especially those of Bengal, to the importance of this work, and to the urgent need of a further search being made for it. I have done all that I could by correspondence, but have failed.

Paiśācika (one *Stabaka*). In the present paper, we therefore have to do with the second and third *Stabakas* of the third *Śākhā*. The second *Stabaka* contains thirty-one, and the third thirteen *Kusumas* or verses.

For further particulars regarding Rāma-śarman's grammar, the reader is referred to pp. 19 ff. of Lassen's *Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ*. In the first Excursus to that work, Lassen has added a summary of Rāma-śarman's account of the Vibhāṣās and of Apabhraṁśa. Unfortunately Lassen did not recognize that several pages of the MS. are misplaced, and this has vitiated much of his remarks. On p. 5 of this Excursus he attempts a transcription of the passage in the third *Stabaka* which deals with the minor varieties of Apabhraṁśa. The materials then available were insufficient for a correct interpretation of the text, as a comparison between his edition and mine of *stabaka* iii, 6-13 below will show. I claim no credit for my more accurate text. In Lassen's time no edition of Mārkaṇḍēya's grammar was available, and, without that as a guide, it would have been almost impossible to solve the difficulties that crop up in almost every line.

The manuscript is full of gross blunders, and is often very difficult to read. I am fully aware that some of my emendations are uncertain, and a few of them are desperately rash. I therefore do not presume to imagine that I have throughout given a correct text. But I do believe that I have in the main represented what Rāma-śarman intended to be understood, and that, as I have given it, the text is fairly intelligible. That other students may here and there be able to suggest better emendations is my earnest hope, and I shall be the first to welcome them.

Before proceeding further, I must here record my indebtedness to several kind friends who have assisted me in doubtful points, and especially to Professor Jacobi and to Professor Sunīti Kumār Chatterji. The latter gentleman's familiarity with ancient Bengali scripts has been exceptionally helpful in suggesting possible and plausible readings.

In reading the text so as to make sense, I have been aided by many years experience in deciphering illegible Bengali legal documents in India. I have also been greatly helped by Mārkaṇḍēya's *Prākṛta-sarvasva*, the 17th and 18th chapters of which deal with the same subjects, much in the same manner, and often also in almost the same words. Mārkaṇḍēya must have been acquainted with the present work or with some of its predecessors, for he quotes almost verbatim the long passage, at the end of the chapters here given, which deals with the minor varieties of Apabhraṁśa.

It will be remembered that the MS. of the *Prākṛta-kalpataru* is written in the Bengali character. The scribe was by no means particular as to correct formation of his letters, and in writing some he had his own way of representing them. The following are some of his peculiarities which I have gleaned during a somewhat minute study of what he no doubt considered to be caligraphy.

1. He makes little or no distinction between non-initial *ā* (া) and non-initial *ē* (ে). Thus, কাক may be read either *kāka* or *kakē* (ককে) and কাকা may be read either *kākā* or *kakō* (ককো).

2. The two characters ই *i* (initial) and হ *ha* are frequently confused. We have to decide from the context which is intended.

3. Similarly, উ *u* (initial) and ড *ḍa* are confounded. Only the context can show which is meant.

4. Similarly, এ *ē* (initial) is confounded with ত্র *tra*. We are here again driven to the context

5. Similarly, ও ō (initial) is confounded with ত tta. Moreover, both are commonly used to indicate tu, and again both are often confounded with ঙ্ড ṇḍu. In each case our only guide is the context.

6. When r is subjoined to a consonant in Bengali, it takes the form ্র. But in the MS. this sign is also often employed to indicate a non-initial u, so that প্র may be either pra or pu.

7. The letters খ kha and থ tha are habitually confounded. It is generally impossible to tell from the form of the letter which is meant. A typical example is khōḍā in verse 5 of the Nāgara section. It should probably be read thōḍā. Cf. the Hindī thōṛā, a little.

8. The letter ন is used indiscriminately for na, ṇa, and la. Sometimes ণ ṇa is also used. For la, the writer sometimes makes a slight distinction in the form of the ন, by bringing the left-hand end of the essential part of the character a little lower down than usual. When this is the case, I have transliterated it by la, but otherwise I transliterate it by na, whatever it is intended to represent.

9. The letters প pa and দ da are frequently so written that it is impossible to distinguish between them. We may take it as a general rule that every দ may be read either as da or as pa.

10. The character ব is employed indiscriminately for ba, va, and ra. It is also often indistinguishable from চ ca. Thus, চ may always be read as ca, ba, va, or ra.

11. The compound ṣṭra is invariably written ṣtra, and I therefore so transliterate it.

12. The character স্থ stha is also used for hu. Only the context can indicate what is intended. The syllable hu is also often represented by হ ha, the only distinction being that when hu is intended the tail at the bottom is made a little longer, and more horizontal. But this distinction is commonly neglected, and only the context can decide which character is intended.

13. The character দ্রু dru seems generally to be used for its proper purpose. But the character দ্রূ drū is also used to indicate hra. Only the context can tell what is meant. Similarly, হ্রূ is used for hū, but, as written, it strongly resembles দ্রূ.

In the following text, I have given for each verse, first, a strict transliteration of the MS. as I read it, and then my version of the text as emended after allowing for the above and other irregularities, and after comparison with the corresponding text of Mārkaṇḍēya. The transliteration is slavishly literal. Thus, I have transliterated ব by va, whether it represents ba, va, or ra, and I have transliterated স্থ by stha, even when hu is clearly meant. Only in this way will my readers be able to check my emended text and to criticize it. I have divided words as they are divided in the MS., and have indicated the beginning of each folio, and of each line within a folio. The whole passage begins near the end of the fifth line of Folio 42a.

On plates I, II, and III will be found photographic reproductions of those pages of the Original Manuscript on which the verses occur, with these my transcription and emended version can be compared by those familiar with the Bengali character.

Fol. 42a, part of l. 5.

nirūcyatēsampratināgavādi (6) kramādapabhraṁśaïhaprasiddhyāṁ |
sarvvāsvabhraṁśabhidāpusiddhirmatāpuvodīvitabhāṣayōstu || 1 ||

Metre, Upajāti, ⏓ – ⏑ – –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

nirucyatē samprati Nāgarâdi
kramād Apabhraṁśa, iha prasiddhyā |
sarvāsv a[pa]bhraṁśabhidāsu siddhir
matā purôdīrita-bhāṣayōs tu || 1 || Mk. xvii, 1.

We now proceed to describe in order, beginning with Nāgara, the forms of Apabhraṁśa. It is generally considered that the basis of all the different varieties is to be found in the two preceding bhāṣās [*i.e.*, apparently, Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī[4]].

Fol. 42a.

ayujikakhayōraēnādaugaghau(7)tathayōrdadhautadihapunānākēnagubruvantisukhēsughu |
patidu patitēśōthēśōdhukramāttasakanādikēpunavapimahāvāṣtrīṁ(*Fol.* 42*b*)saṁsādhayēt saanādikaṁ || 2 ||

Metre, Hariṇī, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, – – – –, ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑

ayuji ka-khayōr atrânādau ga-ghau, ta-thayōr da-dhau,
tad iha ca punar 'lōkē' *lōgu* bruvanti, 'sukhē' *sughu*, |
padidu 'patitē', 'śōthē' *sōdhu* kramāt, 'sakalâdikē'
punar api Mahārāṣṭrīṁ saṁsādhayēt *saalâdikam* || 2 || Mk. 2.

Non-conjunct, non-initial *ka*, *kha*, *ta*, and *tha*, become respectively *ga*, *gha*, *da* and *dha*. Thus :—

lōkaḥ becomes *lōgu*.
sukham ,, *sughu*.
patitam ,, *padidu*.
śōthaḥ ,, *sōdhu*.

On the other hand words such as *sakala-* and the like follow the Mahārāṣṭrī rule, and become *saala-* and so on.

Fol. 42b.

kaḥ ṣkaskayōrbhavatipuṣkavamaṣkavādaukṣasyāpi vākṣasamukhēsaïhōpadiṣṭaḥ |
sipā[5](2)nitē nijagaduḥ kavayaśchaśabdaḥ susundakēpiviruaṁtumataṁviruddhē || 3 ||

[5] *or* sidā, *or* nipā, nidā.

Metre, Vasantatilakā, – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

kaḥ ṣka-skayōr bhavati 'puṣkara'–'maskarâdau',
kṣasyâpi 'rākṣasamukhē' sa ihôpadiṣṭaḥ |
'siprâdikē' nijagaduḥ kavayaś cha-śabdaṁ,
chuḥ 'śuṇḍakē' 'pi, *viruaṁ* tu mataṁ 'viruddhē' || 3 ||

Not in Mk. Cf. Pischel, §§ 302, 306. The emendations in the last two lines are conjectural. By i, 23 of this work, the Prakrit form of *śauṇḍika-* is *suṇḍiō*. The word *sipā* in the third line of the verse is squeezed in at the end of a line of the MS., and is capable of being read in several ways. *Sipā* is, I think, most like what is written.

In *puṣkara-*, *maskara-*, and similar words, *ṣka* and *ska* become *k*, [so that we have *pukkara-* and *makkara-*]. In *rākṣasamukha-*, *kṣa* also becomes *k*, [so that we have *rakkasamugha-*]. Poets pronounce *siprā* and similar words with the sound of *cha*, and there is also a *chu-* sound in *śuṇḍaka-*, [so that we have *chappā* and *chuṇḍagō*], but *viruddham* becomes *viruaṁ*.

[4] The section of the Prākṛta-kalpataru immediately preceding that devoted to Apabhraṁśa is that dealing with the Vibhāṣās. Before that comes the account of the Māgadhī Bhāṣā and its varieties, and before that the account of the Śaurasēnī Bhāṣā and its varieties.

INDIA OFFICE SANSKRIT MS. No. 1106, 13A.

The Prākṛta-Kalpataru of Rāma-śarman (Tarkavāgīśa).

Folio 42a

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Folio 42b

Folio 43a

Fol. 42b.

vyāsavyā:lipra bhṛtiṇipadēdvaēvaḥsyādadhastāta |
(3)vrāsuvrāḍipriyasūṇisamēsyātaprakṛtyā varca |
dēścāvīṇādaya ihanatāsva[6]rvvanādyarthakāstē
vastraprāptēnaghu nica tathā(4)nāsthaliḥ syāt kavīnāṁ || 4 ||

[6] *The akṣara* sva *is doubtful. It may also be read* nna, lla, nva *or* nu.

Metre, Mandâkrānta, – – – –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –

'vyāsa'–'vyāḍi'–prabhṛtiṣu padēṣv atra raḥ syād adhastāt Mk. 3.
vrāsu vrāḍi, 'priya'–'mṛga'-samē syāt prakṛtyā ra-ṛc ca | Mk. 4.
dēśyā *rīṇâ*daya iha na vā syur 'vanâdyarthakās' tē
'vastraprâptē' 'laghuni' ca tathā *lāhuliḥ* syāt kavīnām || 4 ||

The emendations in the last two lines are conjectural. There is nothing like them in Mk. As regards the word *lāhuli*, it will be remembered that the character for *stha* may also represent *hu*. With *rīṇa*, cf. the Prakrit-Sanskrit *ārīṇā*, a dried up place, in Bhaṭṭi, xiii, 4; Sindhī *riṇu*, a desert; and Skr., *iriṇa*. For *vastraprâptē*, perhaps we may read *vastrâprâptē*, if some altogether different word is not intended. For *lāhuliḥ*, we should probably read *gāhuliḥ*. Cf. *gāhuly–ādir gāthâdēr alpâdau* (so to be read), of Kramadīśvara 14.

In the words *vyāsa-*, *vyāḍi-* and others, the letter *r* is inserted after [the initial consonant], so that we have *vrāsu*, *vrāḍi*, and so on. In words like *priya-* and *mṛga-* the original *r* and *ṛ* remain unchanged. The Dēśya words *rīṇa-* and the like are optionally used in the sense of 'forest' and so on. And poets use the word *lāhuli-* in the sense of (?) '*vastraprâpta-*' as well as in that of '*laghu*'.

Fol. 42b.

stōkēkhōḍasyāccabhadrētrabhallaṁ tēṣamēvaṁcatvadīyēmadīyē |
tasminnivārthēhavikēhī(5)tyādyāḥ kīdṛśītyadikēṣu || 5 ||

Metre, Śālinī, – – – –, – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –

'stōkē' *khōḍaṁ* [? *thōḍaṁ*], syāc ca 'bhadrē' 'tra *bhallaṁ*
tēraṁ mēraṁ ca 'tvadīyē' 'madīyē,' |
tasminn arthē [*tōharaṁ mō*]*haraṁ* [vā],
*kēhī*tyādyāḥ 'kīdṛśityādikēṣu' || 5 ||

Mk. has nothing corresponding to the above. According to Mk. iv. 64, the Prakrit *adēśa* for *stōkam* is *thōaṁ* or *thōkaṁ* (irreg.). The analogy of the Hindī *thōṛā* makes me inclined to emend *khōḍaṁ* to *thōḍaṁ*, see the remarks under No. 7 on p. 15. For *kēhī*, cf. Kramadīśvara 9 (Lassen, p. 449).

For *stōkam*, we have *khōḍaṁ* (? *thōḍaṁ*); for *bhadram* we have *bhallaṁ*; for *tvadīyam* and *madīyam*, we have, respectively, *tēraṁ* or (?) *tōharaṁ* and *mēraṁ* or (?) *mōharaṁ*; and for the feminine *kīdṛśī*, we have *kēhī*.

Fol. 42b.

syātkīdṛśādyā vihakēhaādi śriyāṁsiākvāpigurōrllaghutvaṁ |
atōstriyāṁḍāhi(6)aḍāpasandaṇḍītustriyaṁ gōlaḍi laggu kaṇṭhē || 6 ||

Metre, Upajāti, ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑ – –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

syāt 'kīdṛśādāv' iha *kēha*-ādi
'śriyāṁ' *siā*, kvâpi gurōr laghutvam, | Mk. 8.
atō 'striyāṁ ḍā, *hiaḍā pasaṇṇaṁ*, Mk. 5.
ḍī tu striyāṁ, *gōlaḍi laggu kaṇṭhē* || 6 || Mk. 6.

Mk. does not mention *kēha* or *siā*. For the former, cf. Kramadīśvara 9.

The words *kēha-*, and so on, are substituted for *kīdṛśa-* and similar forms; and *siā* is substituted for *śrīḥ*. A long vowel is sometimes shortened. The syllable *ḍā* is added to *a*-bases [in the masculine and neuter, but] not in the feminine. Thus, *hiaḍā pasaṇṇaṁ* [*hṛdayaṁ prasannam*]. In the feminine, it is *ḍī* that is added, as in *gōlaḍi laggu kaṇṭhē* [*gaurī lagnā kaṇṭhē*].

The change of *r* to *l* in *gōlaḍi* is a Magadhism. Cf. verse 1.

Fol. 42b.

sarvvatradurjāvahakāminādu avaṣtraṁgrāmyapadānibhūmnā |
striyāṁstapōlu(7)kprakṛtaiśca hrasvaḥ syādvāna vāvāna drūmēvadrūca[7] ‖ 7 ‖

[7] *The last group of akṣaras is doubtful. The* mē *is partly obliterated. The character which I represent by* drū *is probably intended for* hū, *see No.* 13 *above, on p.* 15.

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

sarvatra dur, *jāraha kāmiṇīdu.* Mk. 7.
arāṣṭraka-grāmya-padāni bhūmnā, |
striyāṁ supō luk, prakṛtēś ca hrasvaḥ, Cf. Mk. 9.
syād vā na vā *bāladu mēradū* ca ‖ 7 ‖

In the second line, *arāṣṭraka* is very doubtful, but I can suggest nothing better. The emendation of the fourth line is doubtful. In the MS. it can be read in several ways owing to the indefinite character of the signs here transliterated *va* and *na*. Although the MS. appears to read *bālahū mērahū*, the metre requires that the final vowel of *bālahū* should be short, and the preceding lines of the verse seem to require the termination *du*. I have therefore conjecturally emended to *bāladu mēradū*.

In all three genders, the syllable *du* may be added, as in *jāraha kāmiṇīdu* [*jārasya kāminī*]. Irregular and boorish words are frequently met with [so expanded]. [With this termination] in the feminine, declensional terminations are elided, and the final vowel of the base is shortened; and [thus] we have optionally *bāladu mēradū* [for *bālā madīyā*].

Fol. 42b.

sarvvatrasaklukaprakṛtēścadīrghaḥ syādaggiaggīvaṇaḍaṁvaṇāḍaṁ |
(*Fol.* 43*a*) karmmādikēpyēvasupā[8]havantivaibhāṣikaḥsyādataütsamōstu ‖ 8 ‖

[8] *or* sudāhavanti.

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

sarvatra sup-luk prakṛtēś ca dīrghaḥ, Mk. 9.
syād *aggi aggī, vaṇaḍaṁ vaṇāḍaṁ,* |
karmâdikē 'py ēva supō haranti,
vaibhāṣikaḥ syād ata ut sv-amōs tu ‖ 8 ‖ Mk. 10.

In all three genders [in the nominative singular], the declensional termination is elided, and the termination of the base [optionally] lengthened. Thus, we have *aggi* or *aggī* [*agniḥ*] ; *vaṇaḍaṁ* or *vaṇāḍaṁ*. So also in the accusative and following cases they merely elide the declensional terminations, but in the nominative and accusative singular, *a*-bases may also [after this elision,] optionally substitute the termination *u* [for the final vowel of the base].

[That is to say, the nominative singular takes no termination, but may optionally lengthen its final vowel, after which, whether lengthened or not, the pleonastic *ḍā* may be added. Moreover, in the regard to *a*-bases, the nominative and accusative singular may optionally substitute *u* for the final vowel of the base. In other

cases, and also in the accusative singular, the declensional terminations may be elided, but without provision for the lengthening of the final vowel, or for the substitution of anything else.]

Fol. 43a.

kīlaōmammōhaïkaṇhaēsukīlantuāliṅgaïkaṇha(2)gōvī |
sōvōdapisyāṇṇavaōṇavōtra bhavēnmahāvāṣtramamāśrayēṇa || 9 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

kīlantu maṁ mōhaï Kaṇha ēsu,
kīlantu āliṅgaï Kaṇha gōrī, |
sōr ōd api syāṇ, *ṇaraō ṇarō* 'tra Mk. 12, 13.
bhavēn Mahārāṣṭra-samâśrayēṇa || 9 ||

[As examples of the rules in the preceding verse, we have] *kīlantu maṁ mōhaï Kaṇhu ēsu* [*krīḍan māṁ mōhayati Kṛṣṇa ēṣaḥ*] and *kīlantu āliṅgaï Kaṇha gōrī* [*krīḍantī āliṅgati Kṛṣṇaṁ gaurī*]. The nominative singular may also end in *ō*, as in *ṇaraō* [*narakaḥ*], *ṇarō* [*naraḥ*], in this particular following the rules of Mahārāṣṭrī.

Fol. 43a.

ihānatōpikvacinnaōprayōjyō vāhīuvānā(3)ujuāṇukaṇhu |
sthaḥ syāt kaṇōrukkhasthaēpuuṇhuhaisyājjasōṇāanahēcavanti || 10 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

ihânyatō 'pi kvacid u prayōjyō, Mk. 10.
rāhīu bālāu juāṇu kaṇhu |
huḥ syāt (?) kvacid, *rukkhahu* (?)*ēthu* (?)*uccu*, Mk. 11, *hō*.
hē syāj jasō *ṇāalahē caranti* || 10 || Mk. 14.

The text of the third line is very doubtful so far as regards the example. What I have marked with queries is conjectural. In the fourth line, I do not know what Sanskrit word is represented by *ṇāalahē* unless, perhaps, it is *nāgarāḥ*, with the Māgadhī change of *r* to *l*. Cf. verse 1.

Here [*i.e.*, in this form of Apabhraṁśa] *u* may sometimes be employed otherwise [than as laid down in verse 8, according to which *u* is only used in the nominative and accusative singular as a substitute for the final vowel of a base ending in *a*]. Thus, *Rāhīu bālāu, juāṇu Kaṇhu* [*Rādhā bālā, yuvā Kṛṣṇaḥ*]. Sometimes we have *hu* [in this case], as in *rukkhahu ēthu uccu* [*vṛkṣō 'tröccaḥ*]. The termination of the nominative plural is *hē*, as in *ṇāalahē caranti* [? *nāgarāś caranti*].

Fol. 43a.

napuṁsakē syādihajaśśasōō(4) viṁdīrghaṁ tathāvavaṇahaṁvaṇāiṁ |
vājaśśasōḥ strīviṣayēbhavanudvahūumānāpaïuōcca || 11 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

napuṁsakē syād iha jaś-śasōr id Mk. 16.
dīrghaṁ tathā vā, *vaṇaïṁ vaṇāiṁ*, |
vā jaś-śasōḥ strī-viṣayē bhavēd ud, Mk. 15.
vahūu, mālāu, ṇaïu, ōc ca || 11 ||

Here [in this form of Apabhraṁśa] the termination of the neuter nominative and accusative plural is *i*, before which the final vowel of the base is optionally lengthened, so that we have *vaṇaïṁ* or *vaṇāiṁ* [*vanāni*]. In the feminine, the termination of these cases is optionally *u*, as in *vahūu* [*vadhvaḥ, vadhūḥ*], *mālāu* [*mālāḥ*], and *ṇaïu* [*nadyaḥ, nadīḥ*]. And we may also have *ō* [instead of *u*].

Fol. 43a.

ēcastrisusyāduṇaēvahū (5) ēpunāniēbhisttisupāpunahiṁ |
sarvvatravānāhivahūhitēhiṁ hēhōṅasēdvaughavahētathānyata || 12 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

ē ṭas triṣu syād, *vaṇaē, vahūē,* Mk. 17, *ēṁ*
paṇālie; bhis-ṅi-supām punar hiṁ | Mk. 18.
sarvatra, *bālāhī, vahūhī, tēhiṁ;*
hē hō ṅasēr dvau, *gharahē*, tathânyat || 12 || Mk. 19.

In all three genders, the termination of the instrumental Singular is *ē*, as in *vaṇaē* [*vanēna*], *vahūē* [*vadhvā*], and *paṇāliē* [*praṇālyā*]. Moreover, the termination of the instrumental plural, the locative singular, and the locative plural is *hiṁ* [or *hī*] in all three genders, as in *bālāhī* [*bālābhiḥ, bālāyāṁ, bālāsu*], *vahūhī* [*vadhūbhiḥ, vadhvāṁ, vadhūṣu*], *tēhiṁ* [*taiḥ, tābhiḥ; tasmin, tasyāṁ; tēṣu, tāsu*]. There are two terminations of the ablative singular, namely *hē* and *hō*, as in *gharahē* [*gṛhāt*] [for the termination *hē*], and similarly [*gharahō*] for the other.

Fol. 43a.

iibhyasaḥkaṇē (6) ṇahaṁṇaīhaṁ pakṣematam kāṇaṇasthaṁvahūhaṁ |
hōhēṅisaḥ kāṇaṇahōṇaīhahaṁsthañcakēcidvaṇahaṁvahūsthaṁ || 13 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

haṁ huṁ bhyasaḥ, *kāṇaṇahaṁ, ṇaīhaṁ,* Mk. 20.
pakṣē mataṁ, *kāṇaṇahuṁ, vahūhuṁ* |
hō hē ṅasaḥ, *kāṇaṇahō, ṇaīhē* Mk. 21.
haṁ huṁ ca kēcid, *vaṇahaṁ, vahūhuṁ* || 13 ||

The terminations of the ablative plural are *haṁ* and *huṁ*, as in *kāṇaṇahaṁ* [*kānanēbhyaḥ*], *ṇaīhaṁ* [*nadībhyaḥ*], or, on the other hand *kāṇaṇahuṁ* and *vahūhuṁ* [*vadhūbhyaḥ*] are considered [correct]. The terminations of the genitive singular are *hō* and *hē*, as in *kāṇaṇahō* [*kānanasya*], *ṇaīhē* [*nadyāḥ*]. Some authorities also give the terminations as *haṁ* and *huṁ*, as in *vaṇahaṁ* [*vanasya*], and *vahūhuṁ* [*vadhvāḥ*].

Mk. 21 and 22, which deal with the genitive singular and plural, are missing in all MSS. of that work. The terminations *haṁ* and *huṁ* for the genitive singular are unexpected. They are perfectly clear in the MSS. Other authorities give them to the genitive plural, as our author himself does in the next verse.

Fol. 43a.

sussē (7) tathārukathasurukathahassaīdutaēvāsthavibhāṣitōhē |
amastuhaṁnuvaṇahaṁvahūhaṁ prayujyatēkēpyabhaēvasthaṁsthaṁ || 14 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

su-ssau tathā, *rukkhasu, rukkhahassa*
īd-ūta ē vā hu, vibhāṣitō hē, |
āmas tu haṁ nu, *vaṇahaṁ, vahūhaṁ,*
prayujyatē, kē 'py (?)aparē *vahuṁhuṁ*[9] || 14 ||

Other [terminations of the genitive singular] are *su* and *ssa*, as in *rukkhasu, rukkhahassa*[10] [*vṛkṣasya*]. After [nouns ending in] *ī* or *ū*, the termination is *ē* or *hu*, with *hē* as an optional form. But the termination of the genitive plural is *haṁ*, as in *vaṇahaṁ* [*vanānāṁ*], *vahūhaṁ* [*vadhūnāṁ*], while certain other writers have (?) *vahūhuṁ*.

(*To be continued.*)

9 (?)*vahūhuṁ*.

10 Cf. *rukkhahu* of verse 10. As already stated, we do not know what Mk. wrote about the genitive singular or plural.

INDIA OFFICE SANSKRIT MS. No. 1106, 13A.

The Prākṛta-Kalpataru of Rāma-śarman (Tarkavāgīśa).

Folio 43b

Folio 44a

Folio 44b

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THE APABHRAMŚA STABAKAS OF RĀMA-ŚARMAN (TARKAVĀGIŚA).

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 20.)

Fol. 43b.

(1)rūpaṁ mahāvāṣṭrikayōhanīya māṁīhaṇaṇhau maïnadantakānāṁ |
ēasyaṭābhistaṁsiṅasiṅabhiḥ syāt sarvvatrarūpaṁ puriṣēva(2)danti || 15 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

rūpaṁ Mahārāṣṭrikayôhanīyaṁ
āmîha ṇa-ṇhau (?) id-ud-antakānām; |
ē asya ṭā-bhir-ṅasi-ṅas-ṅibhiḥ syāt, Cf. Mk. 29 (om. *ṅas*).
sarvatra rūpaṁ *purisē* vadanti || 15 ||

In this dialect, the Mahārāṣṭrī terminations of the genitive plural, *ṇa* and *ṇha*, are to be mentioned as used with nouns whose bases end in *i* or *u*; and the letter *ē* may be substituted for the final vowel of an *a*-base in the instrumental singular, instrumental plural, ablative singular, genitive singular, and locative singular in all genders, so that for all these we have such a form as *purisē* [*puruṣēṇa, puruṣaiḥ, puruṣāt, puruṣasya*, or *puruṣē*].

Fol. 43b.

ṭaināstviduttyāṁ asumitrananvasmavakithaōrukakhupavāsuēna |
ēhibhisaḥ syādasiēhiujeṇṇa viṇṇaṇṇa saccaïsuē(3)hitrasu || 16 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

ṭaiṇâstv id-udbhyāṁ, (?)*asiēṇa*, (?)yad-vā Mk. 24.
saṁrakkhiō [? *saṁkappiō*] *rukkhu parāsuēṇa*; |
ēhiṁ bhisaḥ syād, *asiēhi jēṇa* Mk. 25.
(?)*viiṇṇa macca isuēhi* (?)*tāsu* || 16 ||

As regards the emendment to *asiēṇa*, attention may be called to No. 4 on p. 14 above.

In regard to bases in *i* and *u*, the suffix of the instrumental singular is *ēṇa*, as in *asiēṇa* [*asinā*], or as in *saṁkappiō rukkhu parāsuēṇa* [*saṁdāritō vṛkṣaḥ paraśunā*]. [With these nouns], the termination of the instrumental plural is *ēhiṁ*, as in *asiēhiṁ jēṇa viiṇṇa, macca isuēhiṁ tāsu* [*asibhir yēna vidīrṇaḥ, mṛtyur iṣubhis tasya*].

Fol. 43b.

ēccastriyāṁṭauṇaïēvahūtr sambōdhanē hēvaṇahēvahūtra |
supīhahrasvōpi niruktaïdut pūrvattathōdāhṛtamēva(4)sarvvaṁ || 17 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

ēc ca striyāṁ ṅau, *ṇaïē, vahūē*, Mk. 26.
saṁbōdhanē hē, *vaṇahē, vahūhē* | Mk. 27.
supîha hrasvō 'pi nirukta īd-ūt, Not in Mk.
pūrvaṁ tathôdāhṛtam ēva sarvam || 17 ||

The syllable *ē* is also used in the feminine as the termination of the locative singular as in *ṇaïē* [*nadyāṁ*], *vahūē* [*vadhvāṁ*]. In the vocative, the termination is *hē*, as in *vaṇahē* [*vana*], *vahūhē* [*vadhu*]. In this dialect it is explained that the final vowel of bases in *ī* and *ū* is also shortened in the locative plural. In other respects these nouns are declined as explained above.

As we are at present dealing with nouns in *i* and *u*, the insertion of *vaṇahē* in this verse seems out of place.

Fol. 43b.

liṅgatrayēpijasihōvaṇahōṇaihōgandhavvahōkvacidihāpidapirukakhaādika |
kimyadastu bhavatipra thamadvi(5)tīyāsaptamyapīhasavahaṭṭasamāprayōgē || 18 ||

Metre, Vasantatilakā, – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

liṅga-trayē 'pi jasi hō, *vaṇahō, ṇaīhō* Mk. 28.
gandhavvahō, kvacid ihâpi ca *rukkha* ādi | Not in Mk. Cf. Hc. iv, 344.
'kiṁ'-'yat'-'tadāṁ' tu bhavati prathamā-dvitīyā- Mk. 30.
saptamy apîha marahaṭṭa-samā prayōgē || 18 ||

In all three genders the syllable *hō* may be added in the nominative plural [instead of the *hē*, *i*, and *u* prescribed in verses 10 and 11], as in *vaṇahō* [*vanāni*], *ṇaīhō* [*nadyaḥ*], and *gandhavvahō* [*gandharvāḥ*]. In this dialect we also have forms such as *rukkha* and the like. The pronouns *kiṁ*, *yad*, and *tad* form their nominative, accusative, and locative as in Mahārāṣṭrī.

It will be observed that, apparently for the sake of metre, our author uses the Prakrit form *marahaṭṭa* for *mahārāṣṭra*. Similarly, in verse 10 of the Vrācaḍa chapter, he uses *sōraṭṭa* for *saurāṣṭra*, but without the same excuse.

Fol. 43b.

kōkēkaṁkēkaïṁkēsvapibhavatipadaṁ yattadōḥkrlīvanāryyōvapyēvaṁrū(6)pamāhurjasa-
ihakathitaḥsu prakṛtyāścadīrghaḥ |
tadrūpaṁkāsukasvapyadavamapimataṁkassaṣaṇḍēstriyāmapyēvaṁ syādyattadōścā(7)
pyabhidadhati tathāvāmijabhruṁtadrūṁ[11] || 19 ||

Metre, Sragdharā, – – – – ⏑ – –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, – ⏑ – – ⏑ – –

kō, kē, kaṁ, kē, kaïṁ, kēsv api bhavati padaṁ yat-tadōḥ klīva-nāryōr Mk. 30.
apy ēvaṁ rūpam āhur, ṅasa iha kathitaḥ *su*, prakṛtyāś ca dīrghaḥ | Mk. 31.
tad-rūpaṁ *kāsu, kasv* apy, aparam api mataṁ *kassu*, ṣaṇḍē striyām apy
ēvaṁ syād yat-tadōś câpy abhidadhati tathā câmi[vā] *jadrū tadrū* || 19 ||

The readings *jadrū* and *tadrū* are justified by the first line of the next verse, in which *tadru* is quite clear. The corresponding rule is missing in all MSS. of Mk. Kramadīśvara, 47, gives, according to Lassen's reading, *jruṁ, truṁ* for the acc. sg., and *jatru, tatru* for the loc. sg. Mitra's text gives *jruṁ dru*[*ṁ*]; *yadru, tadru.* Hc. iv, 360, gives *dhruṁ, traṁ* for the nom. and acc. sg. Cf. Pischel, §§ 268, 427. All my MSS. of Mk. 33 apparently give *jaṅa taṅa*, but are difficult to read. This, in the printed edition, is emended to *jattiṁ tattiṁ.*

The following [masculine] forms are accordingly used [for *kiṁ*],......Nom. sg. *kō*, nom. pl. *kē*, acc. sg. *kaṁ*, acc. pl. *kē*, loc. sg. *kaïṁ*, loc. pl. *kēsu*. Similarly for *yad* and *tad*. They teach that the same forms are employed for the feminine and the neuter. In this dialect [the termination of] the genitive singular is *su*, with the vowel of the base lengthened. Its form is therefore *kāsu*. Another form is *kasu*, and another opinion gives *kassu*. So also the feminine and neuter. Similar are the forms of *yad* and *tad*. Furthermore they explain *jadruṁ* and *tadruṁ* as optional forms of the accusative singular.

Fol. 43b.

ihajaśrutadruṅasōstayōrbhavēdidamaḥ suvōvimuvayantunastriyāṁ |
adasa(*Fol.* 44*a*)ptayōḥ supinirddiśantyamumataṁmētadastriṣucaēhadhīmatāṁ || 20 ||

Metre, Mañjubhāṣiṇī, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –

iha *jadru tadru* [ṅi-]ṅasōs tayōr bhavēd Mk. 34 (*jattha, tattha*).
idamaḥ sv-amōr *imur*, ayaṁ tu na striyām | Mk. 36.
adasas tayōḥ supi [ca] nirdiśanty *amu* Mk. 37.
matam ētadas triṣu ca *ēha* dhīmatām || 20 || Mk. 38.

In this dialect *jadru* and *tadru* may respectively be the corresponding locative singular and genitive singular of these two words. The nominative and accusative singular of *idam* is *imu*, but this is not used in the feminine. The same two cases of

[11] *drūṁ* may also be read *hraṁ*, see No. 13 on p. 15 above.

adas are *amu*, and they teach that the same word is used as the declensional base, to which the case terminations are added. It is the opinion of the learned that the declensional base of *ētad*, in all three genders, is *ēha—*.

According to the corresponding passage in Mk. 37, the word *sup*, in the third line, does not mean the suffix of the locative plural, but has its other meaning of case-suffixes generally.

Fol. 44a.

ēhōsumōbhavati ēttucahasyaghōtāēhēcaü[12]cēsakakhamanti(2)rūpaṁ |
sauyattadōḥ padamanukramatōējē(?)tē[13]ēēttadōbhabhavati pūrvvamadīharūpaṁ ||21||

[12] *In the above, the akṣara* u *is imperfect in the MS., but, as it is, can only be read* u.

[13] *The akṣara* tē *marked with a query is very doubtful. What is wanted is* sē, *but it cannot be so read, whatever else it may be.*

Metre, Vasantatilakā, – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

ēhō sv-amōr bhavati, *ēhu* ca, (?)*ēha* cōktam — Mk 39, *ēhō, ēhu.*
ēhē ca ṅau ca, saka[laṁ ka]thayanti rūpam |
sau yat-tadōḥ padam anukramatō 'tra *jē*, (?)*sē* — Mk. 40.
ē ētadō bhavati pūrvam apîha rūpam ||21|| Mk. 40. *ēsa.*

The last two words of the first line are a conjectural emendation.

For the nominative and accusative singular [of *ētad*], they describe the entire set of forms as *ēhō, ēhu, ēha*, and *ēhē*; and *ēhē* is also used in the locative singular. The nominatives singular of *yad* and *tad* are respectively *jē* and *tē* [? *sē*]. In addition to the set of forms given above, [the nominative singular] of *ētad* is also *ē*.

Fol. 44a.

yuṣmadaḥsautuhaṁtumbhahaja(3)pśasōḥ syātpaïṁṭāmiṅō(?)mha[14]hiṁsyādbhimi |
japśasōrūpaē ayaṁmēnivētumhatumhētuhasyātta catumbhaskacita ||22||

[14] *The* mha *marked with a query is not clear in the MS. It may be* stha (*or* hu).

Metre, Sragviṇī, – ⏑ – – ⏑ –, – ⏑ – – ⏑ –

yuṣmadaḥ sau *tuhaṁ*, *tumbhaïṁ* jas-śasōḥ — Mk. 41, 42.
syāt *païṁ* ṭâmi ṅau, [*tu*]*mhahiṁ* syād bhisi | — Mk. 44 (*taï*), 45 (*tumbhāhiṁ*).
ṅas-ṅasāv [atra] rūpa-trayaṁ mēnirē
tumha, tumhē, tuha, syāc ca *tumbha* [? *tujjha*] kvacit ||22|| Mk. 46.

As regards the emendation of *tumbhaha* to *tumbhaïṁ*, see No. 2 on p. 14. The emendation of the corrupt *japśasō* to *ṅas-ṅasāv* is, I think certain. Mk. gives for the abl. and gen. sg. *tuha, tujjha, tumbha, tubbha.*

The nominative singular of *yuṣmad-* is *tuhaṁ*, and the nominative and accusative plural is *tumbhaïṁ*. The instrumental and accusative and locative singular all take the form *païṁ*. The instrumental plural is *tumhahiṁ*. There are considered to be three forms of the ablative and genitive singular, viz., *tumha, tumhē, tuha*, and in addition to these we sometimes find *tumbha* [? *tujjha*].

All my MSS. of Mk. in the above forms substitute *mbh* for *mh* throughout, which the printed edition corrects regularly to *mh*. It may be noted that Mk. was an inhabitant of Orissa, and that in that country, at the present day, *mh* is regularly pronounced as *mbh*. What is written is always *mh*, even when *mbh* is etymologically required. In the MSS. of his grammar, the reverse is the case, and what is written is *mbh*.

Fol. 44a.

(4)sāvaktaṁhapu asmadōjasiśasisyādasmaïṁṭāmiṅōtasyasyāṁmahaṁa(?)mhahibhisimataṁ amhēhiamhēēaaṁ |
nirddi(5)ṣṭaṁ sahumajajhasajajhujasiṅasyapyamhaṅasyāmicasyādvāṅōbhyasiamhavāsipu mataṁ amhāsuvāamhasu ||23||

Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –

sāv uktaṁ *hamu* asmadō, jasi śasi syāt *amhaïṁ*, ṭâmi ṅau Mk. 48, 49.
tasya syān *maï*, *amhahiṁ* bhisi mataṁ, *amhēhi*, *amhē*, trayam | Mk. 51, 52.
nirdiṣṭaṁ *maha*, *majjha*, *majjhu*, ṅasi-ṅasy, apy *amha* ṅasy, āmi ca Mk. 53.
syād vā *ṇō*, bhyasi *amha* vā [? *amhahaṁ*], supi mataṁ *amhāsu* vā *amhasu* || 23 || [Mk. 54, 55.

The nominative singular of *asmad-* is said to be *hamu*, and the nominative and accusative plural is *amhaïṁ*. Its instrumental, accusative, and locative singular is *maïṁ*. Three forms are recorded for the instrumental plural, viz., *amhahiṁ*, *amhēhi* [? *amhēhī*] and *amhē*. The ablative and genitive singular are described as *maha*, *majjha*, or *majjhu*, in the genitive singular [in addition to these three] we also have *amha*. In the genitive plural we optionally have *ṇō*. In the ablative plural we optionally have *amha* [? *amhahaṁ*], and in the locative plural we have *amhāsu* or *amhasu*.

As explained above, Mk. substitutes *mbh* for *mh* throughout. Mk. 52 gives *ambhaïm*, *ambhahiṁ*, *ambhē*, *ambhāhaṁ*, and *ambhēhiṁ* for the instrumental plural. Mk. 53 gives *majjha*, *mahuṁ*, and *maha* for the ablative and genitive singular. He gives neither *ṇō* nor *am(b)ha*.

Fol. 44a.

(6)ihakāmacāṁ lugaïtiviśēṣāḥprabhṛti ṣatyayasandhiṣupadiṣṭyāḥ |
tadudāhavaṇādīnilakṣyadṛṣṭyākatici(7) tt saṁprati pādayāmi[15] tāvat || 24 ||

15 *Or* prādayāmi, *the* r *of* prā° *is very faint and does not appear on the photograph.*

Metre, Aupacchandasika, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – – / ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –

iha kām[am] acāṁ [tu] lug-viśēṣāḥ Mk. 56.
prakṛti-pratyaya-sandhiṣûpadiṣṭāḥ |
tad-udāharaṇâdi lakṣya-dṛṣṭyā
katicit saṁprati pādayāmi tāvat || 24 ||

In this dialect there are at will peculiar elisions of vowels in the union of bases with suffixes. As examples of this, I now proceed to give a few specimens.

Fol. 44a.

lōpaścēdiha rūkakhuütathārūkēkhāyadṅōgamaḥ syādvōijjaïhōjjaïkakhusu(?)a[16] (*Fol.* 44*b*) vōdēïvavahōdēvavahō |
vālāōivvavōnurvanāḍatathāvānāüityādikērūpērūpaviprarуyayaḥ pranavacāmuktāviśēṣa ṣāvu (2)dhaiḥ || 25 ||

16 *The akṣara* a *marked with a query is doubtful.*

Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –

lōpaś cēd iha *rukkhu* [*rukkha*]*ü* tathā *rukkhō*, yadâj-āgamaḥ Mk. 56.
syād *hōijjaï hojjaï kkhu suarō dēivvahō devvahō*, |
bālāō (?)itaraṁ nu *bālaü*, tathā *bālāu* ityādikē
rūpē rūpaviparyayaḥ punar, acām uktā viśēṣā budhaiḥ || 25 ||

If there is elision [of the final vowel of the base], we have *rukkhu* or *rukkhō* for *rukkhaü* [*vṛkṣakaḥ*]. When we have the addition of a vowel we have [sentences such as *hōijjaï* (for *hojjaï*) *kkhu suarō dēivvahō* (for *devvahō*) [*bhavēt khalu sukarō daivāt*]. Or there may be interchange of forms, as in *bālaü* or *bālāu*, etc. for *bālāō* [*bālāḥ*, see verse 11]. Such are the peculiarities of vowels as described by the learned.

[The following, therefore are the declensional forms for nouns in Apabhraṁśa according to Rāma-śarman. After each form, I give the number of the verse in which it occurs. First of all I give the terminations which he says are applicable to all nouns.

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	*du* (7), *hu* (10),	*hō* (18)
Acc.	...	...
Instr.	*ē* (12),	*hiṁ* (12)
Abl.	*hē* (12), *hō* (12),	*haṁ* (13), *huṁ* (13)
Gen.	*hē* (13), *hō* (13), *haṁ* (13), *huṁ* (13),	*haṁ* (14)
Loc.	*hiṁ* (12),	*hiṁ* (12)
Voc.	*hē* (17),	...

The bare base may optionally be used for the Accusative Singular and all subsequent cases (8).

The above terminations will not necessarily be repeated in the subsequent paradigms.

Bases in *a*

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom. Masc.	*ṇarō* (9), *ṇaraō* (9), *rukkhō* (25), *saṁrakkhiō* (16) ; *rukkhu* (16, 25), *kīlantu* (9), *juāṇu* (10) ; *rukkhaü* (25) ; *kaṇha* (9), *macca* (16) ; (*rukkhaḍā*) (6), (*rukkhāḍā*) (8): (*rukkhadu*) (7) ; *rukkhahu* (10)	*ṇaalahē* (10), *gandhavvahō* (18), *rukkha* (18)
Neut.	(*vaṇu*) (8), *hiaḍā* (6), (*hiadu*) (7), *vaṇadaṁ* (8), *vaṇādaṁ* (8)	*vaṇaïṁ* (11), *vaṇāiṁ* (11), *vaṇahō* (18)
Acc. Masc.	(*rukkhu*) (8), *kaṇha* (9)	...
Neut.	(*vaṇu*) (8), (*vaṇa*) (8)	*vaṇaïṁ* (11), *vaṇāiṁ* (11)
Instr.	*purisē* (15), *vaṇaē* (12)	*purisē* (15), (*vaṇahiṁ*) (12)
Abl.	*purisē* (15) ; *gharahē* (12) ; (*gharahō*) (12), *devvahō* (25)	*kāṇaṇahaṁ* (13), (*kāṇaṇahuṁ*) (13)
Gen.	*jāraha* (7); (*kāṇaṇahē*) (13), *kāṇaṇahō* (13); *vaṇahaṁ* (13), (*vaṇahuṁ*) (13); *rukkhasu* (14), *rukkhahassu* (14); *purisē* (15)	*vaṇahaṁ* (14)
Loc.	*purisē* (15), (*vaṇahiṁ*) (12)	(*vaṇahiṁ*) (12)
Voc.	*vaṇahē* (17)	

Feminine bases in *ā*.

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	*siā* (6) ; *bālāu* (10) ; *gōlaḍī* (6); *bāladu* (7)	*mālāu* (11), *bālāu* (25), (*mālāō*) (11), *bālāō* (25), (*bālāhō* (18), *bālaü* (25), (*bālāhē*) (10)
Acc.	(*bālā*) (8)	*mālāu* (11), (*mālāō*) (11)
Instr.	(*bālāē*) (12)	*bālāhiṁ* (12)
Loc.	*bālāhiṁ* (12)	*bālāhiṁ* (12)

	Feminine bases in *ī*.	
Nom.	*gōrī* (9) ; *rāhīu* (10), *kīlantu* (9) ; *gōlaḍī* (6) ; *kāmiṇīdu* (7)	*ṇaīu* (11), (*ṇaīō*) (11), *ṇaīhō* (18)
Acc.	(*ṇaī*) (8)	*ṇaīu* (11), (*ṇaīō*) (11)
Instr.	*paṇālīē* (12)	...
Abl.	(*ṇaīhē*) (12), (*ṇaīhō*) (12)	*ṇaīhaṁ* (13), (*ṇaīhuṁ*) (13)
Gen.	(*ṇaīē*)(14), *ṇaīhē* (13, 14), (*ṇaīhu*)(14)	(*ṇaīhaṁ*) (14)
Loc.	*ṇaīē* (17)	(*ṇaīhiṁ*) (12), (*ṇaīhiṁ*) (17)
	Feminine bases in *ū*.	
Nom.	...	*vahūu* (11), (*vahūō*) (11), (*vahūhō*) (18)
Acc.	...	*vahūu* (11), (*vahūō*) (11)
Instr.	*vahūē* (12)	*vahūhiṁ* (12)
Abl.	(*vahūhē*) (12), (*vahūhō*) (12)	(*vahūhaṁ*) (13), *vahūhuṁ* (13)
Gen.	(*vahūē*) (14), (*vahūhē*) (13, 14), (*vahūhaṁ*) (13), *vahūhuṁ* (13), (*vahūhu*) (14)	*vahūhaṁ* (14), *vahūṁhuṁ* (14)
Loc.	*vahūē* (17), *vahuhiṁ* (12)	*vahūhiṁ* (12), *vahuhiṁ* (17)
Voc.	*vahūhē* (17)	
	Bases in *i*, *u*, masc.	
Nom.	*aggi* (8), *aggī* (8)	...
Instr.	*asiēṇa* (16), *parāsuēṇa* (16)	*asiēhiṁ* (16), *isuēhiṁ* (16)
Gen.	...	-*ṇa* (15), -*ṇha* (15)
	asmad-(23).	
Nom.	*hamu*	*amhaïṁ*
Acc.	*maïṁ*, *maṁ*(9), *mō* (31)	*amhaïṁ*
Instr.	*maïṁ*	*amhahiṁ*, *amhēhi*(?*ṁ*), *amhē*
Abl.	*maha*, *majjha*, *majjhu*	*amha* (? *amhahaṁ*)
Gen.	*maha*, *majjha*, *majjhu*, *amha*	*ṇō*
Loc.	*maïṁ*	*amhasu*, *amhāsu*
	yuṣmad-(22).	
Nom.	*tuhaṁ*	*tumbhaïṁ*, *tumhē* (27)
Acc.	*païṁ*, *tō* (31)	*tumbhaïṁ*
Instr.	*païṁ*	*tumhahiṁ*
Abl. } Gen. }	*tumha*, *tumhē*, *tuha*, *tumbha* (? *tujjha*)	... ...
Loc.	*païṁ*	...
	kiṁ, *yad*, *tad*.	
Nom.	*kō* (19), *jē* (21), *tē* (? *sē*) (21), *sō* (26)	*kē* (19)
Acc.	*kaṁ* (19), *jadruṁ* (19), *tadruṁ* (19)	*kē* (19)
Instr.	...	*tēhiṁ* (12)
Gen.	*kāsu* (19), *kassu* (19), *kasu* (19), *tāsu* (27), *jadru* (20), *tadru* (20)	*tāṇṇa* (? *teṇṇi*) (31)
Loc.	*kaïṁ* (19), *jadru*(20), *tadru*(20), *tēhiṁ* (12)	*kēsu* (19)

The above are masculine, but most of them may also be used for the feminine and neuter (19).

For *idam*, the nom.-acc. sing. m. and n. is *imu* (20).

For *adas*, the same cases are *amu*, which is also used for the declensional base (20). By 31, *ēhiṁ=amībhiḥ* (? *ēbhiḥ*).

For *ētad*, the nominative and accusative singular are *ē*, *ēhu*, *ēhō*, *ēha*, or *ēhē*, *ēhē* being also used for the locative singular (21). Cf. *ēsu* (9), nom. sg. m. The declensional base is *ēha* (20).

It will be observed that the above schemes of declension differ widely from those given by Hēmacandra, and reproduced by Pischel in his grammar. But it must not be therefore assumed that the differences are due to blunders of the copyist. They are borne out in a remarkable manner by Mārkaṇḍēya, and, as a whole, may be taken as indicating the doctrine of the eastern school in regard to Apabhraṁśa.

It will also be observed that in the declension of nouns substantive, no form is laid down for the accusative singular. It is evidently assumed that this case is the same in form as the nominative singular. Compare Hēmacandra, iv, 341, 344. In verse 9, our author tells us that the acc. sing. may optionally drop its termination, but he does not give any alternative form except for *a*-bases (8).]

Fol. 44b.

dhātutōbhavatinātmanēpadaṁ tipamasōstudihamaukramanmitau |
sōhasēdihasahaṁṇaamhaïṁ tadvidhiprakṛti(3)kēṣutipsapaucya[17] || 26 ||

[17] *The akṣara* cya *at the end of the second line is superfluous. Throughout this verse* ha *may also be read as* hu.

Metre, Rathôddhatā, – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –

dhātu-tō bhavati nâtmanēpadaṁ — Mk. 57.
tip-masōs tu *di-humau* kramān matau | — Mk. 58.
sō hasēdi hasahuṁ ṇa amhaïṁ
tad-vidhi-prakṛtikau tu (?)mip-sipau || 26 || — Not in Mk.

The ātmanēpada voice of verbs is not used. The terminations of the third person singular and of the first person plural are *di* and *huṁ*, respectively, as in *sō hasēdi, hasahuṁ ṇa amhaïṁ* [*sa hasati, hasāmō na vayam*]. The first and second persons singular are the same as the original [Sanskrit].

The syllable *di* for the 3rd singular is quite clear in the MS. It is, further, authorized by the rule in verse 2. The last line is difficult, but I think that I have given the meaning intended. I take *tad-vidhi* as practically equivalent to *tat-sama*. The change from *prakṛtikēṣu* to *prakṛtikau tu* is easy in the Bengali character. I have altered *tip* to *mip*; because the latter is nowhere else provided for in this or the following verse. It is worth noting that, in the corresponding passage, Mk. gives the form for the first person plural only, and does not touch upon the other persons.

Fol. 44b.

pikacāēpenniju(?)du[18]mathikanhēṁchacha(?)nnu[19]dētāaa(?)ā[20]hidēsu
hirvvāsipō(?)hē[21]hidhanāiṁtāsu(4)(?)hu[22]sthasyatumhētuṇa(?)ktu[23]ppaāsu || 27 ||

[18] *The akṣara* du *may also be read as* dva *or* ha.

[19] *The akṣara* nnu *may also be read as* ndu.

[20] *The akṣara* ā *is doubtful. It is not clear. Perhaps the scribe meant* dma, dā *or* gha.

[21] *The akṣara* hē *is clear, but perhaps* dē *is meant.*

[22] *The akṣara* hu *may also be read as initial* ṛ, *and is, indeed, more like that letter.*

[23] *The akṣara* ktu *is pretty clear, but, with a little forcing can also be read as* hu, *which is probably intended.*

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

tip câtra, *pellē judu hatthi kaṇha*		Not in Mk.
jhēr hiṁ nu, *dēvā a aāhī dēsu*	|	Not in Mk.
hir vā sipō, *dēhi dhaṇāī tāsu* ;		Not in Mk.
hus thasya, *tumhē* (?)*tulahu ppaāsu*	|| 27 ||	Not in Mk.

The emendations in the first line are very doubtful. They are made on the assumption that the Prakrit = *pātayati yutam hastinaṁ Kṛṣṇaḥ*. The metre shows that *pelli* is certainly wrong, and, in the Bengali character, the change to *pellē* is very easy. The second line is pure conjecture. We should expect something to the effect that the termination of the third person plural (*jhi*) is *hiṁ*, I assume that the last syllable of the preceding line was originally *ṇha*, and the first syllable of this line was *jhē*. The scribe, in copying, made a conflux of the two into *ṇhē*. He mis-read *hiṁ* as *cha*, and then, to eke out the metre, repeated the *cha*. In this way *kaṇhajhērhiṁnu* became *kanhēṁchachannu*. In bad Bengali writing *hiṁ* might easily be mistaken for *cha* (হিঁ for ছ). The Prakrit of the fourth line is doubtful. I can think of no better emendation of *tuṇahu* than *tulahu* (= *tōlayatha*). *Ppaāsu* may be *prayāsam* or *pravāsam* or *prakāśam*.

The third person singular also has [the termination *ē*], as in *pellē judu hatthi Kaṇha* [*pātayati yutaṁ hastinaṁ Kṛṣṇaḥ*]. The termination of the third person plural is *hiṁ*, as in *dēvā a aāhī dēsu* [*dēvāś ca āyānti dēśam*]. The termination of the second person singular is also optionally *hi*, as in *dēhi dhaṇāī tāsu* [*dadāsi dhanāni tasya*]. The termination of the second person plural is *hu*, as in *tumhē tulahu ppaāsu* [*yūyaṁ tōlayatha prayāsam* (or *prakāśam*, or *pravāsam*)].

If my above emendations of these two verses are correct, we have the following as our author's account of Apabhraṁśa conjugation :—

	Singular.	Plural.
1.	*hasūmi* (26, d)	*hasahuṁ* (26, b)
2.	*hasasi, hasahi* (26, d; 27, c)	*hasahu* (27, d)
3.	*hasadi* (*hasēdi*), *hasē* (26, b; 27, a)	*hasahiṁ* (27, b)

Fol. 44b.

nuṭiihiīsacavāladahasihiīēdvahasīsaïkaṇhatapuppita |
kvacidapihō(5)ssaïtyādirūpaṁ lūṭimasikāpunavatrakṛñaḥsyāta || 28 ||

The akṣaras tapuppita *at the end of the first line, evidently do not belong to this verse. They have been taken from somewhere else, by a blunder of the copyist.*

Metre, Tāmarasa, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –

luṭi *ihi īsa* ca, *bālaü* [*ēhu*]		Mk. 59, 60
hasihii, ēhu hasīsaï Kaṇha ;	|	
kvacid api *hossaï* ityapi rūpaṁ ;		Not in Mk.
luṭi masi *kā* [*?kāṁ*] punar atra kṛñaḥ syāt	|| 28 ||	Mk. 61.

The suffix of the future is *ihi* or *īsa*, as in *bālaü ēhu hasihii, ēhu hasīsaï Kaṇha* [*bālaka ēṣa hasiṣyati, ēṣa hasiṣyati Kṛṣṇaḥ*]. Sometimes we also have such a form as *hossai* [*bhaviṣyati*], and, for the root *kṛ*-, in the first person plural, the base of the future is *kā* [*?kāṁ*], [so that we get *?kāmahuṁ*].

It will be observed that here the future is called *luṭ*, i. e., the periphrastic future not *lṛṭ*, the simple future. So also Mk. Mk. makes *kām*-, not *kā*-, the base of the 1st pl. fut. of *kṛ*, and, gives, as an example, *kāmahuṁ*.

(*To be continued.*)

THE HISTORY OF THE NIẒÂM SHÂHI KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

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(*Continued from Vol. L, p.* 328.)

After the dismissal of Qâẓî Beg, the wise, prudent, and brave Asad Khân was appointed *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*.[215]

At this time the vile wretch Ṣâḥib Khân, some account of whom has already been given, was prompted by his base nature and disposition to vex the people, and to shed innocent blood and outrage the honour of the poor. To such an extent did he slay and plunder the king's subjects, that the tyranny and injustice of Shaddâd the son of 'Âd appeared like the justice of Naushirvân beside the enormities which he committed. As the king had retired altogether from the business of the state and had left all power in the hands of this wretch, a gang of low-born and low-bred ruffians, the fellows and companions of that scoundrel, gathered round him and incited him to further acts of tyranny and injustice, so that the greatest sages of the time were unable to find a remedy for the state of affairs brought about by his atrocities, or the tyranny of him and his associates, under which the people and the army alike were groaning.

When the tyranny and injustice of Ṣâḥib Khân towards all men, but especially towards, the foreigners, who believed that they were specially chosen as the subjects of his oppression, passed human endurance and the slaying and plundering of foreigners both in the city and in the country became a common occurrence, and when at last Mîr Mahdî, a Ṣafavî Sayyid, became a martyr by Ṣâḥib Khân's orders,[216] 'Âdil Khân, Bânû Khân, and other officers and *silâḥdârs* went in a body and unanimously complained of the favourite's tyranny. But Ṣâḥib Khân was now the only person who had access to the king and he represented that the foreigners were traitors to their salt, and were rising in rebellion. The cries and shouts of those who sought but justice lent colour to Ṣâḥib Khân's story[217] and the king, without any inquiry into the truth of the matter, issued an order for the slaughter of these oppressed people, and Ṣâḥib Khân and his satellites, who were prepared for the success of their designs, attacked the foreigners. The Dakanî mob favoured the oppressors and the signal for the slaughter and plunder of the foreigners went forth on all sides and the mob rose to plunder and slay, so that the blood of the foreigners ran in rivers through the city and their dead lay piled in heaps, the mob slaying every foreigner whom they met. 'Âdil Khân and Bânû Khân, with some of the bravest of the foreign troops, fled to Bîjâpûr, leaving the weaker foreigners, mendicants and traders, in the hands of the mob.

215 Firishta says (ii, 276), that Asad Khân had nothing but the name of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, and that all power in the state was wielded by Ṣalâbat Khân.

216 Firishta says (ii, 274) that Ṣâḥib Khân attempted to abduct Mîr Mahdî's daughter and, on meeting with resistance, attacked his house with two or three thousand men. Mîr Mahdî's sons, who were in the service of Ṣâḥib Khân, guided the assailants to the back of the house, where Ṣâḥib Khân's elephants destroyed the wall. Ṣâḥib Khân's men then entered the house and slew the Sayyid.

217 According to Firishta it was immediately after the defeat of Ṣâḥib Khân by Husain Khân Tarshîzî that he raised the Dakanîs and Africans against the foreigners. Ṣâḥib Khân, covered with dust, appeared before the king and falsely accused the foreigners of having risen in rebellion with the object of deposing him and raising to the throne his son, Ḥusain. The king appeared at the head of the Dakanî troops and the foreigners, seeing that he had taken the field against them, retired to the kingdoms of Bîjâpûr and Golconda. Those who remained in the city were slaughtered, and Qâẓî Beg and Sayyid Murtazâ, who had not taken part in the strife, informed Ṣalâbat Khân that he must somehow contrive to bring the facts of the case to the king's knowledge. Ṣalâbat Khân succeeded in presenting a petition to the king without Ṣâḥib Khân's knowledge and received orders to prevent Ṣâḥib Khân from re-entering the city. Ṣâḥib Khân prepared to attack Ṣalâbat Khân who, not having a force sufficient to oppose him, withdrew to Mânikdaund, twenty-eight miles east of the city.

By this atrocious outrage the whole of the foreigners in Aḥmadnagar were dispersed. Most of them took refuge with 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh; some joined Sayyid Murtaẓâ, the *amîr-ul-Umrâ* of Berar, while a few, who could neither fight nor flee, hid in lanes and byways.

After the event the king took up his residence in Ṣâḥib Khân's house and stayed there for a long while. As nobody was allowed access to him, men began to doubt whether he was still alive and to give utterance to vain imaginings, but Ṣâḥib Khân who greatly feared the remnant of the foreigners, which had taken refuge with Sayyid Murtaẓâ in Berar, and who found that the king's fondness for himself was greater than ever, endeavoured to obtain an order for a general massacre of them, in order that they might be entirely rooted out and that he might be relieved from anxiety regarding them. He told the king that blood lay between him and the foreigners and that they were planning vengeance against him, wherefore he went in great fear. He implored the king to order a general massacre of them in order that his heart might be set at rest, but the king revolted from an action so base, and endeavoured in other ways to set at rest Ṣâḥib Khân's fears and to soothe him; but in spite of all these endeavours, Ṣâḥib Khân's burning hatred of the foreigners would not be quenched, and one night in his rage he let himself down from the wall of his house and fled with a small number of his followers towards Bîjâpûr. As soon as the flight of this wicked wretch was made known to the king, who could not endure the absence of his beloved, he started in pursuit of him, by forced marches, came up with him near Parenda, and delighted him by promising to carry out his will, and, having thus rendered himself obedient to his desires, sojourned with him where he had found him.[218]

But Ṣâḥib Khân was not to be put off by fair words, and was ever insistent on the fulfilment of his object, which was the slaughter of Sayyid Murtaẓâ and all the foreigners. The king, in order once more to set this wretch's mind at rest, decreed that the army should march from Parenda to Bîdar and should capture that fortress, in order that Ṣâḥib Khân might be appointed to the government of Bîdar with the title of Barîd-ul-Mulk, and that as soon as Sayyid Murtaẓâ joined the royal army in its expedition against Bîdar he might be overthrown. The foolish Ṣâḥib Khân was pacified by this means and the royal army marched from Parenda towards Bîdar. When the army reached the Makûna tank and encamped there, Ṣâḥib Khân exerted himself to the utmost to open the siege, and the royal army prepared to invest the fortress.[219]

When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh heard of the expedition of the army of Aḥmadnagar against Bîdar he sent the Riẓavî Sayyid, Mîr Muḥammad Riẓâ, as an envoy to Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh in order that he might ascertain whether the latter had any grievance against 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh and might strive to remove it and to promote peace and goodwill between the two kingdoms. The Sayyid reached the royal camp on the banks of the Bîdar tank, had an audience of the king, and acquitted himself of his mission. As long as 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh lived, Mîr Muḥammad Riẓâ remained at the court of Aḥmadnagar as the Bîjâpûr ambassador.

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218 According to Firishta, Ṣâḥib Khân was disgraced by Ṣalâbat Khân and fled to Bîdar with two or three thousand horse and many elephants. There is no mention of his having gone to Parenda—F. ii, 276, 277.

219 On the arrival of Ṣâḥib Khân and Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh before Bîdar, 'Alî Barîd Shâh, here unceremoniously called Malik Barîd, shut himself up in the fortress and appealed to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh I for help. 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh sent him 1,000 horse on condition that he gave up to him two handsome eunuchs whom he possessed. The condition was fulfilled and one of the eunuchs slew 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh.—F. ii, 88, 277, 348.

When Malik Barîd saw the determination with which the royal army pressed on preparations for the siege, he secretly sent a messenger to Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh to make professions of humble submission and service, and the king's already existing disinclination to the siege of Bîdar was thus confirmed. The king then visited Ṣâḥib Khân's tents in order to appease him and compensate him for the disapppointment which the abandonment of the siege would cause, but Ṣâḥib Khân, who had heard of the king's approach, escaped from the back of his pavilion and would not appear before the king. The next day the king summoned Asad Khân and gave to him, for delivery to Ṣâḥib Khân, a jewelled belt, each jewel in which was worth the tribute of Bîdar, with a message to the effect that if Ṣâḥib Khân coveted anything from Malik Barîd he might take this belt in lieu of what he coveted.

Ṣâḥib Khân accepted the belt and became outwardly reconciled to marching from Bîdar. On the following day the army marched from Bîdar towards Udgîr, and Ṣâḥib Khân, on the pretext that he had now entered his *jâgîr*, left the royal camp with his *ḥavâldârs* and with the troops which his friends had placed at his disposal, and marched through the country laying waste and devastating both cities and districts by his tyranny and oppression whereever he went. Royal commands were issued for his recall, but he paid no heed to them and pursued his obstinate and contumacious course. He even aspired to royal power, hankered after the royal umbrella and *âftâbgîr*, and began to issue to the chiefs of the army farmans such as those issued by kings and to endeavour to attract the officers to his cause by means of deceitful promises, until at last by the agency of Jamshîd Khân, Khudâvand Khân and Bahrî Khân he met his death in the village of Ranjanî[220] as will soon be related.

The king halted one day in Udgîr and on the following day marched thence towards Kandhâr. When the royal army entered the districts of Kandhâr, spies and informers reported to the king that owing to his retirement and to the domination and the supremacy of Ṣâḥib Khân, the army and the cultivators, nay all the inhabitants, both of the city and of the country, were firmly persuaded that he was dead and that the throne was vacant, and that a great body of them had therefore gone to the fort of Lohogaṛh where the kotwal Jûjâr Khân had given his daughter in marriage to the pious prince Burhân, had released that prince from confinement and had left him free to depart with a strong force, consisting largely of Foreigners who went in fear of Ṣâḥib Khân, and that as Aḥmadnagar was depleted of troops, it was possible that it might fall into the possession of Burhân.[221]

When the king heard this news he was much perplexed and perturbed, fearing lest fate should now play him a scurvy trick, and he therefore sent Asad Khân to quell the prince's rebellion. Asad Khân with his troop left the royal camp and marched with all speed to

220 The name of this place is left blank in the India Office MS. I have supplied it from Firishta (ii, 278). Ranjanî is situated in 19° 39′ N. and 76° 11′ E.

221 Burhân-ud-dîn, brother of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh I. He ascended the throne of Aḥmadnagar on May 7, 1591, as Burhân Niẓâm Shâh II, and it was after him that this work was named. He was detained by his brother as a state prisoner in the fortress of Lohogaṛh, where he had a *jâgîr* assigned to him and lived in ease and comfort. When Murtaẓâ went in pursuit of Ṣâḥib Khân to Bîdar, many of the *amîrs* wrote to Burhân informing him that his brother was mad and unfit to reign and inviting him to seize the throne. Burhân persuaded the commandant of Lohogaṛh to release him and hastened to Junnâr, where he raised a force of five or six thousand horse. He then assumed the royal title and advanced on Aḥmadnagar. Murtaẓâ, on receiving the news, hastened back from Bîdar and reached Aḥmadnagar a day before Burhân. On his return he mounted an elephant, and with a view to silencing persistent rumours of his death, rode through the city. Stopping at a druggist's shop he asked the druggist whether he had any medicine for madness. The druggist said that he had, and the king said that he did not know whether it was he, who had retained the crown and royal title while living the life of a recluse, or his brother, who was attacking him without a cause, that was mad. The druggist replied that the king might set his mind at rest. He was not mad, for the affairs of the kingdom had been very well managed. The madman was Burhân, who had left a life of ease and comfort to attack a kind and generous brother. The king was much pleased, and gave the druggist a purse of a hundred *hûns*.—F. ii, 298, 299.

Ahmadnagar. The king then, without paying further heed to the affair of Ṣaḥib Khân, marched from Kandhâr towards the capital, and when he reached the bank of the Godâvari he decided that it would be better to turn thence into Berar and to summon the *amîrs* of that province around him in order that they might march against Burhân with him. When some of the officers of the state and courtiers who were in attendance understood the king's design from what he said, they were unanimous in dissuading him from it and pointed out that to turn aside towards Berar would be far from wise and could but lead others to despise him (as one who shunned the fray). The king hearkened to their advice and marched on Ahmadnagar.

Asad Khân, who had started for Ahmadnagar before the king and had marched with the greatest speed, found, when he reached the city, a number of Foreigners, who for fear of Ṣaḥib Khân, were hiding in holes and corners. He armed and drilled them and encouraged them with hopes of the royal favour and he now wrote to the king saying that Burhân, with an army eager for the fray, had left the town of Junnâr and was now marching on the capital, and he urged the king to advance rapidly on Ahmadnagar in order to save the state.

When the royal army entered Ahmadnagar district, the king, with a view to pleasing and satisfying his subjects, who until now had heard nothing of him but his name, mounted an elephant and rode about through the city and the bazars, and all the Foreigners who had been lurking in holes and corners came forward, and once more entered the royal service.

The next day, at sunrise, scouts reported that prince Burhân, with nearly 3,000 horse and five or six thousand infantry had advanced to the village of Kânûr, two *gâû* distant from Ahmâdnagar, and was encamped there before the garden of the old water course. The king appointed Asad Khân to the command of the advanced guard and placed all the Foreigners under him, and then himself came forth from the city. Asad Khân marched to meet Burhân's army and a battle ensued, in the course of which some were slain and others wounded on both sides. It was now reported to the prince that the king was marching against him in person. The prince had hitherto had no intimation that the king was living [222] and had marched on Ahmadnagar in the belief that he was the rightful successor to a vacant throne, but now that he was aware that the king was living he paid him the respect due to him and rode off the field. Jûjâr Khân and some others were killed in the fight and Bahâdur Khân lost an eye by an arrow. A soldier severed Jûjâr Khân's head from his body and took it to the king.

The king then commanded that Asad Khân should hasten in pursuit of the prince, but should be careful that nobody was slain. The prince made for the fort of Ahmadnagar. This affair took place on *Rabi-us-sani* 11, and it is a strange coincidence that the words یازدهم ماه ربیع الثانی [223] give the date of the year, which was 988 (May 27, A.D. 1580).

Asad Khân in obedience to the royal orders rode a short distance in pursuit of the prince but could find no trace of him[224]. As these matters will be fully dealt with in the account of the reign of Burhân NizâmShâh, this brief record of them will suffice here.

LXXXV.—THE QUELLING OF THE REBELLION OF ṢAḤIB KHÂN.

When the royal army returned from Kandhâr to the capital, the wretch Ṣâḥib Khân did not join it,[225] but occupied himself in oppressing the people and devastating both town and country in his *jâgîr*, and although *farmâns* for his recall were issued repeatedly he, blinded by perversity and foredoomed, declined to obey them. Asad Khân and many other courtiers and officers who had suffered from the overbearing and tyrannical conduct of this wretch, now represented to the king that this low-born scoundrel had transgressed

222 Burhân's followers were under the impression that the king was dead, and it was in this belief that they were supporting him, but Burhân himself seems to have been well aware that his brother was alive. Sayyid 'Ali could not, however, describe his patron as a rebel.

223 The chronogram gives the date 987, which is a year short.

224 Burhân, on this occasion, fled to Bijâpûr, but returned to Ahmadnagar two years later in the guise of a *darvish*—F. ii, 299

225 According to Firishta (ii. 277) he went to Paithan.

all bounds, and in the extremity of his folly, ignorance, pride, and arrogance aimed at royal power, and had gone forth into the land oppressing the people and raising strife everywhere until the people, the army, the *amîrs* and the officers of state could endure his tyranny no longer and had left their land and hereditary homes in a body, while tumults arose everywhere and on all sides. They said that unless the king took the field in person against this rebel he might soon become so strong that it would not be possible to overthrow him. They so plied the king with arguments of this nature that orders were at length issued to the effect that Sayyid Murtazâ and the *amîrs* of Berar should march against Ṣâḥib Khân, and either bring him to Aḥmadnagar or drive him forth of the kingdom, and thus free the people from his tyranny.

Sayyid Murtazâ, who had for years been anxious for permission to act thus, seized his opportunity and sent Jamshîd Khân, Khudâvand Khân, and Baḥrî Khân with other officers and a body of troops as an advanced guard to act against Ṣâḥib Khân, while he followed them. These *amîrs*, marching with the rapidity of the wind, came up with Ṣâḥib Khân at the village of Ranjanî.

Ṣâḥib Khân was quite ready to fight and began to prepare for battle, but the *amîrs* sent a message to him to say that they had come not to fight, but to pay their respects to him. The fool believed them and hastened forth to meet his death. When the *amîrs* met that prince of evil-doers they at once slew him and quenched the fire of strife and tyranny with the water of the sword, freeing the people of the country and of the towns from his oppression.[226]

When the news of Ṣâḥib Khân's death was brought to the king he was much grieved and vexed, and conceived a hatred for all the *amîrs* and officers of state. He withdrew entirely from all public business and formed the intention of abdicating and of retiring entirely from the world. He frequently told his more intimate courtiers that he devoutly and sincerely wished to repair what was past and to atone for his past errors, to which end he proposed to retire altogether from the world and to devote the rest of his life to an attempt to secure eternal happiness. He said that he had a desire to travel and to make pilgrimage to Makkah, Madînah, and to other holy places, to spend the rest of his life in acquiring merit for the world to come, and after life's worldly disputes to attend to his own welfare. He said that he knew that the affairs of the state could not go on without a just ruler, that in this matter reference should be made to the Sayyids, who were the true rulers of men, and that they should select one of them, who should seem to be most fitted for the office, to manage the affairs of the state in order that he himself might abdicate. The courtiers would not assent to the king's proposal, and said that they were unable to find anybody who would be equal to this great task. But the king had become weary of his crown and, with a few of his confidants, passed over secretly, in the guise of a *darvîsh*, into Humâyûnpûr. When the *amîrs*, the officers of state, and the officers of the army became aware of the king's

226 According to Firishta, Ṣâḥib Khân sent to Baḥrî Khân, the Qizilbâsh in Ranjanî, demanding his daughter in marriage and Baḥrî Khân replied that it was not fitting that a fowl-seller should mate with the sisters and daughters of *amîrs*. Ṣâḥib Khân marched on Ranjanî, and Baḥrî Khân, who had not sufficient force to oppose him, fled to Jâlna, where he joined Jamshîd Khân Shîrâzî. Meanwhile Sayyid Murtazâ Sabzavârî, in obedience to the royal command, sent Khudâvand Khân and other *amîrs* to Ṣâḥib Khân to advise him to return at once to Aḥmadnagar, but secretly instructed Khudâvand Khân to kill Ṣâḥib Khân if he could. The mission was joined at Jâlna by Jamshîd Khân and Baḥrî Khân and then went on to Ṣâḥib Khân's camp, where they sarcastically begged that they might be admitted to the honour of an interview. Ṣâḥib Khân, who was drinking wine and apparently intended to receive them with scant respect, failed to perceive the sarcasm and gave orders for their admission. On perceiving that they were armed, he rose to receive them with proper ceremony. Khudâvand Khân, while embracing him, cried out that Ṣâḥib Khân was trying to crush him, and suddenly putting forth his strength crushed Ṣâḥib Khân's ribs, threw him to the ground, and finished him with his dagger. Ṣâḥib Khân's force then dispersed. Sayyid Murtazâ reported to the king that he had obeyed his commands with regard to Ṣâḥib Khân, but that when his messengers had reached his camp Ṣâḥib Khân had foolishly attacked them, and had lost his life in consequence. The king was much grieved by his favourite's death, but the satisfaction was so general that he could not venture to take any steps in the matter.—F ii, 278.

design, they hastened after him and had an audience of him near Humâyûnpûr. Here they, with the Sayyids and learned men, saluted him and implored him to resume the reins of government, saying that God had created him to rule the kingdom, that the regulation of the affairs of all its inhabitants depended on him, that to forego so great a task was reprehensible in the eyes both of God and of the people, and that as the happiness of the world depended on the due exercise of authority, no greater act of worship that this could be conceived. The king replied that he was sick of worldly affairs, that he was firmly resolved to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of 'Alî, and that they might elect whom they would to the throne, and leave him in peace. The Sayyids, the learned men, the *amîrs* and *vazîrs*, chief among them Sayyid Shâh Ḥaidar, bowed their heads to the ground and earnestly told the king that his design was neither wise nor permissible by the sacred law, as its fulfilment would lead to strife and disturbances and the ruin of the country and its people ; and especially of the Sayyids and learned men from Khurâsân and 'Irâq who had lived in peace and happiness under the protection of the king and who, by his removal of himself from the head of affairs, would be plunged into grief, trouble, and annoyance, a state of affairs which could not be but displeasing both to God and to His prophet. The arguments of the Sayyids and learned men convinced the king and he desisted from his purpose of abdicating, and appointed Shâh Ḥaidar *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, at the same time saying that as God had entrusted the government of His people to himself, so he in like manner handed the care of them and their affairs to Shâh Ḥaidar, whom he enjoined so to deal with the people thus placed under his care that he might earn their gratitude and God's reward, by promulgating the divine commands and insisting on the observance of the sacred law.

When the king had concluded his counsels to Shâh Ḥaidar, he returned to the capital and passed his time in ease and enjoyment in the fort of Aḥmadnagar, entrusting the whole administration to Shâh Ḥaidar, before whom all the *amîrs* and officers of state used to assemble and transact the business of the kingdom.

When Shâh Ḥaidar had acquired the supreme power in the state, he forgot the king's counsels and decided questions in accordance with his own personal predilections so that in a short time not only the great officers of state, but all the army, were loud in their complaints of him, for they feared and abhorred his violent behaviour and his easily excited wrath, and Maulânâ Vâlihî, one of the most witty and versatile men of the time, satirized him in the speech of Khurâsân as follows :—

'The king's mind in his cups was not so distraught
As the people were dissatisfied with Asad Khan's *pîshvâ*.'

بوقت کیف چنان شه دماغ پریشان نه ∴ که خلق راضی به پیشوای اسدخان نه

Although Asad Khân had made great endeavours to bring about Shâh Ḥaidar's elevation to the office of *pîshvâ*, Shâh Ḥaidar was very suspicious of him, and was ever compassing his overthrow. At this time he made a pretext that some *amîrs* should be sent to the borders of Burhânpûr in order that they might guard the kingdom from the inroads of enemies. Asad Khân, with a number of other *amîrs*, was appointed and was dispatched to Daulatâbâd.

One affair which alienated all, both gentle and simple, from Shâh Ḥaidar, was his conduct in the matter of the *jâgîrs*, which had originally been granted to the late Shâh Ṭâhir. Some four hundred *parganas* had been thus allotted and these were now all held in *in'âm* by various *amîrs* in close attendance on the court. Shâh Ḥaidar, without any *farmân* from the king, transferred the whole to his own name and thus transferred from their holdings many who were not willing to leave them, even when receiving compensation. This matter distressed the king greatly and although he endeavoured to prevail on the dispossessed *amîrs* to accept other *jâgîrs* in lieu of those which they had lost, he failed to do so.

At this time the king gave orders for the preparation of a great banquet, and the officers and servants of the household set to work to prepare it, and on this occasion Shâh Ḥaidar ignored the orders which he had received from the king in the matter of prohibiting forbidden

things and removed all prohibitions from them. When the king was informed of this removal of prohibitions, he wrote to Shâh Ḥaidar asking how he, a Sayyid, could thus set at nought the commands of the Sacred Law and how he could justify his breach of the royal commands. Shâh Ḥaidar made many excuses and endeavoured to appease the king, but all to no purpose, and one day in the course of the feasting, the king, on the pretext that he desired to walk in the garden of the watercourse, parted from all the *amîrs* and *vazîrs*, who were enjoying themselves, and made off to Daulatâbâd. The first person to discover his absence, and to follow him and pay his respects, was Ṣalâbat Khân. When Shâh Ḥaidar and the other officers of state and courtiers discovered that the king had left for Daulatâbâd, they followed him with all haste and paid their respects to him, some, while he was on the way, and some in Daulatâbâd itself. When the king reached Daulatâbâd, he summoned Asad Khân, who was encamped with his troops in that neighbourhood, and addressed them in open *darbâr*, saying that he was tired of the business of the state and of worldly affairs and purposed to make a pilgrimage to Makkah. All present implored the king not to abandon the ship of state, pointing out that he alone had been chosen by God to guide it and that his desertion of it would be displeasing to God and would lead to the ruin of the kingdom and its inhabitants. Before all the rest, Sayyid Mîr Muḥammad Muqîm Rizavî uttered affecting words in the endeavour to turn the king from his purpose, and all the learned men delivered *fatvâs* in accordance with the scriptures and traditions, and with tears implored the king not to leave them, until at length the king, taking compassion on his subjects, abandoned his project. He then called Asad Khân to him in private and again requested him to undertake the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*. Asad Khân declared that he was unable alone to undertake the duties of so responsible a post, and requested that Ṣalâbat Khân might be associated with him in the office and might relieve him of some of its duties. Ṣalâbat Khân was a Circassian slave whom Shâh Ṭahmâsb, Shâh of Persia, had sent as a gift to the late king. His wit, readiness and knowledge had advanced him in the royal service and he daily advanced in dignity until at length he ascended the seat of the *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, as will be set forth. The king tried hard to persuade Asad Khân to accept office without a colleague, but Asad Khân persisted in his refusal to accept it unless Ṣalâbat Khân were associated with him. At length the king said, 'You are now making Ṣalâbat Khân your colleague of your own free will, but the day will come when you will repent it and will taste the bitterness of collaboration with him.' And the king's words came true, for Ṣalâbat Khân mastered Asad Khân, and day by day deprived him of some power in public business until at length he brought about his dismissal and threw him into prison, as will be seen.

Asad Khân then, in accordance with the royal command, introduced Ṣalâbat Khân to the presence and caused him to be invested with the *sar-u-pâ* of the office of *vakîl*, just as he himself was invested, and the two then undertook the duties of their office and settled all matters of state. After Asad Khân and Ṣalâbat Khân had been inducted into the office of *vakîl*, the king ordered that Shâh Ḥaidar should move to the town of Daulatâbâd and reside there until he received further orders. He was afterwards transferred from the town to the fortress of Daulatâbâd and remained there for a time unemployed and in retirement. He was then recalled by the royal command to Aḥmadnagar and was sent thence to the port of Râjpûrî which was appointed to him as his *muqâsâ*.

Some days later the king returned from Daulatâbâd to Aḥmadnagar, where he took up his dwelling in the old garden of the watercourse and there remained for twelve years in seclusion and retirement, in no way concerning himself directly with the affairs of state,

while Asad Khân and Ṣalâbat Khân repaired daily to the neighbourhood of that garden and decided causes there, and if a case demanded the royal orders, they approached the king through a young eunuch who had access to him and carried out such orders as they received through the same source. Occasionally the king would issue written orders to one of the officers of state or courtiers. Those in the royal service and those who had petitions to make approached and attached themselves to Asad Khân and sometimes to Salâbat Khân, while there were some who used to pay equal court to both. Thus the learned and accomplished Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq, Urdûbâdî, who was from 'Irâq and was a great wit, and was at this time in the royal service, wrote the following two couplets on the state of affairs :—

'In my perplexity, bewilderment and confusion I am by night a partisan of Asad Khân, and by day a follower of Salâbat Khân,
That is to say, by the tyranny of fate, which cherishes the base,
I, poor wretch that I am, am by turns a *Gabr*, and a Christian.'[227]

The king passed most of his time in seclusion in reading books, and when he came across any difficult or knotty points he would lay them before the learned men of the court for solution, and the learned men, having resolved them, would write their replies and submit them for the king's perusal. I shall now record some of these questions and answers, but I would here remark that as all the learned men of the court wrote treatises on the questions laid before them by the king, I cannot reproduce all these without interfering with the continuity of this history. I shall therefore content myself with reproducing some of the replies given to the king's questions by the learned Shâh Fatḥullâh Shîrâzî, the most learned and deeply read man of the age. It was at this time that I came from 'Irâq to Aḥmadnagar, and learnt something of these disquisitions, but if at any time I am in doubt regarding any matter, I shall mention the fact.[228]

(To be continued.)

VACHANAS ATTRIBUTED TO BASAVA.

TRANSLATED BY RAO SAHIB P. G. HALKATTI, M.L.C.

(Continued from p. 12.)

N. *Hare Faith.*

1. They say, 'God is fond of sound.' Nay, God is not fond of sound. They say, 'God is fond of the Vedas.' Nay, God is not fond of the Vedas. The life of Râvaṇa who knew the sound was cut short to one half. The head of Brahmâ who knew the Vedas was cut off. Hence, He is neither fond of sound, nor is He fond of the Vedas. But our Kudalasaṅgama Deva is fond of faith.

2. If you wish to acquire this treasure called Faith, you should first anoint your eye with the ointment called love of God. The knowledge of the servants of our Kudalasaṅgama Deva is itself a sovereign medicine.

3. It destroyed the five Brahmâs. It hurled away the Praṇava[12] Mantra. It drove away karmas. It stood above actions. It broke the teeth of the Âgamas.[13] Such is the elephant of faith, belonging to Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

227 This is a hit at Salâbat Khân's Christian origin. It is not clear why Asad Khân should be referred to as a Gabr or Zoroastrian. He was a Georgian by origin and therefore, probably a Christian before he was captured by Muslims.

228 I have not reproduced any of the trivial questions which perplexed the disordered mind of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh.

12 The sacred syllable *Om*. 13 These are manuals of teaching and practice used in certain Śaiva sects.

4. They cannot believe, they cannot trust, and they call in vain. These worldly men know not how to believe. If they believe and call, will not Siva answer them ? But if they call without believing and trusting it is all useless. Our Kndalasaṅgama Deva says, " Let them shout from the top of a tree ! "

5. I am not one to ask like Dâs for imperishable treasure. I am not one to ask like Chola that it should rain gold. Be not afraid, be not afraid. I am not one like these. O my Father, Kudalasaṅgama Deva, favour me always only with that excellent faith in Thee.

O. *Worship with a Pure Heart.*

1. You bring cart-loads of flowers and bathe the Liṅga whereever you please. But do worship without taking such trouble. For God does not want you to take such trouble. Does Kudalasaṅgama Deva become soft merely by the use of water ?

2. If an angry man bathes the Liṅga with water, that water is a stream of blood. If a sinful man offers a flower, that flower is a wound from a sharp blade. I see none that loves God, except Channayya the Mahâr. I see none that loves, except Kakkayya the tanner. It is Machayya the washerman who is all-pervading. Ah, they are Thy relatives, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

3. You worship the Liṅga and do what ought not to be done. This is like letting fly an arrow at a deer under cover of a white ox. Our Kudalasaṅgama Deva does not receive worship from the hands of a thief or an adulterer.

P. *Meditation upon the Liṅga.*

1. Ah, my bodily connections are severed, and I know no other connection whatsoever. I am strongly drawn towards Thee ; I cannot part from thee. O thou smiling-faced king, give me attention. I am in haste to pierce Thy mind and enter, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. I will not allow greed, anger, or joy to touch my senses, and so I shall make my conduct divine. I will act with fear and faith. With no deceit in my mind, I will worship with a pure heart, and so join myself to Kudalasaṅgama Deva with all the force of my life.

3. O when shall I gaze at the Liṅga in my palm with my eyes showering down limitless tears? O when shall the sight of the Liṅga be my life ? O when shall union with the Liṅga be my life ? When shall I lose all connection with my bodily disorders, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, and say continuously, "Liṅga, Liṅga, Liṅga" ?

Stage II: Mahesa : Divine Power.

A. *Be Firm.*

1. Does a servant, having laid hold, let go ? Does a servant, having et go, still hold? Does a servant fail in courtesy ? Does a servant tell lies ? If he fails in natural goodness, Kudalasaṅgama Deva will slit his nose, so that his teeth may fall out.

2. There *is* an obstinacy wanted in a servant, *viz.*, that he should not covet other people's wealth; that he should not desire other man's wives ; that he should not seek other gods; that he should crush adverse critics ; that he should believe God's grace is real. Our Kudalasaṅgama Deva is not pleased with those that are not obstinate.

3. You should be like a weapon in the hands of a warrior. You should endure even though they plague you. When your head is struck off, and your body falls upon the ground, if you still shout, our Kudalasaṅgama Deva will be pleased with you.

4. I am severe in justice ; I have no pity nor mercy ; I oppose the whole world. I am not to be afraid even of other servants, because I live in the royal lustre of Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

B. *Face Difficulties.*

1. If you, being a devotee of God, approach Him, thinking that He will take you up to heaven, He will first pound you ; He will crush you ; He will make you dust ; He will make you ink. But if you still firmly bel eve in Kudalasaṅgama Deva, He will at last make you Himself.

2. If I say 'I believe Thee,' if I say 'I love Thee,' if I say 'I offer myself to Thee,' Thou wilt first shake my body; Thou wilt shake my wealth; Thou wilt shake my mind, and so examine me. If I fear not, our Kudalasaṅgama Deva will then tremble at my faith.

3. Do not expect, because God is good, that you will get only good from Him. Is one that torments you fearfully good? Is one that makes you cry and laugh good? But if you work as a slave without being alarmed and frightened, Kudalasaṅgama Deva will surely offer Himself to you.

C. *Be Fearless.*

1. I will not lose courage, how much so ever it may cost me. Even though my bones protrude, my blood-vessels be torn, and my bowels drop out, I will not lose courage. Even though my head be torn off and my trunk falls to the ground, still my tongue shall say, "O Kudalasaṅgama, I submit myself to Thee, I submit myself to Thee."

2. Look at his house: it is the house of a poor man. Look at his mind: it is great. He is pure in his touch, and courageous in all his limbs. He has nothing for his necessities; yet he has everything when the need arises. The servants of Kudalasaṅgama Deva are independent and courageous.

3. One that runs away is not a soldier, and one that begs is not a devotee. Hence, I will not run, nor will I beg, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

4. I am not a soldier who is all hollow within. I am a soldier who is watching for Thy time. I am not a soldier who would break and fly. For hear, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, to me death itself is the great festival of Mahâ Navamî!

D. *There is One God.*

1. Thou art the only Lord and Thou art eternal: this is Thy title. I proclaim it so that the whole world may know. There is no word beyond the Almighty God, the Almighty God. Paśupati is the only God in the whole universe. In all the heavenly world, the mortal world and the nether world, there is only one God, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. I did not see those so-called gods alive, when the four *yugas* and the eighteen cycles of those *yugas* were being destroyed; nor do I see them now. I did not see them, when all was burning; nor do I see them now. Neither that day nor this day, do I see those gods, except Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

3. There are some gods that always watch by the doors of the houses of men. They do not depart, although told to depart. They are worse than dogs, these same gods. There are some gods that live by begging from men. What can they give? But our Kudalasaṅgama Deva will give you whatever you ask.

4. How can I say that the god that, filled with lac, melts down, or the god that, being touched with fire, twists itself, is equal to Him? How can I say that the God that is sold, when the time comes, is equal to Him? How can I say that the god that is buried, when there is fear, is equal to Him? Kudalasaṅgama Deva is the only one God whose state is natural, who is in union with truth, eternal, pure and chaste.

5. O think: there is only one husband to a wife that loves. So there is only one God to the devotee that believes. Oh, do not seek the company of other gods. To speak of other gods is adultery. If Kudalasaṅgama Deva sees it, He will cut your nose.

E. *God is Universal.*

1. Ah, wherever I look, there Thou art, O God! Thou Thyself art one with a universal eye. Thou Thyself art one with a universal mouth. Thou Thyself art one with universal arms. Thou Thyself art one with universal feet, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. Thy width is as wide as the universe, wide as the sky, wide as the widest. Thy auspicious feet are far beyond the nether world, and Thy auspicious crown far far above the globe of the Universe. O Liṅga, thou art unknowable, immeasurable, impalpable, and incomparable, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

F. *Do not Believe in Expiatory Ceremonies.*

1. A Brâhman by caste incurs great sins. For, he holds forth his hands for sins committed by anybody. Is such an one equal to the devotee of God ? What shall I call him who, saying that he will transform Mâchala-devî, a woman of the carpenter class, into a woman of high caste, makes her pass through the gold image of a cow, cooks food in milk and eats it on castor-oil leaves, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva ?

2. O you who have committed sinful deeds ! O you who have killed a Brâhman ! Say only once, "I yield myself to God." If you say once, "I submit," all sins break and fly away. Even mountains of gold will not suffice for expiations. Hence, say only once "I submit," to that only one, our Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

G. *Do not Sacrifice.*

1. Leave it alone, that Horse-sacrifice, leave it alone, that Initiation into the Ajapa Mantra. Leave it alone, that offering in fire, and those countings of the Gayatri[14] spell. Leave them alone, those charms and incantations for bewitching people. But the company and the words of the servants of Kudalasaṅgama Deva, mark, are greater than any of these.

2. Your destiny does not allow you to look forward. You are like an ox that turns ceaselessly round and round the block of wood in the oil mill. O mortals, be not ruined in vain, but worship the Liṅga ceaselessly. Our Kudalasaṅgama Deva is not pleased with those thread-bearers that repeat the 'mantra' of cutting the necks of other creatures.[15]

H. *Do not believe in Astrology, Devils and Omens.*

1. O Liṅga, whence comes the auspicious junction of the stars, whence the obstacles of the stars ? Whence come the ill aspect of the stars, and the unpropitiousness of the day ? O Liṅga, to one who unceasingly meditates upon Thee, whence is their karma ?

2. Do not say 'that day,' 'this day' or any other day. There is only one day to him who says, "O Śiva, I submit." There is only one day to him who unceasingly meditates upon Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

3. With one who knows not the subtle path of God, the time of the eclipse is far superior to the twenty-four tithis.[16] The fast day is far superior to 'Sankranta.'[16] Sacrificial offerings, and the daily rites are far superior to Vyatipâta[16] ! But to one who constantly meditates on Kudalasaṅgama Deva, such meditation is far superior to innumerable countings of mantras and the performance of severe penances.

4. Oh see, devils and ghosts are not far away ! What in reality are devils ? It is a devil if your eyes see amiss. It is a devil if your tongue speaks amiss. It is a devil if you forget meditation on Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

5. There is a snake-charmer who is going out with a snake in his hand to ascertain, with his noseless wife, an auspicious time for his son's marriage. Then he sees on his way another snake-charmer with a snake in his hand, coming before him, accompanied by his

14 The most sacred prayer in the *Ṛigveda*, found in III, lxii, 10.

15 Those Brâhman priests who wear the sacred thread and repeat the liturgy which accompanies animal sacrifice.

16 These are astronomical terms used in determining lucky and unlucky days.

noseless wife. At that he says he has had a bad omen, and returns. Do look at this wise man! His own wife is a noseless woman, and he himself holds a snake in his hand. O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, what am I to call this dog who, not realizing his own noseless woman and his own meanness, speaks ill of others?

I. *Do not believe in Caste.*

1. Do they look for beauty in an enthroned king? Should they look for caste, when one is a worshipper of God, Liṅga? Why, it is the word of God that the devotee's body is His body.

2. None but the ancients can know it. O stop, stop! Only the devotee of God is of the highest caste. Hence no distinction of caste should be observed. He is neither born nor unborn. The servant of Kudalasaṅgama Deva is limitless.

3. When a devotee comes to my house, with the symbol of God[17] on his person, if I then ask him what his caste is, I adjure Thee by Thy name, I adjure Thee by the name of Thy Pramathas, let my head be a fine, let my head be a fine, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva!

4. What if he has read the four Vedas? He that has no Liṅga is a Mahâr—What if he is a Mahâr?—He that has the Liṅga is Benares. His clusters of words are good. He is holy in all the worlds. His *prasâd*[18] is nectar to me. It is said, "My devotee is dear to me, even though he is a Mahâr. He is acceptable to me. He should be worshipped even as I am." Since it is so said, then he that worships Kudalasaṅgama Deva, and knows Him, is greater than the six philosophies and is pure in all the worlds.

5. The Vedas trembled and trembled; the Śâstras retired and stood aside; Logic became dumb; the Âgamas went out and withdrew; for our Kudalasaṅgama Deva dined in the house of Channayya, the Mahâr.

6. What does it matter what caste he belongs to? He that wears the symbol of God is of the highest caste. It has been said "The caste of him who is born from God is sacred and he is free from births. His mother is Umâ and his father is Rudra, and certainly his caste is Iśvara." Since it is so said, I will accept the remains of their food and will give them my child in marriage. O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, I place my trust in thy servants.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA, vol. II, pt. I. The Talaing Plaques of the Ananda Text. Ed. CHAS. DUROISELLE. Archæological Survey of Burma. Rangoon, Govt. Press, 1921.

The glazed plaques on the Ananda temple at Pagan, Upper Burma, have long interested students, but as the legends are all in Talaing, the actual information about them has always been meagre. There are 389 of these plaques on this site which illustrate in series (and hence their importance) the stories contained in the last ten *Jâtakas*. The plaques are, of course, old and have become much damaged by time and the hand of ignorant man wishing to preserve the temple by annual doses of whitewash. It is therefore important to have these legends adequately deciphered, read and explained. The lasting value of this volume of the *Epigraphia Birmanica* lies in the contribution it contains towards an adequate Talaing Dictionary.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR INSTITUTE, Vol., II, pt. 2, 1921, Poona City.

At pp. 201 ff. is the First Report on the Search for Avesta, Persian and Arabic Manuscripts by Professor Nadirshah Dorabji Minocher-Homji. I wish to draw attention to this very valuable work which I feel sure all those interested in Indian research will heartily welcome. It is specially interesting to know that many invaluable documents will in this way find a home in the Bhandarkar Institute.

R. C. TEMPLE.

17 That is the linga.

18 Food from a god's table is called *Prasâd*, a grace gift: the writer says that food from a Mahâr devotee's plate will be *Prasâd* to him.

FURTHER SPECIMENS OF NEPÂLÎ.

BY R. L. TURNER.

OF the following passages the first three continue the story begun in the 'Specimens of Nepâlî' which have already appeared, *ante.*, Vol. L, pp. 84-92. It is the story of the first phase of the British advance in Palestine which, beginning with the capture of Gaza in November of 1917, ended with the seizing of the pass leading from the plains to Jerusalem and the capture of the commanding height of Nebi Samwil. In these operations one Indian and two Gurkha battalions played a not unimportant part. They were the 58th Vaughan's Rifles F.F and the 2nd and 3rd battalions of the 3rd Queen Alexandra's Own Gurkha Rifles. There were at that time only four regular Indian Infantry battalions in the attacking army; and, when on the 19th of November the 21st Corps was swung round into the Judæan Hills, these battalions found themselves in the familiar environment of hill-fighting. Entirely without artillery support, in the face of powerful enemy artillery, as advance guard to the 75th Division, they drove the Turk from ridge to ridge, until a panting charge through dense mist and rain and the gathering darkness of the evening of the 20th won them the village of Kuryet-el-Enab (the ancient Kirjath Jearim), at the very summit of the pass.

Afterwards on the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd the two Gurkha battalions and the 123rd Outram's Rifles played a leading part in the attempt of the 21st Corps, reduced by more than a fortnight's continuous fighting, to cut off Jerusalem from the north. The attempt failed, and Jerusalem did not fall for another month; but the many graves beneath the terraces of El Jib (Gibeon) and on the slopes of Nebi Samwil (Mizpah) give witness to the gallantry of the attempt. Nebi Samwil itself was seized and held: and though attack after attack surged up its slopes, while Turkish guns west and north of Jerusalem pounded its summit and destroyed the mosque (for it was the scene of some of the bloodiest fighting of the campaign), it never left our hands. Englishmen and Scots, Gurkhas and Indians fought over its blood-stained stones. At one time all that we held was the courtyard of the old Crusaders' Church, into which the remnants of the 3/3rd Gurkhas closed, to hold it to the last. But the Scots of the 52nd Division came to their aid; and the hill was held, to the doom of all Turkish hopes of retaining Jerusalem.

The fourth passage is a song composed and sung by men of the 2/3rd Gurkhas on the day on which the conclusion of the armistice with Turkey was announced. The English reader will recognise the language of the chorus. The effect is curiously pathetic. This battalion was mobilised with the Meerut Division for France in August 1914, and landed again in India on the 31st March 1919, only almost at once to supply drafts for the fighting in Afghanistan.

The last passage is written in standard spelling, since it was copied by a Gurkha, not by myself. Often have I heard these and similar songs sung, now, it may be, by a solitary little figure sitting on the bank of the Suez Canal or under a fig-tree on the Plain of Sharon, now to an admiring audience of his fellows sheltered in some Cave of Adullam from the rainstorms driving over the bleak stony hills of Judæa or Galilee. They may not be great poetry, but they are real; and a line such as this:

Dasaĩ ra târikh unis sau pandra mârca kâ mainâ mã
or
Pacîsai târikh unis sau pandra Siṭambar mainâ mã

cannot be denied the having a certain Homeric flavour. The English '10th March 1915' looks and sounds so much more prosaic.

I.

A BOMB ACCIDENT.

Teã bâṭi câ biskuṭ khaierə ʌgari bəryũ. Jânda *jânda* ê kʌmpʌni le (tyô caur mã bhâgnə nə sʌkerə Turki ka tinoṭa sipaí bʌm phâlne manche *lugi* bʌseka rêchʌn) tiniheru lai pʌkrerə pʌchi pʌṭhaí diu. Tyô din mã kêi lʌraí bhaienə. *Râti* mã Turki kâ rêlwe mã pikʌṭ bʌsyo. Tyô *rât* bhʌri (Turkiheru kâ ghɔ̃ra bhaĩsi *khʌcəreru* lai Turki le âphe mârerə gâka rêchʌn) gʌnaierə *bʌsi* sʌknu bhaienə. Ṭhûla *kʌṭhin* le rât *kâṭyo*. *Ujelo* bhɔiere *dêkta* thiũ : yô ghɔ̃ra khʌcəreru mʌreka *sʌri râka rêchʌn* ʌru Turki ka gâriheru bʌm ko sʌmân tise latha lik̇e phâli râkheko rêchə ʌru bʌmeru bʌm ka diṭʌnêṭər rêl hinne bâṭa ka tʌltirə phâli râkheka rêchʌn. Tyô ṭhaũ mã hamra sipaíheru le tâma ko sâno sâno dhũgro jʌsto dêkherə '*Kê hô ?*' bhʌni hât mã linda yôṭa le ərka lai dekhaunda ərka manche le bhʌnyo : "Is ka bhitrə *kyâ chə?*" bhʌni ḍhuṅa mâ ṭʌkṭʌk hânda tyo dhũgro phʌṭ gɔio. Phʌṭ gɔierə (tyô dhũgra khelaune tinoṭa manche thie) jô manche le te lai ṭʌkṭʌk gʌrya thiu ḍhuṅa mã tyo manche lai tə lʌthaliṅe bʌnaio ; ãkha pʌni phuṭâli diu ; duiṭai hâtə ka âṅla urai diu ; âphnu jiu bhʌri dule dulo pâri diu : yôṭa khuṭa pʌni bhãci diu ; aru duiṭa manche lai ghail bʌnaio.

Translation.

From there, having eaten biscuits and tea, we advanced. As we were marching (on that plain, being unable to escape, three Turkish soldiers, bomb-throwing men, are hiding). A company seizing them sent them to the rear. On that day there was no fighting. At night a picquet was set on the Turkish railway. All that night (the Turks had gone after having themselves killed their own horses, buffaloes and mules) from their stink it was impossible to rest. With great difficulty the night was passed. When dawn came, we saw that these dead horses and mules remain here decaying and the Turks' waggons and bombing apparatus have been thrown away anyhow and bombs and bomb-detonators have been thrown away below the railway. In that place our men seeing something like a small copper tube, saying 'What is this ?' and taking it in their hands, one showing it to another, the other man said : "What is there inside this ?" So saying he struck it with a tap on a stone : that tube burst. As it burst (the men playing with that tube were three) it scattered in pieces the man who had tapped it on a stone ; it blew out his eyes : it blew off the fingers of both hands ; all over his body it made hole after hole ; one leg too it broke. The other two men it wounded.

Notes.

jânda : as far as I can tell this is correctly represented and should not be *jãdu.* It does not seem to differ in sound from *jândâ* pres. part. fr. *jânnu* 'know'. In all probability this full nasal is a not the direct descendant of the Skt. *n* (*jândâ :* Skt. *yânt* –) but is developed from the nasalised vowel before *d* : thus *yânt-* > *jãd-* > *jând-*. What is essentially the same change is found when *g* or *b* (final or intervocalic) preceded by a nasalised vowel become *ṅ* or *m* : e.g., *tâma* < *tãbâ*, *ḍhuṅo* < *ḍhũgo.* A similar problem arises with the present-future tense : *e.g.*, *jânchu* or *jãchu* 'I am going' or 'I shall go'. In any case this appears to be a contraction of two separate forms : (1) *jânc chu* 'I shall go' ; (2) *jânda* or *jãda chu* 'I am going'. Possibly *jânchu* represents *jânc chu* and *jãchu jãda chu.* But the two are undoubtedly confused in speech, as in writing.

lugi < *luki.* As so often, a breathed intervocalic stop has become voiced. Cf. *pugnu* < *puknu* (cf. kâś. *pakun*). The change appears to be more general in the case of *ṭ* preceded by a nasalised vowel : *e.g.*, *kãṛo* < * *kãṭo* (*kanṭaka-*), *bãṛnu* < *bĩṭnu* (*vanṭa-*). Without

preceding nasalisation in the numeral ending *-ôrâ* beside *-ôṭâ*. The enclitic *caĩ* also appears as *dzaĩ*. Cf. also *garnu* < *karnu* (*karôti*), where *k-* belonging to what has been treated as an auxiliary word has not kept its force as an initial. Cf. Pkt. *hôi* < *bhavati*.

râti is properly a locative < Pkt. *rattiâ rattiaṁ* (Pa. *rattiaṁ*), while *rât* is the direct case < *rattî rattiṁ*. In actual use *râti* means 'at night', but is also frequently used with the postposition *mã*, as here. Cf. in the next line *tyõ rât bhari*.

khʌcəreru < *khaccarharu*.

bʌsi : apparently here stands for *basna*. Normally *saknu* 'be able' is preceded by the oblique infinitive in *-na*. and *saknu* 'be finished with' by the indeclinable participle in *-i*. But the latter is frequently heard with *saknu* 'be able', and its use here is perhaps due to the desire to avoid two consecutive infinitives. There is moreover in these verbs a certain overlapping of meaning : *e.g.*, *garna sakẽ* 'I have been able to do' and *gari sakẽ* 'I have finished doing' both refer to a completed action.

kʌṭhin : adjective used as substantive = 'difficulty', as so commonly in Nepâlî. The dividing line between adjective and substantive is very ill-defined. Cf. the substantival; use of the past participle, as in *gare pachi* 'after having done'.

kâṭyo < *kâṭîyo* : passive.

ujelo < *ujyâlo*, where *y* is apparently due to the preceding palatal : < Pkt. *ujjâla-* (*ujjvâla-*). Cf. the frequent writing of *j* as *jy* ; and the form *syâno* 'little' beside *sâno* (with palatal *s*) < Pkt. *saṇha-* (*ślakṣṇa-*).

dêkta < *dêkhdâ*.

sʌri râka rêchʌn < *sari rahekâ rahechan* : emphatic for *sari rahechan*, *rahechan* here being practically equivalent to an emphatic *chan*.

kê hô : note the difference between this question asking about the quality of something already known to exist and *is ka bhitrə kyâ chə* below, which asks a question as to the existence of something not definitely known to exist. Cf. the sentences *pânî hô* ? 'is it water (or something else) ?' and *pânî cha* ? 'is there water ?' *kê* < *kyâ* : there does not seem to be any difference in the meaning of the two forms, both of which are used.

II.

ON THE EDGE OF THE JUDÆAN HILLS.

Tìn din sʌmə têi ḍãṛa mã *bʌsyũ* ʌru Turki ka bhêraheru lai, jô hamra ḍâkṭər sâp le leaka thie, tìn din bʌsnə sʌmə sʌbe bhêraheru khai sʌkyũ. ʌru tyô ḍãṛa mã bʌstakheri aphnu sâre bʌlio khâlṭo *khʌnyũ*, kinə bhʌne dêkhin râti mã Turki le kaile hamiheru lai dhôka dierə châpa hânlʌn ki bhʌnerə. Diũso bhʌri ḍhuṅa ka kopcyâra mã bərsâti ṭâṅerə bʌsthiũ ; dusmʌn ka bhêra ko sikâr jĩjha khôjerə pôlerə *khanthiũ* câpâni biskuṭ jâm khʌjur bêru bêsʌri dʌsaĩ jʌste sʌbe manche le âpʌs mã kura *gərthiũ* : "Turki hʌraio : sʌdhaĩ bhʌri istei Turki ka bhêraheru paia hunde bês hune thiu." Isto rʌmailo gʌri khaierə phêri khai sʌkya pʌchi sigreṭ tʌmâku khaierə têi bərsâti bhitrə ḍhuṅa ka kopcyâra bhitrə din bhʌri suti ranthiũ. Rât bhəierə ʌghi jânthiũ jã hamiheru le dusmʌn lai mârna lai khalṭa bhitrə pʌni bʌsthiũ. Pailo lʌrai hamro Gâza bâṭə tyô ḍãṛa sʌmə gʌnyo. Jun jun mancheheru le râmro kâm gʌreka lʌrai mâ, tini mancheheru ka nâm hamra kʌmânḍiṅ apsər sâp le kâgʌt mã châperə sʌbe kʌmpʌni mã yôṭa yôṭa hukum ko kâgʌt bãṛi die. Jô manche le pʌre, sʌbe le aphna mʌn mã isto ãṭe : "Phêri lʌrai bhaia hunde hamiheru le pʌni istei naũ kʌmaune thiũ."

Translation.

For three days we remained on that same hill; and as for the Turkish sheep which our Doctor Sahib had brought, in the three days' stay we ate up all of them. And remaining on that hill we dug each his own strong trench, because we thought that in the night the Turks deceiving us might attack. Throughout the day-time stretching our waterproof-sheets over the hollows between the stones we rested. Looking for thorns and roasting the flesh of the Turkish sheep we would eat tea-water, biscuits, jam, dates, figs; and all the men resting as though it were Dasehra we would eat most pleasantly. And all the men would say among themselves: "The Turk is defeated; if we always got Turkish sheep like this, it would be splendid." Thus happily eating, when we had finished eating, smoking cigarettes and tobacco we would remain lying all day in the hollows between the rocks underneath our waterproof-sheets. When night came, we would go forward, where we sat also in trenches to kill the enemy. Our first battle was counted from Gaza to that hill. Our Commanding Officer Sahib, writing down on a paper the names of those men who had done good work in the fighting, distributed one order-paper to each company. The men who read it all thought thus in their minds: "If there were fighting again, we too should earn such a name."

Notes.

bʌsyũ : the preterite expresses continuous action in the past where the verb itself implies continuous action, otherwise, with instantaneous verbal roots, the past imperfect must be used: *e.g.*, below *khanthiũ......khanthiũ......kuru gərthiũ* 'we kept on eating......' compared with *khʌnyũ* 'we dug (once for all).'

III

CAPTURE OF THE PASS.

ʌthârə târik ko biânə ʌsṭêlyʌn bhʌnne gəra pʌlṭʌn ka sʌwareru le (hamra sâmune mã yôta gaũ thiu) tes mâthi ai lâge : tʌrə kêi phʌl milenə. Turki le bês gʌri aphna mʌsingʌn le gôli hâne : hamra sʌwareru lai ʌgari bərnə dienʌn.

Bhôli pʌlṭə unis târik ko biãnə dwî bʌje mã birgeṭ bâṭə hukum âyo : "Sikin ṭərḍ gôrkha pʌlṭʌn le tyô gaũ linu pərsə", bhʌni. Kərnʌl sâp le kʌmpʌniheru lai bãṛe : "E kʌmpʌni rə sî kʌmpʌni ʌgari ko lain hunʌn ; bî kʌmpni rə ḍî kʌmpʌni tini ko sʌpəṭ hunʌn." Iso gʌri ʌgari bəryû.

Tʌrə Turki le unis târik ko biãnə hami bərda *bhʌnne* pʌni ʌghi biãnə câr bʌje tyô gaũ mã ṭhûlo âgo bâleka thie. Turkiheru ko isara têi âgo rêchə pʌchari bhâgna lai. Jʌb hamro ĉ kʌmpʌni tyô gaũ mã pugyo, kêi gôla gôli kêi pʌni cʌlenə.

Teã bâṭi ʌli ʌghi *gəierə* gaũ ka chêu mã thâmerə ʌli chin teã bʌsyũ. Tyô gaũ ka daine baiẽ Turki le aphna gaũ bʌsneheru ka *kûkhra* sʌbe lûṭerə khaierə gaie chʌn. Butle butla matri tyô bâṭo bhʌri dhuña ka kopcera pũṛo pʌni butla mâtri *dêkhinthe.*

Tyô gaũ bâṭə ʌli ʌghi kôi dwî mail sʌmə bâṭo bâṭo gəiũ. Tyô bâṭo kʌsto thiu ? daine pʌti ṭhûlo pâr dêbre pʌṭi pʌni ṭhûlo pâr thiu. Mãj mã nâlo thiu. Bâṭo hinnu pərne lai sâre ʌpt ro sâñuro bâṭo thiu. Tyo bâṭo pʌni Turki le ṭhaũ ṭhaũ mã bhʌtkaierə chərerə gaicka thie. Hamiheru ko bhârbərdari tôpkhânaheru ka gâri nə aunə *sʌkun* bhʌni bâṭo lai suruñ hâlerə bhʌtkaii râkheka thie.

Susto Susto hameru ʌgari bərde thiũ. Daine pʌṭi bâṭi ʌṭhaun nʌmbər gʌreko dêsi pʌlṭʌn ai pugyo. Hameru ʌli chin thâmi bʌsyũ : tyô dêsi pʌlṭʌn ʌghi bəryo.

Phêri hamra pʌlṭʌn lai ʌghi *bərnə bhʌni* hukum bhəio. kərnʌl sâp le ʌraie : " Ê kʌmpʌni tôpkhâna ko rʌcha gərnə bʌsla ; ʌru tîn kʌmpʌni dêbre pʌṭi ka ḍā̃ṛa mâthi cʌrerə ʌgari bərnʌn :" bhʌni ʌraie. Hamiheru le testo agya paunda mā kʌmpʌni kʌmā̃ṇḍər sâperu le aphna aphna bʌndabʌstə le hêrcâ gərne ṭôli lai ʌgari pʌṭhaie. Aru bâki mancheru yôṭa yôṭa gʌri tyô ḍā̃ṛa ka ṭupa mā pugya pʌchi daine pʌṭi ʌgari bəryũ. Susto susto jânde jânde hamiheru lai kêi thâ thienə dusmʌn kā̃ nirə bʌseko chə bhʌni.

Tyô ḍā̃ṛo kâṭerə pʌltirə orā̃lo lâyo. Phêri ərko ḍā̃ṛo bhêṭyo ; phêri ukā̃lo lâyo. Yôṭa yôṭa manche gʌri tyô ḍā̃ṛa mâthi niklaũla bhʌni jânde thiũ. Tyô ḍā̃ṛa māthi ʌlikʌti manche nikli sʌkta mā Turki le tôp ka gôla pʌni mʌsingʌn ka gôli pʌni bêsari bâkle ʌsina jʌsto hamra mâthi bərsaie. Hameru le pʌni aphna luisgʌn le ḍhuṅa ka âr bâṭə jaĩ sʌmə hunə sʌkchə bâkle gôli phərkaiũ. Aile pʌni ʌndhero hunə lâgyo. Turki le pʌni phair gərde thie. Hamro ḍî kʌmpʌni ʌghi bəryo : bî kʌmpʌni tes ka sʌpəṭ mā bʌsyo. Têi bêla mā ḍî kʌmpʌni kʌmâṇḍər Girêsmiṭ sâp lai tôp ko gôla lâgyo rə têi ḍā̃ṛa mā swərge bâs bhəio.

Pâni pʌni pərnə lâgyo. Hamiheru ka sʌũ mā ə̃rne bhʌni pʌni bichauṇe bhʌni pʌni yôṭe yôṭe bərsā̃ti thiu. kʌmʌl pʌni thienə ; branḍi pʌni thienə ; khâli khâki luga mâtri thiu. Pâni pʌni musʌldhʌre âyo. Testa duk mā pʌni mancheheru le kêi citaunnə thie.

Tyô rât mā ḍî kʌmpʌni têi ḍā̃ṛa mā bʌsyo. Bî kʌmpʌni lai hukum âyo : " Timiheru aphna heṭkôṭər mā jau," bhʌni. Bî kʌmpʌni bâṭa mā gəio. Dwi tîn ghʌṇṭa teā̃ bʌsna sʌmə rʌsʌn pâni aieko thienə.

Tyo rât bhʌri pâni perthiu. Hami lai pʌni tirkha têste lâgyo : hami le tirkha bujhauna lai pâni le bhîgo bhaieka luga mukhə mā cũsthiũ.

Teā̃ dêkhin hamiheru bâṭa mā pugda bʌserə sutyũ. Tyô rât mā tyô bâṭo kʌsto hô bhʌne. Hamra pûra ḍibijʌn ko bhârbərdari rə tôpkhâna dwîṭa ḍā̃ṛa ka mā̃j mā bhaieka bâṭa mā pugeka thie. Ghəra khacəreru sʌbe milaierə âpʌstə mā lâta le hirkaunthe. Sʌmcar lyaune mancheru le aphno aphno heṭkôṭər khôzda khôzda ita uta jânthe. Kaidiheru ghaileheru pʌchari tirə hinthe. Goā̃r gərnə aieko ṭərḍ ṭərḍ Gôrkha pʌlṭʌn dhuiro huna le ʌgari pʌni bərnə sʌkenə, pʌchari pʌni phərkərə jânʌ sʌkenə. Bâṭa ka dwîṭa pʌṭi tirə hamra ḍî kʌmpʌni rə ʌṭhaun nʌmbər gʌreko dêsi pʌlṭʌn rə êk gora pʌlṭʌn bʌseka ḍā̃ṛa mā mʌsingʌn ka gôli ṭʌkṭʌk gʌri ḍhuṅa mā hirkaunda jhilka niskaunthe.

Tes bêla mā hamra kôṭmâsṭər sâp rʌsʌn pâni lierə aie : ʌru kôi pʌlṭʌn lai rʌsʌn pâni milenə. Testa râmra kôṭmâstər sâp thie.

Ḍā̃ṛa mâthi ujelo bhaikʌnə birgeṭ bâṭə hukum âyo : " Phêri ḍā̃ṛa mā cʌrerə Turki lai dhʌpaierə ʌgari bərnu pərsə."

Tyô din bhʌri hamiheru le ḍā̃ṛe ḍā̃ṛo cʌrerə orā̃la ukā̃la mā gəierə Turki lai aphna ṭhaũ ṭhaũ bâṭi dhʌpaierə ʌgari bəryũ. *Mʌdheni* din mā kuiro lâgyo : pâni pʌni pərnə *lâyo.* Kuiro lâgna le kêi pʌni dêkhinnə thiu. Phêri ʌndhero lâgda mā (hamra sâmune mā yôṭa gairo kholo thiu : pʌllo pʌṭi ṭhûlo ḍā̃ṛo thiu ; tyô ḍā̃ṛa mā̃ Turki le *bʌlio* ṭhaũ bʌnaieko yôṭa gaũ thiu) tyô khôlo pâri gəierə ukā̃la mā cʌrerə *phik-sə̃ṭ* gʌrerə hami le tyô gaũ Turki ka hâtə bâṭə liyũ.

Tyo rât bhʌri pâni pərthiu. Tʌrə hamiheru pikʌṭ lʌgaierə bâki mancheheru sʌbe yoṭa ṭhûla mʌkā̃n mā *pʌserə* bʌserə âgo bâlerə câ pʌkaierə khaierə syā̃ṭhe khusi bhəiũ. Mancheru le kura gərde : " mərne manche mʌre chʌn ; ghaile manche ghaile bhaie chʌn ; hameru lai ta yô bhâgyə milya chə ; hamra pʌlṭʌn le pʌni ṭhûlo nəũ kʌmaia chə " : bhʌni kura gʌrerə tyô rât bhʌri khusi bhaikʌnə sute.

Phêri ujelo bhɔierə hamra ṭhûla *jərnʌl* sâp le *sʌwâri* bhɔierə hameru lai bhʌnnu bhɔio: " Hê Gɔ̂rkhâli bîrə hô ! timra bâduri le Jirusʌlʌm naũ gʌreka sʌər mã hinne bâṭo khôlyo ; timro naũ ṭhûlo bhai gyu. Têi Jirusʌlʌm sʌər lina lai âzə pʌni timi phêri ʌgari bərnə pərsə : " bhʌnerə bhʌnnu bhɔio.

Tes bêla mã Turki ka gôla hamra mâthi hannə lâge ; bʌute nuksân bhɔio. Phêri phâlin ko hukum milerə hamiheru ʌgari bəryũ.

Translation.

On the morning of the 18th the troopers of a white regiment called Australians (in front of us there was a village) attacked this village. But there was no success. The Turks shot machine-gun bullets out finely ; they did not let our cavalry advance.

The next day on the morning of the 19th at two o'clock an order came from the Brigade, saying : " The Second-Third Gurkhas must take that village." The Colonel Sahib apportioned the companies : " A company and C company will be firing line ; B company and D company will be their support." So doing we advanced.

But the Turks on the morning of the 19th even before we advanced at 4 o'clock in the morning had lit a great fire in that village. That same fire is a signal of the Turks to retire. When our A company reached the village, neither shell nor bullet nor anything at all was fired.

From there going forward a little and halting on the edge of the village we remained there for a little while. Right and left of the village the Turks, having stolen the fowls of their own villagers, had eaten them and gone away. Feathers only over the whole road, in the hollow between the stones also only feathers were to be seen.

From that village we went forward a little for about two miles along the road. What was that road like ? On the right hand there was a great mountain, and on the left hand a great mountain. In the middle was the valley. For one who had to go along it the road was exceedingly difficult and narrow. That road too in several places the Turks had left blown up. Saying that our baggage and gun-carriages should not be able to come, putting in mines, they had blown it right up.

Very slowly we continued to advance. From the right an Indian regiment, numbered 58 (58th Vaughan's Rifles), had come up. We remained halted for a while : the Indian regiment advanced.

Again to our regiment came the order to advance. The Colonel Sahib commanded, saying : " A company will remain to protect the guns : the other three companies climbing the hill on the left will advance." So saying he commanded. On our receiving such order, the company commander Sahibs, each by his own arrangement, sent forward parties to scout. We remaining men, reaching the top of that hill one at a time, advanced by the right. Going slowly on, we had no information, as to near where the enemy was.

Having crossed that hill, on the further side there was a descent. Again another hill was met ; again there was an ascent. One by one, saying : " We will come out on the top of that hill," we went on. As soon as a few men had come out on the top of the hill, the Turks rained down on us very thickly both shells and machine-gun bullets just like hail. We, too, with our Lewis guns from the shelter of the rocks, wherever possible, returned the bullets thickly. Now also darkness began to fall. The Turks too continued to fire. Our D company advanced : B company remained in its support. At that time a cannon shell struck D company commander, Grey-Smith Sahib (Captain M. Grey-Smith, I.A.R.O), and on that hill he entered the heavenly dwelling.

Rain also began to fall. With us, both for covering and for lying on, there was only one waterproof-sheet each. There was no blanket; there was no great-coat; there were only our cotton clothes. The rain also came in torrents. The men were in such distress that they could not feel anything.

That night D company remained on the hill. To B company came the order, saying: "Come to your headquarters." B company went down to the road. Till they had been there two or three hours, rations and water did not come.

All that night the rain fell. Also we had such thirst that in order to quench our thirst we sucked in our mouths the clothes that were wet with rain.

After that, stopping when we reached the road. we lay down. On that night what was the road like? The baggage and artillery of our whole division had reached the road between the two hills. Horses and mules, all mingled, were kicking each other. Men bringing news, searching for their own headquarters, were going this way and that. Prisoners and wounded were m: king for the rear. The 3/3rd Gurkhas, come to bring help, on account of the crowd could not advance, nor turning round could they go back. On both sides of the road on the hills, where were our D company and the 58th Indian regiment and a white regiment, machine-gun bullets striking the rocks were shooting out sparks.

At this time our Quartermaster Sahib came bringing rations and water. No other regiment got its rations and water. So good was our Quartermaster Sahib.

When it dawned on the hill, from the Brigade came an order, saying: "Again climbing the hill and driving off the Turks it is necessary to advance."

All that day climbing hill after hill, going up hill and down hill driving the Turks from position after position, we advanced. At midday a fog came on; rain too began to fall. On account of the fog nothing was to be seen. Again as darkness was descending, (in front of us was a deep valley; across the valley a great hill; on the hill a village made by the Turks into a strong place) crossing the valley, climbing up the hill, having fixed bayonets we took that village from the hands of the Turks.

All that night the rain fell. But when we had set picquets, the rest of us men all entering one great building, sitting down, lighting fires, boiling and drinking tea, were exceedingly happy. The men said: "Those who were to die have died, the wounded have been wounded; but to us this great fortune has fallen. Our regiment also has earned a great name." So talking, remaining happy all that night, they went to sleep.

Again at dawn our great General Sahib coming said to us: "O Gurkha heroes, by your bravery the road leading to the city called Jerusalem has been opened. Your name has become great. To take that city of Jerusalem, to-day also it is necessary to advance." So saying he spoke.

At that time the Turkish shells began to fall upon us; there was great loss. Again receiving the order to fall in, we went forward.

Notes.

bhʌnnə < *bhandâ.*

gɔierə < *gaera*: probably on the analogy of *gɔio* < *gayo*, where the umlaut of *a* to *ɔ* is regular. It should be remembered also that *gaera* is < *gayo* or *gae ra*, lit. = 'he or they went and........'

kûkhra*:** Skt. *kukkuṭa-* cf. H. *kukar kukṛâ*. The aspiration is unexplained. It occurs in other words: *e.g.*, *bâkhro* 'goat, sheep', cf. H. *bakrâ*. On the other hand ***kûkur 'dog' (***kurkura-***) H. ***kûkar***. The Rev. N. C. Duncan informs me that in East Nepal ***bã̄dhar*** 'monkey' is used for ***bã̄dar*** (cf. H. *bã̄dar, bandar*).

dêkhinthe : the passive seems to be dying out. More and more it loses its distinctively passive sense to become a simple intransitive verb : *e.g.*, *dêkhinu* ' appear ', *arinu* ' halt ', *salkinu* ' burn intr.', *ubhinu* ' stand up '. On this a new causative formation has been built, ending in *-yâunu* : e.g., *aryâunu* ' cause to halt,' *salkyaunu* ' burn tr. ', *ubhyaunu* ' set upright'.

Sʌkun : an example of the beginnings of Oratio obliqua. *Hamiheru* refers to the narrator, not to the subject of *bhʌni*. These beginnings of the oblique construction are fairly common in Nêpâlî : *e.g.*, (1) *Dhandatta le " Ghar jâu : ' mã saṅa* (i.e., *Dhandatta saṅa*) *gai bêpâr gari âẽ ' bhannu " bhanyo*. (Birsikkâ, p. 67, l. 5). (2) *dokân mã̄ bârtâ garthyau rê bhani sunẽ* 'I heard that you were doing......' instead of the direct *N. garcha bhani......* Probably too the very frequent use of the oblique infinitive in *-na* with *bhani* to express purpose clauses is oblique in origin : *e.g.*, *ma lâi mârna bhani jukti gareko hô* ' he must have made a plan to kill me.' This has replaced the direct *tes lâi mârchu bhani......*

bərnə bhʌni < barhna bhani. This oblique infinitive used with *bhani* in clauses of purpose, order, promise, etc., is directly governed by the verb *bhani*. *Barhnu*, infinitive used as imperative, becomes *barhna* as object to *bhani*. Although in nouns the old nominative and accusative cases have fallen together in the more general direct case embracing both nominative and accusative, in the infinitive the oblique case is that used for the direct object (see my note on the infinitive in the first series of ' specimens '). Similarly too the direct case as accusative has in nouns been replaced by the oblique case followed by *lâi* (cf. H. oblique with *kô*); the direct case is retained generally only for inanimate objects. *E.g.*, *ma lâi jânu parcha*, lit. ' the going is necessary for me (subject), but *mã jâna lâgẽ*, lit. ' I began the going ' (object). These are parallel with the equivalent noun constructions : (*a*) animate : chôro âyo ' the boy came ' (subject), but *chôrâ lâi hânẽ* ' I struck the boy (object) ; (*b*) inanimate : *rukh ḍhalyo* ' the tree fell ' (subject), and *ruhk ḍhâla* ' fell the tree ' (object).

Mʌdheni : semitatsama < *madhyahna-* with adjectival suffix *-i*.

lâyo : either < *lâgyo* or past participle of *lâunu* (Skt. *lâgayati*). *Lâgnu* < Skt. *lagyati*. The same confusion is found in Hindî and Panjâbî.

bʌlio ' strong ', a formation from **bali* (Skt. *balin-*).

phiksɔt=Fix swords !

pʌserə < pasera : *pasnu* < **paisnu* (*praviśati*, cf. H. *paisnâ* G. *pêsvũ*) by analogy with *basnu* (*vasati*).

jərnʌl = General : probably for *janral* through influence of *karnal* = Colonel.

sʌwâri bhɔio : honorific for *âyo*.

IV.

AN ARMISTICE SONG.

Pʌndʌrə maina Phrãse mã ləryũ dhêr hîlo khaierə :
Unis sau sôlə mã gerizʌn ḍiuṭi Misər mã aierə.

Ai reḍi gô hôm ʌgên ; ai reḍi gô hôm ʌgên,
Ṭû sî mai phâdər, ṭu sî mai mâdər, ṭû sî mai phemili ʌgên.

Hindustan bâṭe cîṭhi ai pugchə kâgʌt ka *lipha* mã :
Sikin ṭərḍ Gôrkha phêr lərnu pəryo Misər ka muluk mã.
Khai mã bʌsta lʌraï ləryũ ; bʌnduk le ṭâkaṭâk.
Dwî sau bʌtı̃s le ʌṭʌke gəryo ; Turki ko bhâga bhâg.
Sʌwar rə paidʌl pâkha mã khêdchʌn, mʌnowar pâni mã.
Pɔilo din lʌri bîs din mã pugyũ Turki *raddhâni* mã.
Turki le hêryo : Aṅgrez le ghêryo yo pâla rʌne mã.
ʌbə tə pugne âsa chə mɔ lai ghʌre ka jʌne mã.
Gôrkhâli juwân ʌgari bʌre châti ko ḍhâl gʌri :
Turki ka phauz lai hât *uṭhaun* pâryũ rʌne mã *byâl* gʌri.

Ai reḍi gô hôm ʌgên ; ai reḍi gô hôm ʌgen,
Ṭû sî mai phâdər, ṭû sî mai mâdər, ṭû sî mai phemili ʌgên.

Translation.

For fifteen months we fought in France, eating much mud ; in 1916 there was garrison duty, having come to Egypt.

From India a letter comes in an envelope of paper : the 2/3rd Gurkhas must again fight in the land of Egypt.

Sitting in the trenches we fought, taking aim with the rifle. The 232 (Brigade) attacked; the Turks ran away.

Horse and foot move along the shore, men-of-war on the sea. On the first day fighting, in twenty days we reached the Turkish capital.

The Turk saw : the British surrounded them at this moment in the battle. Now is there hope for me of arriving among the people of my home.

The Gurkha soldiers advanced, having courage in their breasts ; the Turkish army we made to lift up their hands, distressing them in battle.

Notes.

As opposed to the artificial metres in Nepâlî (*e.g.*, the translation of the Mahâbhârat) which are made to depend on a system of quantity no longer existing, this popular metre depends on stress accent. The normal scansion here (supposing — to represent a stressed syllable and ⌣ an unstressed) is :—

– ⌣ ⌣ | – ⌣ || – ⌣ ⌣ | – ⌣ || – ⌣ ⌣ | – ⌣ ⌣.

This shows very plainly the initial stress of Nepâlî words. The English chorus evidently could not be quite fitted into the metre by its composers !

lipha : loanword from H. *lifâfa* with haplology.

raddhâni < râjdhâni : here Aleppo, not Constantinople. Cf. below ***khoddakheri*** ≤ ***khôj-dâkheri.***

uṭhaun < *uṭhâuna.*

byâl < *behâl.*

(*To be continued.*)

THE DATE OF THE MUDRÂ-RÁKSHASA.

BY V. J. ANTANI, M.A.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has, *ante,* Vol. XLII, pp. 265-267, proposed the time of Chandragupta II for the date of the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa*. His grounds for thus fixing the date in the fifth century A.D. was his discovery in the *bharata-vâkya* of that drama. This for the present purpose I quote in full :—

वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनाविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपां
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री ।
म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्याश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ॥

The expressions in the above quotation on which Mr. Jayaswal bases his proposition, and lays his greatest stress, are *adhunâ* and *Chandragupta*. They suggest to him that the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa* must have been written in the fifth century A.D. He says : "The *bharata-vâkya* to the play names the reigning monarch 'at present (*adhunâ*) . . . . may long reign king Chandragupta."

He then essays to find out which Chandragupta is meant, and comes to the conclusion that he could have been no other than Chandragupta II. He is aware that there are difficulties in assuming the term Mlêchchha to mean Hûṇa, and as to the meaning of the term *udvijyamânâ.* The first he endeavours to overcome by ascertaining that the Hûṇas, though they possessed no territory in India at the time, were well-known to the Indians ; that they had had no prominent position in the minds of the Indians previously, as proved by the fact that

they are mentioned only once in the drama, *i.e.* in Act V, v. 11 ; and that as associates of the Chinese they are named *Chinahûṇaiḥ*. Here we must however, bear in mind that another reading *Chedihûṇaiḥ* is available. Further, he remarks, as worthy of note, that they do not figure at all in the army mentioned in Act II.

In order to make out that the Hûṇas are meant by the term Mlêchchha and that they were contemporaneous with Chandragupta II, he is forced to interpret *udvijyamânâ* in a future sense, because of the fact of the Hûṇas having no territory in India at the time, or to suggest that these particular Mlêchchhas represented the Śaka power in Western India which Chandragupta had suppressed ; or in the alternative to suggest that the drama might refer to the annoyance caused by the Kushanas, " or possibly to the new element of the Hûṇas, also might have already made some incursions. possibly in league with Kushanas, during the last years of Chandragupta II's reign."

It will be seen that the above interpretation of the term Mlêchchha, which is indeed wide enough to comprise all foreigners. whether Śakas. Yavanas or Hûṇas, is necessary only if the Chandragupta of the *bharata-vâkya* of the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa* is to be identified with Chandragupta II. But in that king's time. as already pointed out, the Hûṇas had no territory in India, much less could they have been in a position to harass the land, as is said in the *śloka* above quoted. It is true that the term Mlêchchha could have referred to the Hûṇas, because their conduct shows that they were greater harassers than the Kushanas or Śakas. This is amply proved by general history and the inscriptions ; *e.g.*, in the Jûnâgaḍh Inscription of Skandagupta we have direct evidence in the line रिपवोऽपि आमूलभग्नदर्पा निर्वचना म्लेच्छदेशेषु that by Mlêchchha the Hûṇas are meant. The incidents of the latter days of his father and his own Inscription at Bhitârî leave no doubt whatever that the Hûṇas did vex both father and son, till the latter put them down after much labour. They were, however, only scotched, and after a while occupied territory in India which they greatly afflicted till the people threw themselves into the arms of Yaśodharman (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 146-7). This would infer that the Mlêchchhas were Hûṇas whose history was known to the poet, and that he was playing on two senses of the name Mlêchchha, *viz.* the Yavanas as they were known in the days of Chandragupta Maurya and defeated by him, and the Hûṇas who were suppressed either by Narasiṁha-Bâlâditya or Yaśodharman. But it cannot be said with any certainty that the poet meant to allude to these things or not, and in any case it seems to be going too far to see so much history in the simple word *adhunâ*, and in consequence to identify the Chandragupta of the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa* with Chandragupta II.

The plain fact is that the king has been made by the poet to narrate all that had already come to pass in the *śloka* just before the *bharata-vâkya*, which runs as follows :—

राक्षसेन समं मैत्री राज्ये चारोपिता वयम्
नन्दाश्चोन्मूलिताः सर्वे किं कर्तव्यमतः प्रियम् ।

And in contrast to the past tense his minister says, " now " let the king rule, etc. So the force of " now " is only with reference to the events of the past. There does not seem to be anything in it but that, and so the poet's Chandragupta must remain Chandragupta Maurya, according to the conventional method of interpretation.

Further, I may add that the very word *adhunâ* has also been used in the *śloka* preceding the *bharata-vâkya* in his *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, the play on which the poet arranged and developed the plot of the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa*. Besides all *bharata-vâkyas* refer to the present time, whether the word *adhunâ* is actually used or not. It is evident, too, from Act IV, v. 3, that the poet had to labour a good deal at his task, and he is at pains to observe the strict rules of dramaturgy. Consequently we may assume that he set the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* as a model before him in arranging his plot.

Again, one cannot but notice the striking similarity both in idea and wording of some of the verses of the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa* to those of the Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman, already referred to. *E.g.*, between the *bharata-vâkya* quoted above and the last two lines of the second stanza of the Inscription :—

आविर्भूतावलेपैरविनयपटुभिर्लङ्घिताचारमार्गै-
र्मोहादैदंयुगीनैरपशुभरतिभिः पीड्यमाना नरेन्द्रैः ।
यस्य क्ष्मा शार्ङ्गपाणेरिव कठिनधनुर्ज्याकिणाङ्कप्रकोष्ठं
बाहुं लोकोपकारव्रतसफलपरिस्पन्दधीरं प्रपन्ना ॥

Again, the following stanza in Act III has a marked similarity to the fifth verse of the Inscription, thus :—

Mudrâ-Râkshasa.

आशैलेन्द्राच्छिलान्तः स्खलितसुरनदीशीकरासारशीता-
त्तीरान्तान्नैकरागस्फुरितमणिरुचो दक्षिणस्यार्णवस्य ।
आगत्यागत्य भीतिप्रणतनृपशतैः शश्वदेव क्रियन्तां
चूडारत्नांशुगर्भास्तव चरणयुगस्याङ्गुलीरन्ध्रभागाः ॥

Mandasor Pillar.

आलौहित्योपकण्ठात्तलवनगहनोपत्यकादामहेन्द्रा-
दागंगाश्लिष्टसानोस्तुहिनशिखरिणः पश्चिमादापयोधेः ।
सामन्तैर्यस्य बाहुद्रविणहृतमदैः पादयोरानमद्भि-
श्चूडारत्नांशुराजिव्यतिकरशबला भूमिभागाः क्रियन्ते ॥

Mandasor Pillar.

(last two lines of the next verse.)

नीचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रणतिभुजबलावर्जनक्लिष्टमूर्ध्ना
चूडापुष्पोपहारैर्मिहिरकुलनृपेणार्चितं पादयुग्मम् ॥

Lastly, the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa* is referred to in the *Daśa-rûpaka*, which was written in the 10th century A.D., and it must therefore have been written at least a century previously, or, as K. T. Telang has it, its date cannot be later than the 8th century. The Hûṇas are mentioned in Act V, though not in Act II for the simple reason that both parties are opposed to each other, and we find that none of the tribes mentioned in Act II are repeated in Act V except the Śakas and Yavanas : so we can assert positively that the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa* must have been written at least after the time of Skandagupta. And in addition to all there is the striking similarity in the ideas of the above-quoted stanzas in the play and inscription. I am therefore compelled to think that the play must have been written, at the earliest, after the time of Yaśodharman, for whom we have the date 589 Mâlava Era, or 645 A.D.: in other words the seventh century. This brings us to the end of Harsha's reign, in whose time Buddhism had a great hold over the people, a fact which has been referred to by the poet in his drama.

HEMACANDRA AND PAIÇÂCÎPRÂKṚTA.

BY P. V RAMANUJASWAMI, M. A.

I have read with interest the short note written by Sir George Grierson about "Paiśâchî in the *Kalpataru*" in answer to the paper on Paiçâcî dialects written by my brother, Mr. Ranganathasvamin of blessed memory and published *ante*, Vol. XLIX, p. 114. The history of the Prâkrit dialects affords a striking parallel to the development of the Romance languages in Europe, but we must admit the sad truth that their philology has not been thoroughly investigated by any scholar in India or elsewhere. One chief cause of this

drawback is the want of proper material for such an investigation. Only a small portion of Prâkṛit literature has been as yet made accessible to the public. This consists mostly of grammars such as Vararuci's *Prâkṛita-prakâça,* the Prâkṛit portion of Hemacandra's *Grammar* and a few other *kâvyas.* There are a number of other Prâkṛit works which when published will prove to be of much use for the philological study of the dialects. It is, I think, time to direct our attention to them and I am glad to note that they are receiving the attention of such a distinguished linguist as Sir G. Grierson, and we may confidently look forward for some of the Prâkṛit works edited by him in a critical manner.

I shall, however, draw attention to a particular remark of his in the short note referred to above. In conceding what my brother said about Paiçâcî as treated in the *Kalpataru,* he repeats his remark, first made in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume,* p. 120, that Hemacandra in his grammar treats of three varieties of Paiçâcika, one Paiçâcika and two varieties of Cûlikâ-paiçâcika. But we shall see from the following quotations from Hemacandra and his followers, that the former knows of only two varieties of Paiçâci, as was pointed out by my brother. Hemacandra has four *sûtras* about Cûlikâ-paiçâcî and they are given below with his own gloss thereon—

चूलिका-पैशाचिके तृतीय-तुर्ययोराद्य-द्वितीयौ ॥ ३२५ ॥

चूलिकापैशाचिके वर्गाणां तृतीयतुर्ययोः स्थाने यथासंख्यमाद्यद्वितीयौ भवतः ॥
नगरम् । नकरं ॥ मार्गणः । मक्कनो ॥ गिरि-तटम् । किरि-तटं ॥ ...... क्वचिल्ला-
क्षणिकस्यापि । पडिमा इत्यस्य स्थाने पटिमा । दाढा इत्यस्य स्थाने ताठा ॥

रस्य लो वा ॥ ३२६ ॥

चूलिकापैशाचिके रस्य स्थाने लो वा भवति ।
पनमथ पनय-पकुप्पित-गोली-चलनग्ग-लग्ग-पति-बिंबं ।
तससु नख-तप्पनेसुं एकातस-तनु-थलं लुद्दं ॥

....

नादि-युज्योरन्येषाम् ॥ ३२७ ॥

चूलिकापैशाचिकेपि अन्येषामाचार्याणां मतेन तृतीयतुर्ययोरादौ वर्तमानयोर्युजि धातौ च आद्यद्वितीयौ न भवतः ॥ गतिः । गती ॥ घर्म । घम्मो ॥ ...... नियोजितम् । नियोजितं ॥

शेषं प्राग्वत् ॥ ३२८ ॥

चूलिकापैशाचिके तृतीयतुर्ययोरित्यादि यदुक्तं ततोन्यच्छेषं प्राक्तनपैशाचिकवद्भवति ॥
नकरं । मक्कनो ।अनयोर्नो णत्वं न भवति ॥ णस्य च नत्वं स्यात् । एवमन्यत्रापि ॥

It will be evident from the above that there is no reason to suppose that Hemacandra is treating of two varieties of Cûlikâ-paiçâci. He, however, calls it Cûlikâ-paiçâcikam while other Prâkṛit grammarians call it Cûlikâ-paiçâcî simply. Sir George, probably, was led away by this difference in the name. Cûlikâ-paiçâcikam being neuter, its *nom. du.* as well as its *loc. sg.* will be Cûlikâ-paiçâcike. But in the gloss of Hemacandra, it is to be taken as the *loc. sg.* and not as *nom. du.* Even if the word is taken as a feminine in *â* (which it is not as can be seen from the author's own gloss on *sûtra* 328 quoted above), the form Cûlikâ-paiçâcike will be *nom. du.* and not *loc. sg.*, which latter alone will make any sense in the gloss. Trivikrama and Çrutasâgara, two Jain Prâkṛit grammarians who closely follow Hemacandra, avoid the ambiguity (if at all it can be called ambiguity) by adding the word *bhâṣâyâm* in their gloss after Cûlikâ-paiçâcyâm, thus leaving no room for any doubt as to the number of the dialects. As Trivikrama and Çrutasâgara follow Hemacandra very closely, the opinion of the latter may be known clearly from their works. I, therefore, quote below the portions of the grammars of Trivikrama and Çrutasâgara dealing with Cûlikâ-paiçâci.

Trivikrama has

रो लस्तु चूलिकापैशाच्याम् ॥ ३ । २ । ६४ ॥

चूलिकापैशाच्यां भाषायां रेफस्य लकारो भवति तु ।
पनमथ पनय-पकुपित-कोली-चलनक्क-लिक्क-पतिर्पिंपं ।
तसनु नखतप्पनेसुं एक्कातस-तनु-थलं लुद्दं ॥
नलो । नरो ॥ सलो । सरो ॥

गजडदबघझढधभां कचटतपखछठथफाल् ॥ ३ । २ । ६५ ॥

चूलिकापैशाच्यां गजडदबघझढधभ इत्येतेषां यथासंख्यं कचटतपखछठथफ
इत्येते लितो भवंति ॥ नगरम् । नकरं । मार्गणः । मक्कनो ॥ मेघः । मेखो ॥
घनः । खनो ॥ .... क्वचिल्लाक्षणिकस्यापि । प्रतिमा । पडिमा । पटिमा ॥
दंष्ट्रा । दाढा । ताठा ॥

अन्येषामादि युजि न ॥ ३ । २ । ६६ ॥

चूलिकापैशाच्यां अन्येषामाचार्याणां मतेन गजडदबघझढधभामादौ स्थितानां
युजिधातौ च कचटतपखछठथफा न भवंति । गति । घम्मो । ....
नियोजितं । अन्येषामिति किम् । काति । नियोचितं ॥

शेषं प्राग्वत् ॥ ३ । २ । ६७ ॥

चूलिकापैशाच्यां रोलस्त्वित्यादि यदुक्तं ततोन्यत्प्राग्वत्प्राक्तनपैशाचीवद्भवति ॥
नो णनोः । नयनं । फनी । एवमन्यदपि ॥

Çrutasâgara, in his *Audâryacintâmaṇi*, has

वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमद्वितीयौ चूलिकापैशाचिके ॥

चूलिकापैशाचिके भाषाविशेषे वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोः पदेनुक्रमेण प्रथमद्वितीयौ
स्याताम् ॥ सगरः । सकरो ॥ सागरः । साकरो ॥ .. .. लाक्षणिकस्यापि
क्वचित् । पडिमा । पटिमा ॥ दाढा । ताठा । डः प्रत्यादिषु इत्यनेन तस्य डः । संस्कृते-
पि तु दाढा । दंष्ट्राया दढादेशः ॥

वा लो रकारस्य ॥

चूलिकापैशाचिके रकारस्य स्थाने लकारो भवति । The two stanzas given in Hemacandra's grammar are reproduced here with their translation into Sanskrit—

आदि युजो नेति केचित् ॥

केचिदाचार्या एवं वदंति । चूलिकापैशाचिकेपि वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थश्च यदा
आदौ न भवति तदा प्रथमद्वितीयौ न भवतः । युजिधातोश्च तृतीयांतोपि
वर्तमानः प्रथमो न स्यात् । यथा गंधः । गंधो । गतिः । गती ।........
निर्योजितम् । नियोजितं । उभयमतमपि प्रमाणमस्माकं । तेनोभयमपि सिद्धम् ॥

पूर्ववदिह शेषम् ॥

इह अस्मिन् चूलिकापैशाचिके तृतीयचतुर्थयोरित्याद्युक्तं ततोन्यच्छेषमुच्यते ।
तत्पूर्ववत् प्राक्तनपैशाचिकवद्भवति । नगरं । नकरं । मार्गणः । मक्कनो । एतयोर्नस्य
णो न स्यात् । णस्य तु नत्वं स्यादेव । एवमितरदपि ज्ञातव्यमिति भद्रम् ॥

Here Çrutasâgara, though he calls the dialect Cûlikâ-paiçâcikam, adds the words *bhâṣâviçeṣe* which clearly shows that he is dealing with only one dialect. How closely the two latter grammarians follow Hemacandra may be seen from the quotations from their works given above. It is, therefore, but reasonable to suppose that Hemacandra also knows only two Paiçâcikas.

There is another grammar of the Prâkṛit dialects by Lakṣmîdhara called *Ṣaḍbhâṣâcandrika* (published in the Bombay Sanskrit and Prâkṛit Series No. 71). It is to Trivikrama's work what the *Siddhânta-kaumudi* of Bhattojidîkṣita is to Pâṇini's Grammar. He too treats of only one dialect under the name of Cûlikâ-paiçâcî; for he says in the introductory verses to his grammar.

षड्विधा सा प्राकृती च शौरसेनी च मागधी ।
पैशाची चूलिकापैशाच्यपभ्रंश इति क्रमात् ॥

and further on he says, in connection with the localities in which these languages are spoken

पिशाचदेशनियतं पैशाचीद्वितयं भवेत् ॥

In fact the name *Ṣaḍbhâṣâcandrikâ* itself loses its significance if it treats of three Paiçacikas in which case it will have to treat of seven dialects. And in the chapter devoted to this particular Paiçâcikâ (pp. 262, 263) he invariably says in the gloss चूलिकापैशाच्यां.

It thus appears that none of the grammarians who follow Hemacandra treat of more than two Paiçâcikâs. And all these treat of six dialects. Hemacandra too treats of the same six dialects and so we are not justified in saying that he has three Paiçâcikâs, thus making his dialects seven.

VACHANAS ATTRIBUTED TO BASAVA.

TRANSLATED BY RAO SAHIB P. G. HALKATTI, M. L. C.

(*Continued from p.* 40.)

Stage III : Prasâda : Grace.

A. *Work without Desiring Anything in Return.*

1. I labour in my fields for the sake of my master. I trade for the sake of God. I accept service with others for the sake of the servants. For, I know that whatever Karma I form, Thou dost subject me to the enjoyment of the fruit of that Karma. Hence I spend for none besides Thee the wealth Thou hast given me. I give back Thy wealth to Thee. This is my oath, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. Mere strings of words such as 'God is the soul of all created beings' will never do instead of the work which is your duty. You ought to use up your body, mind and soul for Guru, Liṅga and Jaṅgama. You ought to work for the servants of Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

3. If it flashes into your mind that you did do your work, you will be rebuked and troubled. This is the word of God. Do not say that you worked for God. Do not say that you worked for his servants. If there be no sense in your mind that you worked for God, Kudalasaṅgama Deva will offer you whatever you ask.

4. I perform at their proper times those several rites, namely the eight kinds of worship and the sixteen kinds of services, and so I become pure. But therein I have no ulterior desire or object. Hence there is no production of fruit, and so I work and become pure, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

5. It is said :—"They will walk in a terrible hell for time imperishable, if they eat, sleep, rise, touch and dine with the worldly." Basava reads these words. But my brothers say that Basava sits below the throne of the worldly Bijjala and serves him. I shall answer them, and am able to answer them. Even though I enter the house of the Mahârs of Mahârs and work for them as a day-labourer, I am always burning to attain thy position. But if I, on the other hand, burn for the pleasure of my stomach, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, let my head be a fine for it, let my head be a fine for it !

6. Is there anybody in this world who says to another, Eat for my body, and enjoy my wife for me" ? Hence you yourself ought to work with an eager mind. You yourself ought to work, labouring with your body. If you do not work with your body, how will Kudalasaṅgama Deva be pleased with you ?

B. *Submit Yourself to God.*

1. Whether it be a learned man or a dull man, he will not be free unless he eats the fruit of his previous Karma ; he will not be free unless he eats the fruit of his present Karma. Mark, so Śruti proclaims aloud : in whatever world you may be, you cannot escape the fruit of Karma. Hence submission of one's soul to Kudalasaṅgama Deva brings blessedness and freedom.

2. They say that the dining plate is the right receptacle for the Liṅga. But the dining plate is not the right receptacle. For the Liṅga one's own mind is the right receptacle. If you know how to offer your own soul without indifference, with a pure heart, Kudalasaṅgama Deva will remain in you.

3. Oh ! I fear not to be in the mind wherein Thou hast placed me ; for that mind has submitted itself to the limitless great One. I fear not to live in that wealth wherein Thou hast placed me ; for that wealth will not be spent for my wife, son, mother, father. I fear not to live in that body wherein Thou hast placed me ; for that body having submitted its all is in the constant enjoyment of 'Prasâd.' Hence my whole being is courageous and strong, and I fear not even Thee, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

C. *Do not Mortify the Body.*

1. If you quell the senses you are guilty. The five senses will hereafter come and will torment you. Did Siriyala and Chaṅgale abandon the pleasures of life and that enjoyment of happiness as husband and wife ? It is only if after having touched Thee, they be tempted to other's wealth and women, that they will be away from Thy feet. Oh Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

Stage IV : Prāṇaliṅga : Siva in the Life.

A. *The Nature of the Prâṇa-Liṅgî.*[19]

1. There is an eye within the eye : why do you not know how to see with it? So, there is life within the life : why do you not know it ? There is a body within the body, and it is inseparable. O Kudalasaṅgama Deva, no one knows the nature of the body Thou hast given.

2. Some take care of their body, others of their life, others of their mind and others of their words. But none take care of the Liṅga within their own life, except Marayya of Tangaturu, the true servant of Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

3. The worship of other Liṅgas cannot stand firm : they merely deceive the mind. For Kudalasaṅgama Deva stands in the interior of your own mind.

4. Those that are rich build temples for God. But alas ! what can I do ? I am a poor man. To me my legs themselves are pillars. my body itself is the temple, and my head itself is the golden crown.

B *The Behaviour of the Prâṇa-Liṅgî.*

1. When one has the Liṅga in his life, then what are we to say about walking without the Liṅga and of speaking without the Liṅga ? One should not taste the pleasures of the five senses without the Liṅga ; one should not swallow even saliva without the Liṅga. This is the word of Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. In this body life is the food to be cooked, calmness is the water and the senses are the fuel. I light the fire of knowledge ; I stir the food with the ladle of reason ; I boil it well, and, having seated myself on the inner soul, I offer to God that food of complete satisfaction. Then it becomes acceptable to Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

19 The man who knows and feels that Śiva dwells within him as the Liṅga.

C. *The Prâṇa-Liṅgî's Realization of God.*

1. I assume the posture, *Paśchima Padmâsana*[20]: I straighten my back, poise my shoulders and move not my lips. I gaze steadfastly, with my eye-brows bent low. So I build a temple in the *Brahma-randhra*[21] and catch Kudalasaṅgama Deva in my hands.

2. When my eyes are full, I cannot see. When my ears are full, I cannot hear. When my hands are full, I cannot worship. When my mind is full, I cannot contemplate, O mighty Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

3. What if a snake's hole has many openings ?—the snake stays in one place. Behold, the mind, by means of contemplation removes its own delusion. Mark how it is cleansed from phenomenal states, when it meditates, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

4. O Thou God, that art pure and pervadest the whole earth, water, light, air and sky, no one can behold Thy greatness save the man whose form has become 'praṇava'[22] itself. By meditation on that jewel of knowledge the passage of my veins becomes pure ; and so I worship, and see Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

5. When that Liṅga, by the favour of the Guru, enters your mind, if you say that you have come to know it by regulating the vital airs of the body, you are surely guilty of ingratitude. If you say you have realized it by controlling the nerves called Iḍâ, Piṅgalâ and Sushumṇâ, will Kudalasaṅgama Deva fail to cut your nose ?

Stage V : Saraṇa : Self-Surrender.

A. *Knowledge of God.*

1. By knowledge of Thee my bodily passions have been destroyed ; by knowledge of Thee my mental passions have been destroyed ; by knowledge of Thee my Karma has been cut through. Thy servants have given me constant advice and have showed me faith in its reality, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. What good will reading and listening do you who have no knowledge of the path of God ? Why even the parrot reads ! But it does not know the path of God, O Kudala-saṅgama Deva. It was Channayya the Mahâr who had the fruits of reading.

3. A flock of sheep enter a garden of sugarcane and nibble only the leaves of the cane. Hence they cannot taste the sweet juice that is inside. It is only the elephant in rut that can know Thee. How can these sheep know Thee ?

4. Faith mixed with pride breeds Karma. Acting without knowing brings loss to one's own calmness. If you act without knowing what is proper for the occasion, Kudala-saṅgama Deva refuses to stay in you.

B. *The State of Śaraṇa.*

1. Do not compare things that are incomparable. They are devoid of time and action, devoid of worldliness, Thy servants, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

2. Is the sea great ? It is bounded by the earth. Is the earth great ? It stands on the head-jewel of the lord of serpents. Is the lord of serpents great ? He is only a signet-ring on the little finger of Parvatî. Is Parvatî great ? She is only one half of the body of Paramesvara. Is Paramesvara great ? He is confined on the edge of the top of the mind of the servants of our Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

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[20] One of the bodily postures recommended in the Yoga Philosophy.

[21] An orifice, believed to exist in the skull on the crown of the head, through which the soul escapes at death.

[22] A name for the sacred syllable *Om*.

3. His origin is not like that of the creatures of the air. Thy servant is a creation of Liṅga. He sticks to one. His heart does not vacillate. He penetrates the mind. He forgets his bodily qualities and worships Thee. He is, as it were. Thine own reflection, O Kudalasaṅgama Deva.

4. If the waters of tanks, wells and rivers dry up, you will see fishes in their dry beds. You will see jewels if the ocean dries up. So, you will see the Liṅga in the servants of Kudalasaṅgama Deva, when they open their minds and speak.

C. *The Environment of the Servant is Holy.*

1. Lo, at his every step, there are clusters of sacred places ; at his every step, there are treasures and wealth. If a servant walks about, the place becomes Benares. Where he stays is a sacred place that gives salvation.

2. If a servant sleeps, it is meditation. If a servant wakes up, it is *Śiva-râtri.* The place where he treads is holy, and what he says is divine truth. Lo, the very body of the Servant of Kudalasaṅgama Deva is Kailas.

Stage VI : Aikya : Oneness.

A. *State of Final Absorption.*

1. Ah, what can I say about the bliss I feel, when my body melts, like a hailstone in water, or an image of lac in fire ? The waters of my eyes have overflowed their boundaries. Oh, to whom shall I speak of the happiness of uniting with Kudalasaṅgama Deva in oneness of mind ?

2. I know not the earth, the sky or the ten quarters. I do not understand them. They say, 'The whole universe is contained in the centre of the Liṅga,' but, like a hailstone, I fell into the midst of the ocean : I am overwhelmed in the happiness of the touch of the Liṅga ; and am saying only, 'God,' knowing nothing whatever of duality.

BOOK-NOTICE.

A CHANT OF MYSTICS AND OTHER POEMS, by AMEEN RIHANI. James T. White & Co., New York, 1921.

In this second volume of verse by the author of the admirably adapted translations from the *Luzumiyât of Abû'l-Alâ,* the title poem is placed last, all the "other poems" preceding it. This is an unusual procedure, but a perusal of the volume will show the reader that the *Chant of Mystics* is the climax and natural ending of all that has gone before.

Internal evidence shows the poem to be the work of a Syrian Christian who has a thorough—even an intimate—knowledge of the Arab Muhammadanism of his native land, and of Islam generally, as understood also in Persia and amongst the Sûfis. Although his dwelling is in the United States and his command of English—shall we whisper American English—perfect, he cannot get away from his beginnings in the Near East. Perhaps he has no desire to do so, for again and again he returns in the beautiful lines which so distinguish this volume to his native land in terms that leave us in no doubt as to his feeling for it. He speaks of himself as the Wanderer :

I wander among the hills of alien lands
  Where Nature her prerogative resigns
To Man ; where Comfort in her shack reclines
  And all the arts and sciences commands.
    But in my soul
    The eastern billows roll—
I hear the voices of my native strands.
My lingering eyes, a lonely hemlock fills
  With grace and splendour rising manifold ;
Beneath her boughs the maples spread their gold
  And at her feet the silver of the rills.
    But in my heart
    A peasant void of art
Echoes the voices of my native hills.
* * *
Land of my birth ! a handful of thy sod
  Resuscitates the flower of my faith ;
For whatsoever the seer of science sayth,
  Thou art the cradle and the tomb of God ;
    And forever I behold
    A vision old
Of Beauty weeping where He once hath trod.

And again, in a poem of noble blank verse, there is a varied refrain running through it in rhyme which speaks with no uncertain voice. Its title is *Lebanus : to B.C.R.*

O my Love, how long wilt thou continue
Fondly nursing every dreaming Hour ?
Our Lebanus, O my Love, is calling.
Yea, and waiting in his ancient Tower.

* * *

O my Love, how long wilt hither tarry.
Making toys of Time's discarded hours ?
Fair Lebanus, O my Love, is calling.
Yea, and waiting in his House of Flowers.

* * *

O my Love, how long wilt hither tarry.
Wilt dally with the web of Time, how long ?
Lone Lebanus, O my Love, is calling.
Yea, and waiting in his House of Song.

* * *

O my Love, how long wilt hither tarry
Weaving gossamer of day and night ?
Sad Lebanus, O my Love, is calling.
Yea, and waiting in his House of Light.

Despite its English form and its author's mastery of English versification, the book is Oriental from end to end in feeling and spirit

SHE WENT OUT SINGING

She went out singing, and the poppies still
Crowd round her door awaiting her return ;
She went out dancing, and the doleful rill
Lingers beneath her walls her news to learn.

Their love is but a seed of what she has sown :
Their grief is but a shadow of my own

O Tomb, O Tomb ! did Zahra's beauty fade,
Or dost thou still preserve it in thy gloom ?
O Tomb, thou art not firmament nor glade.
Yet in thee shines the moon and lilies bloom.

And the poem "Hanem" reads like a clever translation, so thoroughly Eastern is the whole idea and expression :

Hanem, we must have met before,
Perhaps a thousand years ago .
I still remember when I tore
Your virgin veil of lunar snow.

By Allah, I remember, too,
When sousing in my mortal bain,
You bit my lip and said, "Adieu,
When shall we, Syrian, meet again ?"

It will have been discovered that in the lines quoted from "She went out singing," the line, "Their love is but a seed of what she has sown," does not scan correctly with the rest of the lines. Herein lies my one criticism of form. There is too much of this false rhythm in the book, and Mr. Rihani is such a master of rhyme and rhythm and language that one cannot put the fact down to anything but the evil effect of modern taste in verse which, like the discords so much affected by the modern composers of music, is but "the union of inharmonious sounds."

Apart from what I may call the purely poetical experience of emotion in this book, Mr. Rihani has much serious purpose in what he has written—much that helps the Western to understand the Eastern mind. That this is his object is clearly expressed in many places : notably in the last of four fine sonnets to Andalusia, where Moor and Christian—East and West—fought so hard a fight:—

AL-ZAHRA.

Not with the Orient glamor of her pleasures,
Nor with fond rhapsodies of prayer or song
Could she her sovereign reign a day prolong ;
Not in the things of beauty that man measures
By the variable humor of his leisures,
Or by the credibilities that change
From faith to fantasy to rumor strange,
Was she the mistress of immortal treasures.

But when the holy shrine Europa sought,
Herself of sin and witchcraft to assoil,
The sovereigns of Al-Zahra maxims wrought
And Averroes burned his midnight oil ;—
Arabia, the bearer of the light,
Still sparkles in the diadem of Night.

Again, in a poem entitled "The Two Brothers," he definitely tells us in a footnote, "I have tried to embody in these stanzas the idea shared partly by the Sufi, that God and the Universe are one." This is of such interest to Oriental scholars that I do not hesitate to quote it in full :

In the grotto the forest designed,
Where the fire-fly first dreamed of the sun
And the cricket first chirped to the blind
Zoophyte,—in the cave of the mind
We were born and our cradle is one.

We are brothers : together we dwelt
Unknown and unheard and unseen
For aeons ; together we felt
The urge of the forces that melt
The rocks into willowy green.

For aeons together we drifted
In the molten abysses of flame,
While the Cycles our heritage sifted
From the vapor and ooze, and uplifted
The image that now bears our name.

I am God : thou art Man : but the light
That mothers the planets, the sea
Of star-dust that roofs every height
Of the Universe, the gulfs of the night,—
They are surging in thee as in me.

But out of the Chaos to lead us,
The Giants that borrow our eyes
And lend us their shoulders, must heed us :—
They yield us their purpose, they deed us
Forever the worlds and the skies.

Now the eclectic Muhammadan Sûfîs borrowed from any source open to them, including early Hinduism, and the sentiment in the fourth stanza quoted above is eminently Hindu. In the 14th century there arose in Kashmir a great mystic poetess, Lâl Ded, Granny Lâl, as she is now called with affectionate familiarity by the people, Lallâ Yogîshwarî or Lallêshwarî as she is known to the educated. She was a Shaiva Yoginî, by 'profession' as it were, but she was imbued with the eclectic spirit of her time and was to a certain extent acquainted with Sûfî doctrines. Again and again she reverts to the old Indian philosophy of the absorption of the individual in the universal Soul, and being a follower of the Shaiva Yoga, this meant that she taught the absorption of Man in Shiva, as the representative of the Supreme—the One God. At times she becomes more mystical still and merges both Man and Shiva in the One God, the Nothing.

I venture to render one of her poems in English verse, in her own metre, as follows :—

Lord, myself not always have I known ;
Nay, nor any other self than mine.
Care for this vile body have I shown.
Mortified by me to make me Thine.

Lord, that I am Thou I did not know,
Nor that Thou art I, that One be Twain.
'Who am I ?' is Doubt of doubts, and so
'Who art Thou ?' shall lead to birth again.

In another illuminating poem she sings :

Who shall be the rider, if for steed
Shiv the Self-Intelligence shall be ?
What though Keshav shall attend his need,
Helped by Brahma of the Mystic Three.

If the Self-Intelligence be I,
I the Self-Intelligence must be.
Needing Twain in One to know him by
What rider but the Supreme is he ?

And again :

Ice and snow and water : these be three
That to thy vision separate seem :
But they are one to the eyes that see
By light of the Consciousness Supreme.

What the cold doth part, the sun combines :
What the sun doth part, doth Shiv make whole.
What Shiv doth part, the Supreme confines
In one Shiv and Universe and Soul.

Perhaps the whole attitude is best seen in the following poem—the Oneness of all observable things, earthly and divine—the absorption of the individual soul of all things, terrestrial and celestial, in the Universal Soul :

Thou art the Heavens, and Thou art the Earth :
Thou alone art day and night and air :
Thou Thyself art all things that have birth,
Even the offerings of flowers fair.

Thou art, too, the sacrificial meal :
Thou the water that is poured on Thee :
Thou art unction of the things that heal ;
Dost, then, need an offering from me ?

Here then we have the Shaiva conception of the essential Oneness of the soul of all things conceivable, in the poems addressed by a native of the Himalayan mountains to Shiva, the God of the Himalayas, as the highest representation of the Supreme possible to the mind of Man. In the "Song of Siva" Mr. Rihani gives a very different view of him, which is obviously a clever rendering of the Sûfî view : Hindu in substance, eclectic Muhammadan and Persian in form.

'Tis Night ; all the Sirens are silent.
All the Vultures asleep ;
And the horns of the Tempest are stirring
Under the Deep :

'Tis Night ; all the snow-burdened Mountains
Dream of the Sea.
And down in the Wadi the River
Is calling to me.

'Tis Night ; all the Caves of the Spirit
Shake with desire,
And the Orient Heaven's essaying
Its lances of fire :

They hear, in the stillness that covers
The land and the sea,
The River, in the heart of the Wadi,
Calling to me.

'Tis night, but a night of great joyance,
A night of unrest :-
The night of the birth of the spirit
Of the East and the West ;

And the Caves and the Mountains are dancing
On the foam of the Sea,
For the River inundant is calling,
Calling to me.

In the following verses I venture to sum up Lâl Ded's spiritual hopes in quatrains in her own style, based on well known stories about her end and her own actual expressions.

Lo ! a Vision is before mine eyes,
  Framed in a halo of thoughts that burn :
Up into the Heights, lo ! I arise
  Far above the cries of them that spurn.
Lo ! upon the wings of Thought, my steed,
  Into the mists of the evening gold,
High, and higher, and higher I speed
  Unto the Man, the Self I behold.
Truth hath covered the nude that is I ;
  Girt me about with a flaming sword ;
Clad me in the ethereal sky,
  Garment of the glory of the Lord.

In the same way, Mr. Rihani's final, and as has been remarked, 'title' poem, "A Chant of Mystics" sums up the Sûfî philosophy, by a quotation from which I close this review of a remarkable work :

Nor Crescent nor Cross we adore ;
Nor Budha nor Christ we implore ;
Nor Muslem nor Jew we abhor :
  We are free.

We are not of Iran nor of Ind,
We are not of Arabia or Sind :
  We are free.

We are not of the East or the West,
No boundaries exist in our breast :
  We are free.

We are not made of dust or of dew ;
We are not of the earth or the blue :
  We are free.

We are not wrought of fire or of foam ;
Nor the sun nor the sea is our home ;
Nor the angel our kin nor the gnome :
  We are free.

Lâl Ded would have heartily endorsed the closing lines :

Whirl, whirl, whirl,
Till, the world is the size of a pearl.
Dance, dance, dance,
Till the world's like the point of a lance.
Soar, soar, soar,
Till the world is no more.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

27. A wound and service pension.

9 *March* 1754. *Abstract of letter from Fort St. George to the Court of Directors.* Para. 33. Pension Pagodas 15 [Rs. 52½] Per Month allowd Clemente Poverio, Captain of Topasses [Portuguese half-caste soldiers], Per Consultation 5th Novr., he having signalizd himself on many occasions and lost a Leg in the Service. (*Coast and Bay Abstracts*, vol. 5, pp. 458-462.) R.C.T.

28. Mortar for Buildings.

16 *February* 1689. *Consultation at Fort St. George.* Chinam or Lime being so very scarce that we cannot procure sufficient for the reparation of the Garrison and being also very necessary to send some to the West Coast to carry on their building there, It is orderd that 20 Tons of chaulk and a plasterer by trade be sent aboard the *Williamson*, who understands the makeing lime, there being. plenty of wood at Bencoolen. (*Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book*, 1689, p. 15.)

R.C.T.

29. Punishment by Court Martial for Piracy.

18 *April* 1689. *Consultation at Fort St. George.* The two condemned Persons one of whom being a young man, forced or drawn in that bad Company in India, being a Prentice servant was commanded by his Master thereto, the sentence falling upon him by the lott of dye [dice,] and being the generall opinion of the Court Martiall that he was the least Criminall of all and considering that Justice inclines to mercy, Tis agreed and orderd that according to His Majesties Charter granted to the Rt. Honble. Company and from them derived to us, that Francis Hopkins have a pardon for his life but that he receives a punishment as the rest did, to be whipt and after be branded aboard the *Princess*, and that the other offender be repreived till Wednesday next, then to be executed aboard the *Defence* according to sentence of said Coart and their execution warrant to the Provost Martiall.

26 *April* 1689. Coppy of a Pardon granted Charles Hopkins. Whereas you Charles Hopkins have by evidence and lott the 12th Instant being ustly condemned by a Coart Martiall to suffer death for your great and horrid Crime of Piracy, notwithstanding which we being inclin'd to mercy from the scence of your true repentance and hope of your future Reformation, Wee doe by the authority His gracious Majesty the King of England has granted by his Charter to his Rt. Honble. East India Company and from them derived to us, their President and Council of Fort St. George, doe hereby, remitt and Pardon you from the said sentence and execution of death for your said Crime of Pyracy and that you now only suffer the punishment ordered to be inflicted upon you, which we hope will terrifie others and warn you from the like crime for the future which the Allmighty grant. Given under our hands and the Rt. Honble. Companys Seale at Fort St. George in the Citty of Madrass this 26 April Anno Domini 1689. ELIHU YALE, JOHN LITTLETON, THOMAS WAVELL, JOHN CHENEY, WILLIAM FRASER, WILLIAM CAWLEY, THOMAS GREY. (*Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book*, 1689, pp. 40, 44.) R.C.T.

FURTHER SPECIMENS OF NEPÂLÎ.

BY R. L. TURNER.

(*Continued from* p. 49.)

V.

A CLEVER JUDGE.

Wile êk bâwʌn ko tsəra dwî bhai thiu. ʌb us ko tsəra dwî bhai aphnu ʌlʌg bhai gaiu. Pʌtsi aphnu bʌstubhau ʌsə *bannə* lâyo. Tə aphnu *dâzî tsaî* le tsʌlak bhaiərə âphu le *gôru* gôru lia tsə. Bhai tsaî lai gai ko *maumʌte* dio tsə. Tʌb wʌã bâṭo êk dzʌga mã gôṭ tsâri rêtsə. Dai tsaî ko ḍil muni gôṭ râkhyə tsə : bhai dzaî ko ḍil mâthi gôṭ râkhyə tsə. Tʌp pʌtsi bhai tsaî ko gai le bâtsi pâyə tsə. Tyô bâtsi ḍil muni khʌserə dai tsaî ko gôṭ mã pugyə tsə. Tə aphnu bhai tsaî le tyô gai ko bâtsi khôdzerə hinnəkheri dâzi dzaî ko gôru sitə dêkhya tsə. Ta aphnu bhai tsaî le aphnud âzi lai bhʌnyu : " Dai, miro bâtsi biaiərə tiro gôru sitə ai pugyə tsə : lo ! mə lai *dinwôs* ": bhʌnərə bhʌnyu. Tə dai dzaî le bhʌnyu : " Tiro gai le biâko rêtsə bhʌne dêkhin, tiro gôṭ mã bʌsne thiu. Miro gôru le biâko bâtsi dinnə." Dwî bhai âpʌstə mã dzʌgərə bhəio. Tə dai tsaî le bhʌnyo : " Tiro gai le biâko rêtsə bhʌne dêkhin, *pʌnzəbhʌladmi* dzʌma *gʌrə*."

Phiri aphnu dai zaî le sʌb pʌnzəbhʌladmi dzʌmmə gʌryo ; bhai dzaî le pʌnzəbhʌladmi *khoddakheri* kôi pʌni paiənə. Tə us ko bhai dzaî ko mʌn mã birôk lâyerə khôla tirə gəio. Tʌp us ko bhai tsaî le yôṭa śyâl utə bâṭə âko dêkhyo. Tə û le bhʌnyu : " Ē *dzʌməmʌntri*, timi lai yôṭa nisâp sôdsũ." Śyâl le bhʌnyo : " kyê nisâp hô ? " Tə us le bhʌnyo : " Miro gai le biâko bâtsi lai miro dâdzu le us ko gôru le biàko bhʌni sêr gərnu lâyo. Tʌb mai le. ' Miro gai le biâko bâtsi hô : mə lai dêu.' Tə mə lai dienə. Yô nisâp kʌso hunsə ?" bhʌnerə dzʌməmʌntri lai sôdhyo. Dzʌməmʌntri le bhʌnyə : " Aile timi dzau : mə̃ pʌtsi auntsu Yô nisâp gʌri deũla."

ʌgo *sʌlgirə* gâko dzʌŋgʌl mã gaiərə aphnu muk mã sʌb kâlo ghʌsirə âyo. Tʌb us ko dâzu dzaî le : " Kôi tirə pʌnzəbhʌladmi ?" bhʌnerə bhai tsaî lai sôdhyo. Bhai dzaî le bhʌnyo : " Mero pʌnzəbhʌladmi pʌtsi aunde tsə : " bhʌnərə bhʌnyu. Teã bâṭo ʌli khêr mã dzʌməmʌntri âyo. Tə us ko dai dzaî ko pʌnzəbhʌladmi le bhʌnyə : " Ê dzʌməmʌntri. kinə awela gʌryo ?" Tʌb dzʌməmʌntri le bhʌnyə : "Ohô khôla mã ḍʌrelo sʌlkirə gəiə tse , to mâtsa ṭipte khande ṭipte khande gərdəkheri awela bhəio." Tʌb us lai dai dzaî ko mʌndriheru le bhʌnye : " Ṭheṭ ullu ! khôla mã kailei ḍʌrelo sʌlkintsə ? " Dzʌməmʌntri le bhʌnyo. " Ṭheṭ ullu ! gôru le kailei bâtsi pʌni biauntsə." Bhʌnerə dzʌməmʌntri aphnu ghər mã gəio. Tʌp pʌtsi aphnu dwî bhai sʌlla gʌrerə dâzi dzaî ko bhʌladmiheru le dwî bhai lai milaiərə us ko bâtsi bhai dzaî lai diyu. Sʌbei pʌnzə bhʌladmi le : " Khôla mã ḍʌrelo kailei dzannə : gôru le bâtsi kailei biaunnə : khâsə khâs tiro bhai ko gai le biâko bâtsi hô" bhʌnerə milaiərə râkhyo.

Translation.

Once there were two brothers, sons of a brâhman. Now his two sons the two brothers. went apart. Afterwards they began to divide their cattle. Then the elder brother, being cunning, himself took the bulls. To his younger brother he gave the cows. Then after that they are pasturing their herds in one place. The elder brother's herd is placed on the lower terrace ; the younger brother's herd is placed on the upper terrace. After that the younger brother's cow bore a calf. That calf falling on to the lower terrace came into the elder brother's herd. Then his younger brother, looking for his cow's calf, walking about, saw it with his elder brother's bulls. Then the younger brother said to his elder brother : " O elder brother, my calf having been born has come among your bulls : come. give it me, please."

So saying he spoke. Then the elder brother said : " If it had been born from your cow, it would have been in your herd. I will not give up the calf born from my bull." There arose a quarrel between the two brothers. The elder brother said : " If it was born from your cow, collect assessors."

Again, the elder brother collected all his assessors ; the younger brother seeking assessors could not find any. Then grief coming into the mind of the younger brother, he went into the valley. Then the younger brother saw a jackal coming from there. Then he said : " O jackal, I will ask from you a judgment." The jackal said : " What is the judgment ? " Then he said : " My elder brother has laid claim to the calf born from my cow, saying it is born from his bull. Then I : ' It is a calf born from my cow : give it me.' But he did not give it. How will this case be ? ' So saying he asked the jackal. The jackal said : " Do you now go ; I will come after. I will settle this case."

Going to a forest where a fire had gone burning, and having rubbed the black on his face, he came. Then the elder brother asked the younger brother, saying : " Have you any assessors ? " The younger brother said : " My assessor is coming behind." So saying he spoke. After that in a little while the jackal came. Then the elder brother's assessors said : "O jackal, why are you late ?" Then the jackal said : " Oho ! A fire has come burning in the river : so keeping on picking up the fish and eating them, I became late.' Then the elder brother's assessors said to him: " You fool ! does a fire ever burn in the river?" The jackal said : " You fools ! does a bull ever bear a calf either ?" So saying the jackal went to his home. After that, the two brothers having taken counsel, the elder brother's assessors, having reconciled the two brothers, gave his calf to the younger brother. All the assessors completely reconciled them, saying : " A fire never goes in the river ; a bull never bears a calf. Most certainly the calf was born from your younger brother's cow."

Notes.

The speaker was a Gurung, whose native language was Gurungkurâ not Nepâli. His Nepâli, like that of most native Mongolian speakers, is chiefly remarkable for the following points :—

1. Tendency to turn unaccented *a*, and unaccented *e* before *ə* into *ə* : *e.g.*, *bhʌnyə* < *bhanyá*, *pugyə tsə* < *pugyâ cha*, etc.

é > *i* in *miro tiro phiri* < *méro téro phéri*.

Unaccented *é* > *i* in *ghaʌsirə* < *ghasera* (influence of *s* ?) ; elsewhere > *e* or *ə*

c j > *ts -s-*, *dz -z-* without palatalisation of the sibilant. *ch jh* > *ts -s-*, *dz -z-* with loss of aspiration.

2. Fluctuation of pronunciation . *a* remains in *tsōra* < *chôrá*, but becomes *ə* in *bhʌnyə pugyə tsə* etc. *hĩnnəˈkheri* (< *hĩṛdâkheri*). *Tsaĩ* beside *dzaĩ zaĩ* : *dâzi* beside *dâdzi*. This should perhaps largely be ascribed to the hesitation of my ear.

3. Simplification of grammatical forms :

(*a*) The noun has one form only for direct and oblique case, singular and plural : *e.g.*, *bâvʌn ko tsəra* ; *tyô gai ko bâtsi* ; *û le* (but also *us le*) ; *tiro gai le*, etc.

(*b*) There is one form only, that of the 3rd sing., for both numbers of the 3rd person : *e.g.*, *thiu* (<*thiyo*), *tsə* (<*cha*), *bhʌnyu* (<*bhʌnyo*), *râkhyo*. The only exception seems to be the honorific plural *bhʌnyə* (<*bhanyâ*) used with the Jambumantri.

wîle < *uile* : lit. ' then ' : from pronominal stem *u-*. Cf. *aile* ' now ' *taile* ' then ' *jaile* ' when ' *kaile* ' when ?' Kâśmîrî also has an *l-* suffix in adverbs of time : *e.g.*, *teli* ' then, ' *yeli* ' when '.

bânnɔ < *bâṛna* : cf. *hinnu* < *hiṛnu*.

tsaĩ : a deictic particle with some adversative force, especially used with two or more nouns which are contrasted ; so here throughout *dai caĩ* and *bhai caĩ*.

dâzi < *dâjyu* : the form *dai* also occurs under the influence of *bhai*.

maumʌte < *mâlmatai* emphatic form of loanword *mâlmatâ*.

dinwôs < *dinu hawas*.

gôru : ō under the influence of the following *u* does not become ɔ̂ as in *ghɔ̂ra gɔ̂ra*.

pʌnzəbhʌladmi < *pañca bhalâ âdmi*.

gʌrə < *gara* : 2nd plur. for 2nd sing. imperative. *tiro* occurs in the same sentence.

khoddakheri < *khôjdâkheri* : cf. *raddhâni* < *râjdhânî*.

dzʌməmʌntri < *jambu mantri*.

sʌlgirə < *salkiera* : cf. *sʌlkintsə* below.

VI.

SONGS OF FRANCE.

1914-1915.

Dusmanai mârne Gôrkhâli sipâhi hukum bhô mâlik ko :
Dhâwâ ko gîdai mã jôri dinchu : chimâ dêu Kâli ko.
Gardai chan bhêt ghâṭ âpasta saṅa tesai ra dinai mã̃ :
" Sipâhi ko dôsti na garna ; bhai cha : saṅa chuṭchu chinai mã̃.
Surtâ na phikri na gar ; mã pharki âũlâ cainai mã̃."
" Âi bhâiharu !" bilâp garna thâle bâlakhai lainai mã̃.
" Âi pyârâ ma lâi chutâera jânchau. Mã rahne kasori ?
Swâmi ko biyôg ko athâha dukhai mã sahne kasori !
Sirai ko tôpi uṭhâi lagyo gaṅgâ ko hawâi ;
Cauda san bâṭa aṭhâra samma sakena larâi.
Mârsal mã̃ pugi pâni kâ jahâj mã ganna sakdina ;
Bâcera hâmi Hindustân jâũlâ, mã bhanna sakdina.
Jarmani dhâwâ agghorai bhayo Dêbi kâ bânai le ;
Tin barsa samma dhâwâ mã̃ basdâ harkhâyo jânai le
Aṅgrêji sipâhi Phrã̃si ko jillâ gai gae phuṭukai :
Gôli ko parrâ rât dinai caldâ man runchan dhurukai
Aṅgrêji sipâhi Phrã̃si sipâhi bhã̃idôsti gariâ ;
Jarman ko atek masingan parrâ ekai thâũ mariâ.
Jiwai ra mêro sîtalai bhayo Phrã̃si kâ bîrai le
Aṅgrêji sipâhi ranai mã̃ mare gôli kâ pîrai le.
Pharst tard ko darâp aphtero bhayo châuni kâ jhôlâ le
Êkai ra seksin uthâi lagyo Jarmani gôlâ le.
Châuni ko palṭan larâi âundâ samudra tardaina ;
Châuni mã̃ basne dui ghũṛâ ghasne bikâlai mardaina.
Phrã̃si ko muluk ḍisambar mainâ pario Barapha ;
Ranai mã̃ pari bhâi dôsti mare Kali ko sarapa.
Phrã̃si ko muluk ciso ra khaṭṭâ : baraṇḍi bichâĕ ;
Hukum mã mâni aṭekai gardâ Jarman lâi bitâĕ.
Phrã̃si kâ dês mã̃ paral ko bâri, pâkai khumâni ;
Ragat mã̃ pari hîlai mã̃ gâryo ; chimâ dêu, Bhawâni
Lestari gôrâ atekai gardâ lûṭiâ masingan .

Tôpai ko dhûã kuiro jhaī pardâ tharkanchan pâpi man.
Dasaī ra târikh unîs sau pandra mârca kâ mainâ mã
Sikin Ṭarḍ Gôrkhâ bahâduri bhayo Lesṭar kâ bâc̃ mã.
Tîtarai câkorai banai mã marc pãc nambar charrâ le :
Pãcai ra lainai Jarmani pare masingan parrâ le.
Tôpai ko phaira ḍân ḍânai bhayo Phrãsi kâ phâṭak mã ;
Sikin Ṭard Gôrkhâ bahâduri bhayo Nyûsepal aṭek mã.
Tôpai kâ gôlâ jhimjhimi âundâ râmârâm bhanda chan
Ghôpto ra cêpṭo sâthi bhâi mardâ kasai le ganda chan ?
Sâthi bhâi bhôkdâ jîu mêro bhîjyo ragat kâ thôpâ le :
Phrãsi mã teso din dinai marthe bairi kâ tôpâ le.
Nirbali jîu le haresai khândâ âyôni bukhârai :
Phrãsi kâ ghar mã gôli ko darai pâina uchârai
Patrôlai ghûmne hawâi jahâj akâsai ghumâune ;
Pâni ko jahâj Jarman kâ âundâ Angrêj le ḍubâune
Kali ko pâp ragat kâ ḍabbâ ; chimâ dêu, Dêbi mâi !
Jarman ko jahâj urdâ mã âyo ; luki jâu, dâji bhâi !
Rimi ra jhimi pâni ra âyo ; baranḍi ôrhâûlâ:
Topai kâ gôlâ âundai chan bâklo ; kahã lukna mã jâûlâ ?
Hê pâpi Jarman batâs ko jahâj akâsai ghumâune,
Nisânai dine sirisṭa line duniyâ ruwâune !
Pacîsai târikh unîs sau pandra siṭambar mainâ mã
Kulbîr Thâpâ le pâyôni bîsî ghaile liâundâ mã.
Sirai mã ghumâi mârûlâ mai le samâti rîsai mã.
Jarmani dhâwâ mã gari âe Misar kâ dêsai mã.
Dinai ra dinai carkine ghâmai Misar kâ jillâ mã;
Jarman ko phaujai bhusukai bhayo Biljam kâ killâ mã
Ânur ko rasai Phrãsi ko raksi kinûlâ dâmai le :
Misar kâ dês mã rêti cha dhêrai ; mã marũ ghâmai le
Dêbi kâ bân le bhai sakyo juddha ; duniyâ sakiyo.
' Bãcûlâ ' bhani âs man mã lâgcha ; satte jug thâpiyo
Kâphar na hunu ; ranai mã marnu; na khânu haresai.
Man gara yestai. Kahã rahecha pahâr ? kahã rahecha mâdesai ?

Translation.

Gurkha soldiers to slay the enemy was the Master's order. A song of the war will I make Have pity, O Kâli.

They meet together on such a day. "Make not friendship with the soldiers. There is my younger brother : with him I leave thee soon. Be not grieved nor troubled ; I shall return in time of peace " "Alas, brothers ! " Thus in the lines the children began to make lament.

" O my lover, thou wilt leave me and go. How can I remain ? How shall I bear the immeasurable grief of parting from my husband ?"

The sea-wind blew away the hats from our heads. From year fourteen to year eighteen the fighting did not cease.

When I reach Marseilles I cannot count the ships of the sea. Shall we live to return to India ? That I cannot say

Terrible was the German attack through the shafts of Dêbî. For three years my soul exulted in the fight.

The English soldiers came hot-foot to the land of France. The rain of bullets speeding night and day, our hearts weep bitterly.

English soldiers and French soldiers made fast friends. In the German attack through machine-gun fire they died in one spot.

My body was cooled by the beer of France: the English soldiers died in battle through hurt of bullets.

The draft from the 1st battalion were in difficulty because of the rucksacks from their cantonment; and a German shell carried away one whole section.

The regiment in cantonments, although war comes, will not cross the sea; sitting in cantonments, squatting on their hams, they will not die untimely.

In the land of France in the month of December fell snow. Falling in battle my brothers died by the curse of Kali.

The land of France is cold and biting. I put on my great-coat Obeying the order I attacked and slew the Germans.

In the land of France are fields of hay: ripe are the apricots One falling in blood is buried in the mud. Have pity, O Bhawânî.

The white regiment of the Leicesters made an attack and captured a machine-gun. When the smoke of the guns falls like a mist, then tremble the hearts of the wicked.

On the tenth day of the month of March in the year 1915 were gallant deeds done by the Second-Third Gurkhas on the left of the Leicesters.

Black partridge and red partridge have been killed in the jungle by number five shot: and five lines of Germans have fallen by the fire of our machine-guns.

The fire of the guns rumbled in the gateways of France Gallant deeds were done by the Second-Third Gurkhas in the Battle of Neuve-Chapelle.

The shells of the guns coming like fine rain give greeting on their backs and on their faces my friends and brothers dying—shall any count them?

Carrying my friend and brother my body has been wetted with drops of his blood In France thus daily they were killed by the guns of the enemy

When my body was weak and despaired, then came fever In the houses of France I found no refuge from the peril of bullets.

An aeroplane on patrol is sailing round the sky: the ships of the Germans the English sink as they come.

Gouts of blood through the sin of Kali! Have pity, Mother Dêbî! A German aeroplane has come flying; hide you, my brothers.

The rain has come pouring; I will put on my great coat. The shells of the guns come thickly: where shall I go to hide?

O wicked German aeroplane, that sailest the sky, giving mark and taking aim and making the people lament.

On the 25th day of the month of September in the year 1915 Kulbîr Thâpâ won the V C bringing in wounded.

Turning him on his head I will slay him, seizing him in my wrath: thus having fought against the Germans, I came to the land of Egypt.

Day after day the sunshine glares in the country of Egypt. Overwhelming was the German army in the forts of Belgium

The juice of the grape, the spirit of France, will I buy with a price. In the land of Egypt is much sand ; I shall die of the heat.

By the shaft of Dêbî has the war been finished ; the people are no more. Hope comes to my mind, saying : ' I shall live.' The golden age has been established.

Be not a coward ; die in battle ; do not despair. Thus do you determine. How great is the difference between the Plains and the Hills !

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR T. W. HAIG, K.C.I.E., C B E.

(*Continued from p.* 36.)

LXXXVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUARREL WHICH AROSE BETWEEN ṢALÂBAT KHÂN AND SAYYID MURTAẒA AND OF ITS CAUSE AND ORIGIN.

The quarrel which arose between Sayyid Murtaẓâ and Ṣalâbat Khân was in truth the cause of the ruin of both of them, as well as a host of others.

When Salâbat Khân found his power firmly established and, as has already been indicated, had overpowered Asad Khân, who had striven so hard to ensure his collaboration in the office of *vakil* and *pîshvâ*, he formed the design of reducing Sayyid Murtaẓâ, like the rest of the *amîrs* to a state of absolute obedience to all his commands and prohibitions. He therefore issued to Sayyid Murtaẓâ, under the royal seal, insolent and domineering *farmâns*, full of impertinence. These orders naturally inflamed the wrath of Sayyid Murtaẓâ, and led to strife. Sayyid Murtaẓâ and Ṣalâbat Khân had formerly been firm friends and had confirmed their friendship by means of oaths and agreements. Such orders as these were therefore most distasteful to Sayyid Murtaẓâ and as he was, partly in consequence of his former friendship with the *vakîl*, no whit inferior in power and influence to Ṣalâbat Khân, he returned to them such answers as were far from being acceptable to Salâbat Khân, and when the strife rose high between them, turbulent fellows did their best to increase it and strove day and night to ruin both, until there happened to them what happened, as will be related hereafter.

When the friendship between Sayyid Murtaẓâ and Ṣalâbat Khân was changed to enmity, all the *amîrs* of Berar ranged themselves on the side of Sayyid Murtaẓâ and opposed Salâbat Khân. As Ṣalâbat Khân had so closed all avenues of access to the king that by no device whatever could any person, or even any letter, obtain admission to the royal presence, all power in the state remained in his hands, and Asad Khân had no longer any influence in public business. This led to ill-feeling on the part of Asad Khân against Ṣalâbat Khân, and he secretly allied himself with Sayyid Murtaẓâ and the *amîrs* of Berar, and several times succeeded in bringing Sayyid Murtaẓâ to the capital with a force of 20,000 horse. Salâbat Khân had no chance of successfully opposing this force, for the greater part of the army in Aḥmadnagar was ill-disposed towards him, so on each occasion on which Sayyid Murtaẓâ came, he patched up a peace with Asad Khân, treating him courteously, and obtained his intervention for the purpose of inducing Sayyid Murtaẓâ to return, so that the quarrel was healed for a time; but as soon as Sayyid Murtaẓâ returned, Ṣalâbat Khân again ignored Asad Khân and seized all power in the state until at length he became so powerful that he removed Asad Khân not only from the office of *vakîl* but also from the rank of *amîr*, as will shortly be related.

LXXXVII.—An account of the death of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh I, and of the accession of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II and of the war which broke out between Bîjâpûr and Aḥmadnagar, and of its result.

A. D. 1579. As the king, on whose government depended all the affairs of Hindûstân, was ever desirous of extending his dominions until he should have brought the whole globe under his control, he now formed the design of conquering Bîdar, and informed Ṣalâbat Khân and Asad Khân of his project in writing, ordering that an envoy should first be sent to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh to renew the alliance with him, for the purpose of ensuring his support against Bîdar, and that when this mission had succeeded, steps should be taken to conquer Bîdar. The *vakîls* carried out these orders and sent an envoy to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh to inform him of the matter, and as enmity always existed between the Barîd Shâhs and the Quṭb Shâhs, Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh regarded the policy of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh as his own[229] and concurred in it without the slightest hesitation. After this Asad Khân and Ṣalâbat Khân assembled the bravest *amîrs* and officers of the army, such as Mîrzâ Yâdgâr, entitled Khânjahân, Muḥammad Khân the Turkmân, Shâhvardî Khân, and Chaghatâi Khân, and of the Hindû *amîrs*, Chandar Râi, Lamtya and Sâtya, and many *silâḥdars* of the royal guards, and sent them with a force of 20,000 horse against Bîdar. The *amîrs* with this army marched to Bîdar, encamped before the place and reduced Malik Barîd,[230] the ruler of Bîdar, to a state of terror.

Malik Barîd, being unable to withstand the army of Aḥmadnagar, shut himself up in the fortress, which he strengthened, in order that it might be able to resist the attacks of the besiegers. The army of Aḥmadnagar meanwhile invested the fortress, set to work on the trenches, and opened fire against the place.

The fortress of Bîdar is a byword in Hind and Sind for strength, being second only to the fort of Khaibar for strength, and it could not, therefore, be captured at once; and the siege dragged on. Barîd and the garrison were reduced to great straits by the long continuance of the siege, and he appealed to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh for help, sending to him a eunuch of whose beauty 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had long heard and whom he burned to possess, and other gifts, entreating him to help him in repulsing the army of Aḥmadnagar.

When informers brought to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh the news of Barîd's difficulties and of the approach of the beautiful eunuch whom he desired, he was so delighted that before he even met the eunuch he sent several of his *amîrs* and chief officers, with about 10,000 horse,[231] to Bîdar to the assistance of Malik Barîd, and himself marched on to Sholâpûr, at which place Barîd's envoy and the eunuch had arrived, burning with desire to meet the eunuch. After he had met the envoy and the eunuch, he sent the former to the dwelling which had been prepared for him, and the latter to his own private apartments. When all the attendants and servants of the bedchamber had departed and gone to their own quarters, the king approached the eunuch, and that wretched slave, who with the object of avenging his honour had concealed a naked dagger about his person, seized his opportunity and stabbed the king with his dagger *scindens jecur ejus quod ardebat amore sui.* Since the wretched and bold slave struck well home, the good king heaved one sigh of agony and fell to the earth, while

229 The Quṭb Shâhî and Barîd Shâhî kings were usually on bad terms, partly owing to religious differences, but it was never part of the policy of the former to acquiesce in the annexation of Bîdar, either by Aḥmadnagar or by Bîjâpûr. It may be added that this account of the siege of Bîdar is a mere repetition and amplification of the account already given of the siege of the city by Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh and Ṣâḥib Khân. Murtaẓâ did not besiege the city twice, but only once.

230 'Alî Barîd Shâh.

231 This is a gross exaggeration. 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh sent only one thousand horse.

his soul at that moment left his body and flew on the wings of martyrdom to heaven. A lamp-tender who was on duty heard the king's cry and went to see what had happened, and the base slave slew him with the same dagger. The guard now became aware of what had happened and carried off the slave and put him to a shameful death.

This event happened on the night of Thursday, Safar 23, A.H. 988 (April 9, A.D. 1580), the words غلام دید giving the date.[232]

On the death of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh the affairs of the kingdom of Bîjâpûr fell into great confusion; the army plundered the country and its inhabitants, and violence and injustice succeeded the reign of justice which 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had established.

'Alî 'Âdil Shâh was in truth a just, generous and beneficent king, a *darvîsh* of pure faith, good-natured and of angelic qualities. He was a lover who knew love's joys and ever consorted with the beautiful and had intercourse with them. During his reign the doors of his treasures were open to afflicted *darvîshes*, and he was a miracle of high spirit and generosity. His humility and hatred of pomp were such that he usually slept on the ground without a bed or covering, and he would often in his meekness, say, 'If God in His mercy had not made me a king what should I have done in my fecklessness and how should I, in my unworthiness, have gained a living?' Although most of his time was spent in sensuality and pleasure, his dominions were much extended during his reign, and he surpassed in power and majesty both his father and grandfather. His court was the resort of the learned and accomplished men of the age, and he was so instant in encouraging wise and learned men that when he heard, the fame of Shâh Fathullâh Shîrâzî he was at once anxious to meet him, sent a large sum as a present to that sage, and thereby induced him to leave his native land and come to his court, and, as long as 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh was on the throne, Fathullâh held the place of honour among the learned men at his court.

After the death of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, the *amîrs* and the chief officers of his army put the wretched slave to death as a punishment for the murder which he had committed, and as Alî 'Âdil Shâh had left no son, they unanimously raised Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, the son of his brother, to the throne, he being then a youth, made their offerings to him, and tendered their congratulations.

LXXXVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUARREL WHICH TOOK PLACE BETWEEN MURTAZÂ NIZÂM SHÂH, AND IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHÂH, AND OF ITS CONSEQUENCES.

A. D. 1580. It has already been mentioned that Malik Barîd had applied to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh for assistance against the army of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, and that 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had sent some of his *amîrs* and officers with nearly 10,000 horse to his assistance. This act of hostility greatly annoyed Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh and he began to revolve schemes of revenge. Immediately afterwards news of the death of 'Alî Âdil Shâh and of the great confusion among the *amîrs* of the kingdom of Bîjâpûr reached the king.

The circumstances of this affair were as follows:—When 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh died, Kâmil Khân, one of the chief *amîrs* of Bijâpûr, raised to the throne, owing to his extreme youth, Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, one of the sons of Tahmâsb Shâh, the brother of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, and blinded Ismâ'îl Shâh, Ibrâhîm's elder brother who had come to years of discretion, and then seized all power in the state, allowing nobody to share it with him.[233]

232 This date agrees with that given by Firishta (ii, 88).

233 According to Firishta all the *amîrs* of Bîjâpûr concurred in placing the young Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II on the throne. He does not mention that Ibrâhîm had an elder brother, Ismâ'îl, who was blinded, and his silence is probably due to the fact that Ibrâhîm was his patron. Ibrâhîm was only nine years of age at the time of his accession.—F. ii, 90.

In a short time, however, the officers of the army found that they could not endure the domination of Kâmil Khân and allied themselves with Kishvar Khân in order to overthrow him.[234] They succeeded in their design, and, having removed Kâmil Khân from the control of affairs, left the coast clear for Kishvar Khân who now assumed supreme power in the state. Kishvar Khân was apprehensive of Sayyid Muṣṭafâ Khân, one of the greatest, wisest, and most politic and resourceful of the *amîrs* of Hindûstân, who was then engaged in a holy war against the infidels of Vijayanagar, and he therefore sent the Sayyid Mîrzâ, Nûr-ud-dîn Muḥammad Nîshâbûrî, with some *amîrs*, havaldars, and officers of the army with orders to seize and slay him. This infamous force slew Sayyid Muṣṭafâ Khân, who was, in truth, the chief pillar of the Bîjâpûr state [235]

When Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh heard of the plight to which the kingdom of Bîjâpûr was reduced, owing to the quarrels between the *amîrs*, he ordered the *vakîls* of his kingdom to send an envoy to Golconda to confirm and renew his treaties with Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh and to make an offensive and defensive alliance between the two states in order that Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh might join him in attacking Bîjâpûr.

Ṣalâbat Khân and Asad Khân sent an envoy to Golconda to make the alliance and then jointly appointed Malik Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, the Turk[236], the *sar-i-naubat* of the right wing of the army, commander-in-chief of the army of invasion, associating with him a number of the most famous *amîrs*, such as 'Âdil Khân and most of the *silâḥdârs*, Foreigners, Dakanîs, and Africans.

Malik Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, after he had assembled and equipped the army, marched with it towards Sholâpûr, and when the army, which was very numerous, entered the kingdom of Bîjâpûr, the lot of the inhabitants of that state was indeed hard. The troops plundered and laid waste the country for a considerable distance on each side of the line of march, destroying many towns and villages, while the garrisons of the posts on the road and the civil governors scattered and fled on the approach of the royal army, some of them fleeing as far as the capital, where they spread the news of the invasion.

When Kishvar Khân heard of the approach of the army of Aḥmadnagar, he ordered the assembly of the army of Bîjâpûr to the number of some 20,000 horse and sent some of the *amîrs*, such as Afẓal Khân, Mughul Khân, and Miyân Budhû with 10,000 horse, to the assistance of the other army of Bîjâpûr, ordering the officers first to effect a junction with the army which had been sent to the relief of Bîdar, and, acting in conjunction with that army, to attempt to drive out the army of Aḥmadnagar.[237]

234 Kâmil Khân's offence was that he treated Chând Bîbî Sultân, sister of Murtazâ Niẓâm Shâh I, widow of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh I, and guardian of the young king with disrespect; and it was at her request, that Hâjî Kishvar Khân removed and beheaded him—F. ii, 93, 94.

235 Kishvar Khân had enraged the officers serving in the field against the army of Aḥmadnagar by demanding from them all the elephants which they had captured. They conspired to depose him from the post of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* and to reinstate the Sayyid, Muṣṭafâ Khân. Kishvar Khân forestalled their plans by causing Muṣṭafâ Khân to be put to death. He was strangled by a man named Muhamman Amîn—F. ii, 96.

236 Firishta says that Malik Bihzâd-ul-Mulk was a Circassian. He was thus a fellow-countryman of Ṣalâbat Khân, and this will explain his advancement. The army of Berar under the veteran Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavârî was ordered to accompany the army sent from Ahmadnagar, and Sayyid Murtaẓâ thus found himself, to his disgust, subordinate to Bihzâd-ul-Mulk. Whether this humiliation of Sayyid Murtaẓâ was the cause or an effect of the bitter enmity between him and Ṣalâbat Khân cannot be determined, but it is improbable that Ṣalâbat Khân would have put this slight on Sayyid Murtaẓâ unless they had already been on bad terms.—F. ii, 280.

237 According to Firishta, Muḥammad Âqû the Turkmân was in command of the frontier fortress of Naldrug or Shâhdrug, and the force sent to his assistance was commanded by 'Ain-ul-Mulk Kan'ânî, with whom were associated Jund Mîr, Ankas Khân, and the African *amîrs* Ikhlâṣ Khân and Dilâvar Khân—F. ii, 94, 101, 281.

This army of 10,000 horse marched from Bîjâpûr and came up with the army which had been sent to the assistance of the ruler of Bîdar on the banks of the Beora. Here the *amîrs* of Bîjâpûr reviewed their united forces and found that they numbered nearly 30,000.

At this juncture spies brought the news that 8,000 Quṭb Shâhî horse, which were marching by way of Sirol and Serâm to the aid of the Niẓâm Shâhî army, had entered Bîjâpûr territory. The *amîrs* of the 'Âdil Shâhî army considered the repulse of this force to be more urgent than any other operation, and decided to intercept and disperse this force before it could effect a junction with the Niẓâm Shâhî army and then attack the latter. The Bîjâpûr *amîrs* then marched to meet the Quṭb Shâhî army, but before they could come up with them the news of their movement reached the latter, and the Quṭb Shâhî troops, overcome with terror, fled before they were face to face with the enemy. They were pursued for three stages by the 'Âdil Shâhî troops and many of them were slain. The 'Âdil Shâhî troops, having pursued them as far as the village of Tândar, near Fîrûzâbâd, returned in triumph, their courage and confidence and their eagerness to meet the Niẓâm Shâhî army being much increased by the successful issue of their expedition against the Quṭb Shâhî army.

LXXXIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEFEAT WHICH, OWING TO THE NEGLIGENCE AND OVERWEENING CONFIDENCE OF BIHZÂD-UL-MULK, BEFEL THE NIẒÂM SHÂHÎ ARMY.

It has already been mentioned that the quarrel between Ṣalâbat Khân and Sayyid Murtaẓâ had reached an acute stage and that each was constantly employed in endeavouring to overthrow the other. It was at this time that Ṣalâbat Khân, owing to his quarrel with Sayyid Murtaẓâ, took from him the command-in-chief with which he had been so long associated that it was, as it were, a garment sewn upon his body, and bestowed it on Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, who was both young and inexperienced, placing most of the great *amîrs* under his orders, seeking only his own interests and disregarding those of his master. In obedience to the royal *farmâns*, the *amîrs* of necessity submitted openly to Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, but rendered unwilling service and were exceedingly slack in the performance of their duties in the field. At length Ṣalâbat Khân realized how disgraceful was the state of affairs[238] and repented of having appointed Bihzâd-ul-Mulk to the command. He now, therefore, appointed Sayyid Murtaẓâ, who was then in Aḥmadnagar, to the command of the army in the field, and Sayyid Murtaẓâ, in obedience to the royal command, set out with his own personal troops from Aḥmadnagar towards the army in the field and at the same time sent a messenger to the *amîrs* of Berar, ordering them to assemble their forces and follow him.

When Sayyid Murtaẓâ was within two stages of the army commanded by Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, he was informed by spies that the 'Âdil Shâhî army was marching to attack Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, who had neglected the most ordinary precautions of warfare.[239] The new commander-in-chief therefore sent a message to Bihzâd-ul-mulk ordering him to march with the army and join him, lest the 'Âdil Shâhî army should attack him when he was unprepared. Bihzâd-ul-Mulk retreated one stage but would retreat no further towards Sayyid Murtaẓâ and halted and passed his time in sensual enjoyment and frivolity. His youthful pride prevented him from taking any precautions until a heavy defeat befell the royal army. This

[238] The armies of Aḥmadnagar and Bîjâpûr remained encamped within five or six *kurôh* of one another for nearly a month or, according to another account, "for some days."—F. ii. 94, 280.

[239] Firishta says that Sayyid Murtaẓâ was encamped at some distance from Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, and that the *amîrs* of Bîjâpûr were encouraged to attack the latter by their knowledge that Sayyid Murtazâ, owing to resentment at his supersession, would not be likely to support him.—F. ii, 280.

defeat was entirely due to Bihzâd-ul-Mulk's having been appointed commander-in-chief, or although it could not be denied that of bravery, generosity, personal beauty and good nature Bihzâd-ul-Mulk had a large share, he was utterly inexperienced in war, and the *amîrs*, knowing that Sayyid Murtaẓâ was available for the command, paid a very unwilling obedience to such a youth.

Bihzâd-ul-Mulk was now encamped at the village of Dhârâseo, between Naldrug and Sholâpûr, engaged in nothing but enjoyment and self indulgence when, at about the breakfast hour, his camp was suddenly rushed by the army of Bîjâpûr with such suddenness that the troops had not time to arm themselves, and could make no attempt at resistance.[240] The greater part of the royal army fled, and although Malik Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, with a small force, most gallantly charged the enemy's centre yet, as most of the army had fled, this effort was of little avail, and Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, shedding tears of regret, was at length forced to flee from the field. All the baggage, property, horses, elephants,[241] tents, and camp equipage of Bihzâd-ul-Mulk and his army, fell into the hands of the 'Âdil Shâhî troops, and thus a strong and well appointed army was scattered in a moment, like a girl's locks by the morning breeze, and wandered over plains and deserts.

The 'Âdil Shâhî army thus attained both its objects, and gained large quantities of spoil. The Bîjâpûrîs in their pride then marched towards Bîdar for the purpose of aiding Barîd-ul-Mulk.

When the news of this disgraceful defeat was brought to Ṣalâbat Khân, he bitterly regretted having appointed Bihzâd-ul-Mulk who had proved himself to be utterly without foresight and prudence, commander-in-chief. It was all owing to Ṣalâbat Khân's enmity against Sayyid Murtaẓâ, that this defeat befell the royal army.

When Bihzâd-ul-Mulk's broken army reached the army of Sayyid Murtaẓâ, he mounted his horse and rode to some rising ground to one side of his camp and ordered his whole army to arm themselves and to come forth from their camp, and he secretly sent one of his confidential servants to his own tent with orders to remove everything of value, pack it up, and send it to Aḥmadnagar and to burn everything else that could not be carried away. It was at nightfall that news of the defeat was brought to Sayyid Murtaẓâ, and darkness had fallen by the time that his army came forth from its camp and the *sauve qui peut* began. Sayyid Murtaẓâ also was compelled to take flight and the whole army fled through the night, resting nowhere till daybreak, so that the hardships endured by the army of Sayyid Murtaẓâ in their nocturnal flight were not less than those endured by the camp of Bihzâd-ul-Mulk in their defeat by day.

The next day, when the Niẓâm Shâhî army were halted on the bank of a river, spies brought word that the 'Âdil Shâhî army, after its victory, had marched at once in the direction of Bîdar,[242] without attempting to pursue the fugitives, and Sayyid Murtaẓâ, ashamed of his unreasonable panic and flight, at once set to work to remedy the state of affairs. At

240 Firishta gives two different accounts of his affair. In his chronicles of Bîjâpûr he makes it appear that the army of Bîjâpûr attacked that of Aḥmadnagar in daylight, and that the latter was well prepared, but was defeated after a pitched battle. In his chronicles of Aḥmadnagar he says that the army of Bîjâpûr fell on that of Aḥmadnagar before dawn, when Bihzâd-ul-Mulk was engaged in a drinking bout, and took it completely by surprise, so that it was able to make no stand.—F. ii. 94, 280.

241 About 150, or, according to another account, about 100 elephants were captured.—F. ii. 95, 280.

242 This passage refers to the siege of Bîdar (see above) which is not mentioned by Firishta. It may well be doubted whether Murtazâ Niẓâm Shâh, or rather Ṣalâbat Khân, was attempting simultaneously the annexation of Bîjâpûr and Bîdar.

this juncture, the *amîrs* of Berar, Jamshîd Khân, Khudâvand Khân, Baḥrî Khân, Tîr Andâz Khân, Shîr Khân, Dastûr Khân, Chandâ Khân and Rustam Khân, arrived with a numerous army, and Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, with the *amîrs* subordinate to him, joined the army of Sayyid Murtaẓâ

When the *amîrs* of the Niẓâm Shâhî army which was besieging Bîdar heard that the 'Âdil Shâhî army had defeated the forces under Bihzâd-ul-Mulk and was marching on Bîdar, they retreated from Bidar into the Niẓâm Shâhî dominions, and when the 'Âdil Shâhî army heard of their retreat, they turned aside and encamped before Naldrug, which is one of the most important fortresses in the 'Âdil Shâhî dominions.

Meanwhile the royal command reached the *amîrs* of the army which had been besieging Bîdar, that they should at once join the army under Sayyid Murtaẓâ, and since they were quite ready to place themselves under his orders, being convinced that he had the best interests of the kingdom at heart, Mîrzâ Yâdgâr and the other *amîrs*, with their troops, at once obeyed the order and marched rapidly to join the *amîr-ul-umarâ*, who was thus in a very short time joined by troops from all sides as the scattered forces reassembled, and their perplexity was changed to content. The *amîr-ul-umarâ* and the *amîrs* with him then resolved to avenge the recent defeat, and marched, with their great host, against the 'Âdil Shâhî army.

On the way Sayyid Shâh Mîr with nearly 10,000 Quṭb Shâhî horse, who had been detached to aid the army of Aḥmadnagar, joined the army, and Sayyid Murtaẓâ and Sayyid Shâh Mîr met with joy. The two armies then marched on Naldrug, resolved on avenging themselves on the Bîjâpûrîs.

The allies arrived before Naldrug and spread fear among the army of Bîjâpûr, which, however, relying on the strength of the fortress, prepared to oppose the invaders. That night, there being nothing but the fortress between the opposing armies, each army lay under arms in case of a night attack from the other. The next day at daybreak the armies took the field and the marshals drew up the forces in battle array. The two armies then advanced simultaneously against each other and joined battle. The fight was fierce and raged without advantage to either side from daybreak until noon, when a body of Niẓâm Shâhî horse made a dashing attack on the enemy's front. This was followed by an attack by a thousand picked horsemen on the enemy's centre. A number of war elephants preceded the cavalry attack, and the whole attacking force advanced with the impetuosity of a mountain torrent. This attack broke the enemy's centre, and his right and left wings, seeing that the centre had been broken, also broke, and the attack thus swept the enemy from the field.[243]

The army of Aḥmadnagar at once pursued the enemy with such vigour as not even to give them time to look back, and drove them to take refuge in the fort of Naldrug, where they had some respite from the pitiless sword. So headlong was the flight of the enemy towards the fortress that many threw themselves into the ditch which encloses two of its sides, and were drowned. Those who escaped into the fortress at once opened from its walls a heavy fire of artillery and musketry on the attacking force which caused it to retire from under the walls. After this daily combats were fought between the Niẓâm Shâhî and the 'Âdil Shâhî troops, victory usually declaring for the former, when the latter would flee again into the fortress.

243 Firishta does not mention this defeat of the *amîrs* of Bîjâpûr and it is very improbable that the army of Aḥmadnagar gained any important success at Naldrug, or they would not have been so easily discouraged. As a matter of fact they suffered very heavy losses before the fortress.

When at length the *amîrs* saw that there could be no end to warfare of this nature and that little was to be gained by tarrying before Naldrug, they assembled before the *amîr-ul-umarâ*, and in the council of war all agreed that as the army in Naldrug was the greater part of the whole army of Bîjâpûr, and that hardly any troops remained in Bîjâpûr, the wisest course to pursue was that half of the army should make a forced march to Bîjâpûr, marching at night in order that the enemy might not be aware of the movement, and besiege that place before any more troops could enter it, leaving half the army to shut up the 'Âdil Shâhî army in Naldrug. This plan was agreed upon, and half of the besieging army set out for Bîjâpûr in the depth of a winter's night.[244]

(To be continued.)

LAND SYSTEM IN ACCORDANCE WITH EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE WITH NOTES ON SOME OF THE INSCRIPTIONS AND ON SOME TERMS USED IN THEM.[1]

BY KISHORI MOHAN GUPTA, M.A.

FROM a careful examination of the Inscriptions it will appear that the grants made by kings or their ministers and other high officials usually consisted of :

A. The village proper or the habitat (*grâma*). In some cases the village was smaller than the normal type (*padraka*) ; and in a few cases these were attached to big villages or to cities or towns.

Padraka has been wrongly translated by Dr. Fleet as " common land." *Antaratrâyâm Śivakapadrake* of the Mâliyâ Copperplate Ins. (line 22), had better be translated : in the (*bhukti, vishaya, mandala* or city, and not village of) Antarâtrâ in the village (suburban or small) called Śivaka. *Padra* means, according to the lexicons, a village : the *taddhita* " *ka* " (क) is added to imply "smallness." There is absolutely no necessity to refer to "*padr*" or "*padar*" to seek for its meaning.[2] That *padraka* means a village is explicitly clear from the following:

Aṅkoṭṭaka-chaturaśîty-antargata-Vaḍapadrak-âbhidhâna-grâma in the Ins. of Karkarâja[3]; *Śamîpadraka-grâma* in the Insc. of Jayabhatta[4] ; *akrûreśvara-vishay-ântargata-śirîshapadrakam esha grâmaḥ* in the Insc. of Dadda Mahârâja[5].

B. The low lands (*tala*) and the high lands(*uddeśa*), the market place (*haṭṭikâ*),[6] plain land and water-reservoirs (*jala-sthala*) which were situated within the village or formed the boundaries.[7] Compare for example, *Meshikâgrâma . . . satalaḥ soddeśa sâmramadhûka sajalasthala* etc. in the Mongyr cop. pl. Insc. of Devapâladeva,[8] *talopeta* in the Insc. of Nârâyaṇapâladeva.[9]

244 The fact was that the *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar despaired of effecting anything against Naldrug. On the death of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh of Golconda on June 6, 1580, the contingent sent by him to aid the army of Aḥmadnagar dispersed. Ṣalâbat Khân had succeeded in pursuading Shâh Mîrzâ Iṣfahânî now *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* of Golconda, to furnish another contingent and to bring with it the young king of Golconda, Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, Ibrâhîm's successor, but Muḥammad Qulî grew weary of the apparently interminable siege, and Sayyid Murtaẓâ and Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, seeing that Muḥammad Âqâ the Turkmân, commandant of Naldrug, was incorruptible, and fearing lest Muḥammad Qulî should desert them, proposed the advance to Bîjâpûr, to which Muḥammad Qulî readily agreed. The enterprise was rash, but the troubles at Bîjâpûr encouraged the allies to hope that a *coup de main* might succeed. They could muster 40,000 horse, and there were only two or three thousand horse in Bîjâpûr when they arrived before it—F. ii. 101, 337.

1 The inscription have been studied from the *Prâchînalekhamâlâ* (Nirnaya Sagar Press), 3 vols. (references have also been given to the *Indian Antiquary*) ; *Gauḍalekhamâlâ* (Varendra Research Society, Râjsâhi, Bengal) : Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*.

2 *Gupta Ins.*, p. 170, f. n. 3.

3 *Prach. Lekha.*, vol. I, 21 ; *I.A.*, XII, 158-62.

4 *Prac. Lek.* II, 40 : *I.A.*, XIII, 77-79.

5 *Pra. Lek.* II, 43 : *I.A.*, XIII, 82-84.

6 Khâlimpur Insc. (Gaḍalekhamâlâ) : the Insc. of Seunadeva records the grant of a market place (*hatta*) with some houses only (*Prac. Lek.* II, 16; *I.A.*, XII, 127-8).

7 Compare *Manu* VIII, 248 : *Taḍâgânyudapânâni vâpyaḥ prasravaṇâni ca. Simâsandhishu kâryâṇi devâyatanâni ca.* In the Khâlimpur Insc. a temple forms a boundary-mark (line 32).

8 *Gauḍalekhamâlâ*, page 33 : *I.A.*, XXI, 254.

9 Line 29 ; *Gauḍalekh*, 60.

I may point out here that Mr. A. K. Maitra of the Varendra Research Society has failed to comprehend the real meaning of *talapâṭaka* and *uddeśa* of the Khâlimpur Cop. Pl. Insc., lines 52, 53.[10] *Talapâṭaka* or *talapadraka* (as in the Insc. of Trilochanapâla of the Châlukya dynasty): *tâḷa* [11] means simply the lower part of a village or the low lands of a village. That *pâṭaka* implies a village is clear from the expressions "Mûlavarmapâṭakagrâma and Viśalapâṭakagrâma" in the Ins. of Śîlâditya.[12] It thus necessarily implies from the expression *talapâṭaka* that the villages to which they were attached were situated on water's edge. Thus the village referred to in the Khâlimpur Insc. stands on such a site.[13] During the rainy season a part of the village would go under water, which in other times would be made use of in various ways. There is no doubt that such villages are of the same type as that referred to in the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya.[14] *Uddeśa* in contrast to *tala* implies high lands (*utdeśa*), meaning thereby embankments, earthen mounds around a village,[15] ridges between cultivable fields, etc. *Uddeśa* might therefore include an *âli* as referred to in the Khâlimpur Insc., line 32, and in the Kamauli Inscription of Vaidyadeva, line 59.[16]

Jala-sthala may be explained as including *vâpîkûpataḍâga* (*taṭâka*)[17] and *kacchârâma* (garden on banks of water-reservoirs)[18]; *bhṛiṣṭî* or *bhṛiṣṭika* (cottage or garden[19]), *samadhûkâmra-vanavâṭika*[20], and *puṣpavâṭikâ*[21] and *vâṭa* (orchard or simply an enclosure)[22]. In mountainous regions water-reservoirs were of nature's creation (*hsada-prasravaṇa*[23].)

C. The Pasture land (*gô-cara, gô-vâṭa*)[24]. From a very early time the pasture land was set apart around the village proper. Thus according to Kauṭilya and enclosure (for pasturage) at a distance of 100 *dhanus* (400 cubits) should be made around a village.[25] In the Dharmaśâstras too we come across the same injunction[26]. In the inscriptions we not only find references to this enclosed pasture but also to other varieties, namely, grassy plot of land frequented by cattle (*tṛiṇayûti*) as distinct from *gocara* or *govâṭa*. The Insc. of Vijayachandra[27], for instance, records the grant of a village with *gocara* and the *tṛiṇayûti* (*tṛiṇayûti-gocara-sahitaḥ svasîmâ-sahitaḥ*). Many other insc. do the same, but the expression used in the majority of cases is slightly different ; *tṛiṇayûti* is used with *sîmâ* as in *svasîmâ-tṛiṇayûti-gocara-paryanta.*[28] A third variety namely, natural pastures, seem to be referred to in an inscription found in the Himalaya regions (*prakṛiti-parihâra-yukta*[29].)

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10 *Gauḍalek*, 27.

11 *Prâch. Lek.* I, 31 ; *I. A.*, XII, 201

12 *Prâch. Lek.* III, 38.

13 line, 38.

14 *Varṣârâtram anûpagrâmâ pûravelâyâm utsrijya vaseyuh* (page 207). Cf. also *haraṇiparyantâh* (p. 177) on which the commentary says : *taṭâkade riktîbhûtâdra pradesah hariṇî.*

15 Compare *Manu* VIII, 247 : *gulmân venûṃśca vividhân śamîvallisthalâni ca śaran kubjakagulmâṃśca tathâ sîmâ na paśyati.* Cf. Kullûka : . . . . *sthalâni krittrim-cnnatabhûbhâgân.*

16 *Âli* has been generally translated as "an embankment." I may point out here that in the districts of Tippera and Sylhet if not also in other parts of Eastern Bengal *âli* or *âlia* implies "ridges separating cultivable fields." In the 16th century the word is used in this sense. Cf. Kâsirâmdâs, *Mahâbhârat : dhânyakṣetrer jal yâya vahir haiyâ yatna kare âli bandhi jal râkha giyâ* (*Âdiparva, uddâlaka-upâ-khyân*).

17 Insc. of Laksivarmadeva, *Prac. Lek.* I, 223 : Ins. of Ranga II, *Prac. Lek.* II, 6.

18 Insc. of Ranga II, *Prac. Lek.* II, 6 (*I.A.*, XIII, 156).

19 Insc. of Dharasena, *Prac. Lek.* I, 124. (*I.A.*, XV, 335). 20 Insc. of Jayachandra, *Prac. Lek.* I, 102.

21 Insc. of Silâditya I of Valabhi, *Prac. Lek.* I., 236 (*I.A.*, XIV, 229).

22 Kamaripus, line 63 (*Gauḍa Lek.* 135), of Kaulitya : *Anûdake kûpaselâvandhotsansthâpayet pushaphalavâtaṃsca* (page 141).

23 *Prac. Lek.* I, 217 : the Puṇḍakeśvara temple Insc. of Vadarikaśrama.

24 Insc. of Devapal, *Gauda Lekh.* 39 (line 38) : Kamauli Insc. line 63 (*Gauda Lekh.* 135).

25 *Arthaśâstra*, 172.

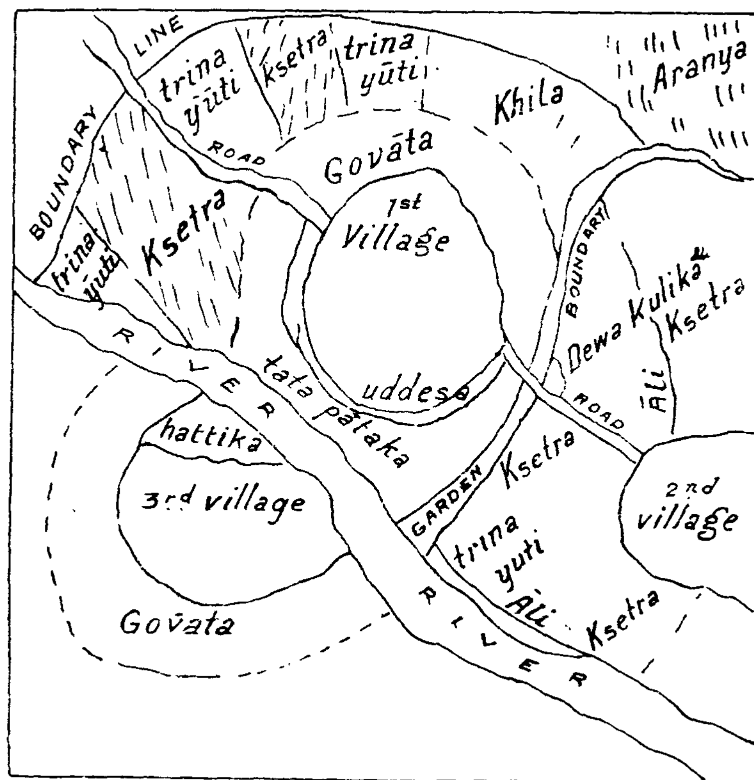
26 Cf. *Manu*, VIII, 237 and *Yâjñavalkya*, II, 167.

27 *Prac. Lek.* I, 98 ; *I.A.*, XV, 788.

28 Insc. of Vâkpatirâja (*Prac. Lek.*, I, 2-3); Insc. of Mathanadeva (*Prac. Lek.*, I, 54). In the Insc. of king Bhoja of Dhara (*Prac. Lek.*, I, 4) and in the Insc. of Jayasimha of Dhâra (*Prac. Lek.*, III, 84) the expression used is *svasîmâṇ triṇayocarayûtiparyyantah.*" I have no doubt that the two different places are referred to also here.

29 Puṇḍakeśvara temple Insc. of Vadarikâśrama (*Prac. Lek.* I, 217). The word *parihâra* is generally used in the Insc. to imply remission of taxes *e.g.*, *Prac. Lek.* III, 143 ; III, 158, etc. (Cf. Kautilya : *anugrahaparihârau kosavriddhikarau dadyât*, page 47). But in this inscription this meaning does not seem to be applicable. It would be better to take it in the sense of pasture land after *Manu* (VIII, 237) and *Yâgñavalkya* (II, 167).

An idea about the exact situation of the enclosed pasture and the natural pastures can easily be formed from what has been said already. But what can be the position of the *tṛiṇayûti* ? It may firstly imply the grassy plot of land which partly formed the boundaries of a village[30]; and secondly, the cultivable fields lying fallow after the last harvest and serving as pasture land temporarily. From the second case it is evident that the Two-field or the Three-field systems were still in vogue[31]; and, in fact, in a work of the eleventh century A.D. we are distinctly told that "land loses fertility owing to annual cultivation ; and one plot of land losing fertility cultivation should be done elsewhere"[32]. In making grant of a village, it will be observed, the donor precisely mentions the nature of the land alienated and the rights conceded in favour of the donee ; and it is no wonder therefore that the grants also make mention of two boundaries of the village in question, firstly, the boundary upto the *gocara* which was very clearly marked with a fencing and probably a ditch and which was therefore beyond dispute ; and secondly, the general boundary, separating a village from the surrounding villages, which was not always undisputed (*Cf.*, *e.g.*, the reference to *Vivâdabhûmi* in the Kamauli Insc., line 59). The *tṛiṇayûti* must have extended upto this general boundary. The annexed diagram will further illustrate the point.



Ideal plan of the Land System.

D. Ditches, trenches or drains (*gartta*) as distinct from water-reservoirs (*jala*). The distinction is noticeable in the mention of both (*sajalasthala* and *sagarttosara*) in the same inscription *e.g.*, Monholi Cop. pl. Insc. of Madanapâladeva,[33] line 40 ; the Insc. of Karṇadeva.[34] These might have been situated in three different places in the village, namely, just around the habitat, around the pasture or around the whole village, forming its boundaries. We may

30 In some Insc. only *trina* is mentioned, *e.g.*, *Prac. Lek.* II, 22, 73.

31 See Myres *Land system in Vedic India*. (Art. 30. *Sir Askutosh Mookerjee Commemoration Volume*, to be shortly published by the fellows of the University of Calcutta), when the Two-field and the Three-field systems have been fully expounded.

32 *Yuktikalpataru* (edited by Isvarachandra Sastri, Calcutta), page 6 : *tathâ varṣeṣu varṣeṣu karṣaṇâd-bhûguṇakṣayaḥ ekasyâm gunahinâyâm kriṣimanyatra kârayet. Cf.* the term *bhûmiguṇânvitam* in the temple Insc. of Amaranath (*Prac. Lekh.* III, 157).

33 *Gauḍalekha*, 154.

34 *Prac. Lekh.* II, 232.

remember in this connection the evidence of Manu[35] and also what Kullûka says on Manu, VIII, 248[36]. In the Insc. of Devendra Mahârâja[37] we are told that on one side of the village there was the ditch demarcating the division or district (*viṣayagartta*) and there were also ditches on two other sides. In the Insc. of Anantavarma[38] too, a ditch forms the boundary of a village.

E. Sterile lands (*ûṣara*)[39]. The expression *ûṣarapâṣâṇa* in the Insc. of Govindapâla[40] seems to indicate the rocky nature of the soil. *Khila* of the Kamauli Insc. of Vaidyadava[41] should not be confused with *ûṣara*. In very early times *khila* very possibly meant the land lying fallow in alternate years between two cultivable fields[42]. In the period we are speaking of it means a tract of land which is cultivable but not cultivated. Compare *e.g.*, the evidence of a lexicon of the eleventh century A.D. Says Yâdavaprakâsa in his *Vaijayantî* : *khilam tvaprahatam sthânamûṣavatyûṣarerinau*[43].

F. Forest lands (*araṇya*)[44]. In the Vedic age these were no doubt regarded as "no man's land" and every householder exercised the right of Common or Estover : and served the purpose of natural pastures, burial places, cremation grounds etc.[45]. With the rise of an autocracy during the Mauryan period forest tracts appear to have been regarded as State-property and were organised under a Superintendent of Forests[46]. The injunction of Kauṭilya was that forest tracts should be granted to Brahmins for religious purposes[47]. The Kamauli Inscription proves that such grants continued in later times as well.

G. Cultivable lands. According to the *Dharmaśâstras* a gift of cultivable lands conferred great spiritual benefit on the donor[48]. The majority of inscriptions record grants of villages with cultivable fields. There are some grants which relate only to cultivable lands *e.g.*, the Insc. of Viṣṇugopavarman[49], the Insc. of Dharasena[50] etc. The expressions generally used to imply such lands are *kṣetra*[51], *halakṣetra*[52] *and kriṣatah karṣayataḥ*[53]. A distinction seems to be drawn between *kṣetra* and *halakṣetra*, the former implying not only the land under cultivation but also the cultivable lands lying fallow temporarily to recover fertility, and the latter only the land under cultivation[54]. That such classifications of cultivable lands were recognised, would be further apparent from what prevailed as late as the time of Akbar. That famous emperor classified such lands into (*a*) *polaj*, land continuously cultivated, (*b*) *parauti*, land left fallow for a year or two in order to recover its strength, (c) *chachar*, the land that has lain fallow for three or four years, and (*d*) *banjar*, land uncultivated for five years or more[55].

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35 IX, 289 : *prâkârasya ca bhettâram parikhânañca pûrakam dvârânancaiva bhanktâram kṣiprameva pravâsayat.*

36 *Tadâgânyudapânani vâpyah prasravanâni ca sîmâsandhisu kâryyâṇi devatâyatanâni ca.* Says Kullûka : *taḍâgakûpadîrghikâjalanirgamamârga-devagṛihâṇi ca sîmarûpeṣu grâmadvayasandhisthâneṣu karttavyâni.....*

37 *Prac. Lek.* III, 103 (*Epi. Ind..* III, 131). 38 *Ibid.* III: 71. (*Ep. Ind*, III, 19).

39 Mongoli Ins. line 40 (*Gauḍalekh*, 154) : Insc. of Jayachandra (*Prac. Lek.* I, 102) : Insc. of Mahâbhavaguptadeva (*Prac. Lek.* I, 66) etc.

40 *Prac. Lek.* III, 10. 41 line 63 (*Gauḍalek*, 135). 42 *Land system in Vedic India.*

43 Page 124. 44 Kamauli Insc., line 63. 45 *Land system in Vedic India.*

46 *Arthaśâstra*, 49, 100. 47 *Ibid*, 49.

48 Cf. Vrihaspati : *phâlâkṛiṣṭâm mâhîm datvâ savjam śasîyâśâlinim yâvatsuryyakarâ lokâstâvat svarge mahîyate*, 6, (Calcutta edition) ; Cf. also *Agni-purâṇa*, CCXI, 34-35.

49 *Prac. Lek.* I, 78. 50 *Prac. Lek.* I, 24. 51 *e.g.*, *Prac. Lek.* I, 124.

52 *e.g.*, *Prac. Lek.* I, 78. 53 *e.g.*, *Prac. Lek.* I, 239 : II, 37 : II, 85 etc.

54 The distinction is further clear from the expression : *râjataḷâkaksetre haḷasya bhûśchedîkritya* (i.e., partitioning the cultivable areas in the land lying about the royal tank) in the Ins. of Indravarman (*Prac. Lek.* III, 101). In Kauṭilya (page 340) *kṣetra* is also used to indicate a wider region : *tasyâm himavat samudrântaramudicînam yojanasa hasraparimânatiryakca kṛavarti-ksetram tatrâraṇyo grâmyah pâta* (*parvata*) *audako bhaumassâmo Visama iti Viśesah.*

55 *Aini-Akbari*, Book II, *aini*, 5, quoted in V. Smith's *Akbar*, 374.

No satisfactory explanation of the words *bhûmicchidra* and *bhûmicchidranyâya* which apparently relate to land and which are of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions, has yet been offered by any scholar. According to Yâdavaprakâśa *chidra* implies ' land which is not fit for cultivation'[56]. Dr. Fleet, if not Dr. Bühler as well, has evidently confused *bhûmicchidra* of the inscriptions with *bhûmiśchidra* of Yâdavaprakâśa, and wrongly interprets it as "land fit to be ploughed or cultivated."[57] If, however, *bhûmicchidra* be rendered as 'uncultivable tract', the sense appears to be inconsistent with *bhûcchidram* of the Kamauli Insc. of Vaidyadeva, lines 51 and 62,[58] where it evidently implies cultivated lands, for the simple reason that the inscription in recording the grant of a village with lands described in points B, C, D, E, and F, (*jalasthalakhilâraṇyavâṭagovâṭasaṃyutam*) leaves out cultivable tracts to be implied by this term (*bhûcchidra*). In this sense or atleast in the sense of land other than the habitat this word seems to be closely connected with *bhûmiccheda* or *bhûścheda*[59]. We may also note in this connection the word *dânaccheda* of Yâjñavalkya and the Mitâkṣarâ of Vijñâneśvara on it[60] The word *pariccheda* in the Khoh Copper Plate Ins. of Hastin also appears to be connected with land and probably cultivable land[61]. I do not see my way to accept the translation of *Vâlugartto nâma grâmah purvâghâṭṭaparicchedamaryyâdayâ* in the Majhgawam Insc. of Mahahastin[62] by Fleet ; I would like to offer the following translation : "with the village named *Vâlugartta* with the land (possibly, cultivable tracts) lying to the east side (of the village) as its (new) boundary."

As to the expression *bhûmicchidranyâya* it may be pointed out that there is a chapter in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśâstra*, titled *bhûmicchidravidhânam*[63]. It treats mainly of uncultivable tracts which are to be utilised as pasture land (*akṛṣyâyâm bhûmân paśubhyo vivîtâni prayacchet*), as forests for Soma plantation for religious purposes and which were to be made over to Brahmans (*pradiṣṭâbhayasthâvarajaṅgamâni ca brâhmaṇebhyo brahmasomâraṇyâni tapovanâni ca*) and as game forests, elephant-forests and timber-forests. The king is also enjoined to fix the boundaries of each of these. Kauṭilya seems to differentiate between the settled parts (*grâma* or *nagara*) including cultivable areas, which he treats in a separate chapter (*janapadaniveśa*[64]), and the *bhûmicchidra* or land of other varieties. But the donors of the post-Buddhist period do not seem to have used the expression on such a strictly differentiating principle. It is used

(*a*) where only cultivable fields are granted, *e.g.*, the Insc. of Dharasena[65], the Insc. of Jayabhaṭ[66].

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56 *bhûmiśchidram kṛṣyayogyâ* (see *Vaijayantî*, edited by G. Oppert, page 124). This expression seems to stand in contrast to *kṣetramurvarâ sarvaśasyabhûh* in : *kedâraḥ kedarah kṣetramurvarâ sarvaśasyabhûh bhûmiścidram krisyayogyâ prahatam nâlamutthitam khilam tvaprahatam sthânamûsavatyûṣarerinau.*

57 *Gupta Inscriptions*, page 138, foot-note 2. 58 *Gauḍalekhamâlâ*, 134-135.

59 *râjno bhûmicchedam kurvataḥ* in the Insc. of Pravarsena (*Prac. Lek.* II, 62 : *I.A.* XII, 243) : cf. *bhûśchedikṛtya* of the Insc. of Indravarman (*Prac. Lek.* III, 101) .

60 Yâjñavalkya : *râjadharmaprakaraṇam*, 320 : *pratigrahaparimânam dânacchedopavarṇanam svahastakâlasampannam śâsanam kârayet sthiram. Mitâkṣarâ . . . dîyata iti dânam kṣetrâdi tasyacchedaḥ chidyataneneti chedah nadyâvâṭau nivarttanam tatparimâṇam ca tasyopavarṣanam, amuka nadyâ dakṣinato'yam grâmah kṣetram vâ, purvagato'mukagrâmasyaitâvanni-varttanamityadinivartanaparimâṇum ca lekhyam. . . . . .* But Aparârka (Ânandâsrama edition) gives a different meaning to *dânaccheda* According to him . . . . *dîyata iti dânabhûmirnivandhaśca, tasya cchedah apahâraḥ* etc (page 579).

61 line 9, *dakṣiṇena valavarmaparicchedaḥ* (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 103).

62 line 6 (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 107) : the village named Vâlugarta, in accordance with the usage of the specification of (its) ancient boundaries.

63 Sâstri's revised edition, page 49.

64 *Arthaśâstra*, 45. But this chapter also treats of forest-lands and refers to "Brahmadeya" land.

65 *Prac. Lek.* I, 124 : *I.A.*, XV, 335 ; *Prac. Lek.* II, 174. 66 *Ibid.*, II, 40 : *I.A.*, XIII, 77.

(*b*) where water-reservoirs (*vâpî*) with lands are granted, *e.g.*, the Insc. of Śilâditya[67], the Insc. of Dharasena[68], the Insc. of Śilâditya[69], etc.

(*c*) In Insc. which record grants of villages without specifying the nature of the land alienated, *e.g.*, Insc. of Dhruvarâja[70], Insc. of Karkarâja[71], Insc. of Dadda[72], Insc. of Śrî-Harṣa[73], Insc. of Dhruvasena[74], the Insc. of Govindaraja[75] etc. In some of these inscriptions the expression *kriṣataḥ kar ayataḥ* occurs, which shows that these villages also included cultivable fields.

(*d*) In Inscriptions which specify the nature of the land alienated, *e.g.*, the Khâlimpur Insc., the Mongyr Copper Plate Insc.[76], the Bhâgalpur Cop. Pl. Insc[77]. the Bâṇgaḍ Ins.,[78] the Monholi Insc.[79]

It should also be noted that the expression is not used in many inscriptions which record one or other kinds of grants mentioned above.

It thus follows from the above that the expression *bhûmicchidranyâya* is loosely used in the inscriptions between 400 A. D. and 1200 A. D. In earlier times the expression seems to have involved a special meaning, namely, "concerning lands other than the habitat with cultivable tracts," but in course of time its import must have undergone a change; and it might have been, as well, used as an "inscriptional cant," having no particular meaning. With these reservations the expression may be thus translated: "according to the custom or rule pertaining to (i) alienation of, or (ii) settlement of boundaries of. land in general (usually, other than the habitat)."

As to " the custom or rule " we should bear in mind the injunctions of the Dharmaśâstras relating to donation of lands to Brahmans, as well as, the injunction of Kauṭilya relating to organisation of uncultivable tracts. As to " settlement " of boundaries of land we should remember that it was not easy to define the limits of villages where such natural objects as rivers, pools, etc., were wanting. According to the Dharmaśâstras these were to be fixed by trees, shrubs, bamboos, tanks, wells, stones and bones in places where there was no river or any such clearly defined limit[80]. It is highly interesting to note that the boundaries of villages of the inscriptions were exactly like those described in the Dharmaśâstras. We may take some examples: in the Insc. of Yâdava king Seunachandra,[81] a *vaṭa* tree and a water-reservoir[82] form boundary marks. In the Insc. of Viṣṇugopavarman stones serve the same purpose[83]. In some cases the lands of one village are described as the boundaries of another[84]. Such being the character of boundary-marks it is but natural that disputes concerning them should not

67 *Prac. Lek.* III, 38 : *Ep. Ind.*, V, 76.

68 *Ibid.* III, 174 : *I.A.*, VII, 69.

69 *Ibid.* II, 236 : *I.A.*, XIV, 229.

70 *Ibid.* I, 15 : *I.A.*, XII, 181.

71 *Ibid.* I, 21 : *I.A.*, XII, 158.

72 *Ibid.* II, 46 : *I.A.*, XIII, 88.

73 *Ibid.* II, 76.

74 *Ibid.* II, 84.

75 *Ibid.* III, 123 : *Ep. Ind.*, III, 54

76 *Gauḍalekhamâlâ*, 39.

77 *Ibid.* 61.

78 *Ibid.* 97.

79 *Ibid.* 153.

80 *Manu*, VIII, 246-251.

81 *Prâchîna Lekhamâlâ* II, 14.

82 Cf. *Manu*, VIII, 246, 247 : *sîmâvṛikṣâṃśca kurvîta nyagrodhâśvattha kiṃśukân śâlmaliñchâlatâlâṃśca kṣîriṇaścaiva pâdapâḥ gulmân veṇuṃśca vividhân śamîvallîsthalâni ca śarân kubj akagulmâṃśca tathâ śîma na naśyati.*

83 Cf. *Manu*, VIII, 250 : *aśmânasthîni gobâlâṃstuṣân bhasmakapâlikâḥ Karîṣamiṣṭakâṅgâr îñcharkarâ vâlukâstathâ.*

84 *Prach Lek.* II, 40.

only be alluded to in Manu[85] and Yâjñavalkya[86], but also in an inscription[87]. It is thus that the Hindu codes of law lay down elaborate rules for settlement of disputes concerning boundaries of villages[88]. The term *bhûmicchidranyâya* might refer to these laws and particularly to *Manu*, VIII, 255, where the king is enjoined to put down in black and white the boundary limits settled in the presence of witnesses.[89] In the inscriptions all the assembled officials are the witnesses as well as the inhabitants of the villages concerned. The expression *matam-astu bhavatâm* or *astu vaḥ saṃviditam* signifies consent to the settlement.

Bhûmicchidranyâyena may also be rendered into : " according to the laws or customs pertaining to villages including the cultivable areas as well as other kinds of land, namely, uncultivable tracts" (*bhûmi* meaning village and cultivable tracts, and *chidra* uncultivable areas).

MISCELLANEA.

ORIGIN OF THE SWELLING DOME.

SIR,

As you were kind enough to publish my memoir on *The History and Evolution of the Dome in Persia* in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1915 (Vol. XLIV, pp. 133 f.), may I be granted some of your valuable space to answer an objection to one of the theories put forth therein, an objection which has been raised by Mr. Havell in his *Handbook of Indian Art.*

As your readers may remember, I derived the double slightly swelling Persian dome from the wooden dome of the Great Mosque at Damascus, a dome probably built in the 12th century A.D. (not in the 8th as Mr. Havell says). The double dome first appears after this in two buildings erected at Samarkand by Timûr on his return from the sack of Damascus in 1401, *viz.*, the mausoleum of his wife Bîbî Khânûm and his own mausoleum known as the Gûr Amîr. This type of dome is next seen in the mosque built at Meshed by Gauhar Shad, the wife of Shâh Rukh, in 1418, in the Blue Mosque built by her nephew Jâhân Shah at Tabrîz between 1437 and 1468, and in the Musalla at Herat, built between 1487-1506. This type of dome is not known in India until the second half of the 16th century, and it is not accompanied by an inverted lotus finial until a century later. If Mr. Havell's theory of its Indian origin is to be accepted, will he explain (*a*) how it is that early Muḥammadan domes in India, although so many have survived, and although built, according to him, in the true country of the double dome, and by Indian masons, are never found constructed in this way ; (*b*) how it is that they are found in Persia and Central Asia, one and a half centuries earlier than in India ; (*c*) how it is that they never bear the mark of their supposed Indian origin in the form of an inverted lotus finial ; and (*d*) if the inverted lotus finial is not a very late invention, as I believe, why is it never found on Indian domes until the middle of the sixteenth century ?

I will now refer to the carvings alleged by Mr. Havell to represent domes. The stupa is admitted by Mr. Havell to have been a solid dome-shaped mound and not a structural dome. We have a good example at Sânchî of an ancient stupa, the oldest in India, with its encircling palisade and gates. At Kârlê (1st century B.C.), Bêdsâ, and Bhâjâ (his plates IXa, Ia and Ib respectively) we have the next stage, a model of a stupa in which the encircling palisade has been, so to speak, shrunk on to the stupa itself by artistic licence, for the sake of compactness. Mr Havell himself says, when speaking of the model at Bhâjâ—" here the rail enclosing the processional path is only carved as an ornamental band " (p. 22) In these models the stupa is placed on a high cylindrical drum. But there is a third and later stage—the model stupas in stupa houses No. 19 (2nd—5th century) and No. 26 (7th century or later) at Ajântâ. In these the Buddha is represented as standing in the gateway of the palisade and in front of the stupa. Mr. Havell would have it that the Buddha is meant to be under the dome of the stupa, although hitherto this has always been a solid structure and not a structural dome My interpretation, however, receives decisive support from an examination of the model stupa in stupa house No. XXVI, where the gateway and the Buddha are clearly *in front* of the stupa (Mr. Havell's plate XIb). Incidentally I would call attention to the fact that neither of these supposed domes have the inverted lotus finial.

85 *Manu*, VIII, 249 : *upacchannâni cânyâni sîmâliṅgâni kârayet sîmajñāne nṛiṇâm vîkṣya nityam loke viparyayam.*

86 II, 153 : *sîmno vivâde kṣetrasya sâmantâh sthavirâdayaḥ gopâ sîmâkriṣâṇâ ye sarve ca vanagocarâh.*

87 Kamauli inscription, line 59, (*vivâdabhûmervâtyardham*).

88 *Manu*, VIII, 245-265 ; *Yâjñavalkya*, II, 153-161 ; *Arthaśâstra*, 168.

89 *te pṛiṣṭâstu yathâ brûyuḥ samastâh sîmni niṣcayam nibadhnîyâttathâ sîmâm sarvâṃstâṃścaiva nâmataḥ.* Says Kullûka : *te pṛiṣṭâh sâkṣiṇah samastâ na dvaidhena sîmâviṣaye yena prakâreṇa niścitam brûyuḥ tena prakâreṇa vismaraṇârtham patre sîmâm likhet tâṃśca sarvâneva sâkṣino nâmavibhâgato likhet.*

Again, if these carvings really represent wooden domes, and if other wooden domes were copied by Timûr, is it not at least strange that none have ever been found in India, although many wooden domes have managed to survive for centuries elsewhere, *e.g.*, Dome of the Rock and Mosque of al-Aqsa, Jerusalem; dome of Meyda in Madrasa of Sultan Hasan, Cairo, dated " year 764 " (1362-3 A.D.), dome of Mausoleum of Imâm ash-Shâf'ey, Cairo, end of 15th century, dome of Convent Tomb of Sheykhû, Cairo, probably 1095H. (1684); small wooden dome in Coptic Museum, Cairo: etc. In addition to this we have accounts of many other wooden domes which have not survived, *e.g.*, the Marneion of Gaza, 2nd century; the wooden dome which replaced the stone dome of Constantine's Octagon at Antioch after the damage caused by the great earthquake of 526; Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, at restoration after the ruin caused by the Persians in 614; Church of the Ascension, 7th century; wooden dome placed by Hârûn ar-Rashid over Mausoleum of Imâm Rezâ at Meshed, 8th century; wooden dome in Palace at Baghdâd, 8th century; wooden dome placed by Ibn Ṭûlûn on the summit of the Pharos; wooden dome over marble basin in his mosque, 876-879 A. D., burnt in 376 (986); wooden dome of Shrine of Husseyn at Kerbela, probably due to 'Adud ad-Dawlah in 368 (979), burnt in 407 (1016); first dome of Mausoleum of Imâm ash-Shâf'ey at Cairo, 1211 A. D.; Mosque of Bibars I, at Cairo, 1266-1269 A. D.; Madrasa of an-Nâṣir Muhammad, 1303 (lasted till 1870), and his mosque in the Citadel of Cairo, 1318, fell 1468; also the dome of his Palace in the Citadel, fell in 1522.

Against all these wooden domes we have for India.—*nil*! I must now say a word about the technical aspect. Mr. Havell speaks of the radiating tie-bars used in the case of bulbous domes of brick and stone, and suggests a symbolic connection between his system and the *chakra* or Wheel of the Law. I would emphasize the fact that none of the wooden domes in existence to-day have this device, for the simple reason that in wooden construction the tensile strength of the outer rim of the dome itself suffices to hold the whole together. All the domes named above as still standing are slightly bulbous (with one exception), yet they have clear interiors, and if Mr. Havell's supposed little bamboo domes ever existed in India, no doubt their interiors were clear also, as there could be no possible *raison d'être* for radiating tie-bars. Tie-bars only become necessary when a bulbous dome is constructed in brick or stone. This was first done at Samarkand, and it is there that these radiating tie-bars first make their appearance. But, be it specially noted, they are not set in one plane like the spokes of a wheel, but on the contrary radiate in all directions to hold the brick shell together.

Yours faithfully,

K. A. C. CRESWELL.

BOOK-NOTICE.

AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARAT, by 'ABDULLAH MUHAMMAD BIN 'OMAR AL MAKKI, AL ASAF ULUGH-KHANI. Ed. by SIR E. DENISON ROSS. Vol. II. London, John Murray, 1921.

The second volume of this valuable publication brings the History of Gujarat from the murder of Mahmûd Shâh III in 1537 to the conquest of the country by Akbar in 1572, which completes Daftar I of the original. Daftar II gives a general history of Muhammadan rule in Northern India down to 1558, and of this, half is given in the volume. The Editor has an elaborate and valuable introduction about the author and his ways. The date of the work he fixes as probably 1607, and he explains the author's confused method of relating contemporary or recent history, largely brought about by his referring to leading men by their titles only, notwithstanding the well known Muhammadan custom of giving the same title to several notables of the same period. We have, however, no reason to complain of this method, not by any means confined to the work of this particular author, because it has induced Sir Denison Ross to identify 26 of these title-holders, for which work of no small labour all who are familiar with the trouble awaiting those diving into Muhammadan history will be duly grateful to him. The author was twice in Mekka and we have some entertaining notes on happenings there from the Editor, one of which shows that the whole world is kin after all: " This last book I lent to Shaykh 'Abdul-Fattâh, but he has never returned it." When we consider that in those days books were all treasured well—this one was " in the writing of my father's aunt, with a commentary in various hands "—one can perceive what such a statement meant. Further notes are given on the identification of Husâm Khan with the author of the *Ta'rîkh-i-Bahadurshâhî*, on the Gujarat Waqfs for Mekka and Medina under Akbar, and on the settlement of foreigners in Gujarat. In the course of this last it is stated that foreigners were not numerous until the conquest of the country in 1297 by 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Khilji, which is noteworthy. The introduction ends with an important and informing note on the Habshis of India, who were clearly *mamlûks* of the well-known Turkish and Mediterranean European type and came into existence in much the same way, though the clan has now degenerated into the familiar " Seedee Boy."

R. C. TEMPLE

A PROVISIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MUHAMMADAN ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA.

By K. A. C. CRESWELL, M.R.A.S., HON. A.R.I.B.A.

The following bibliography forms one section of a *Bibliography of the Architecture, Arts and Crafts of Islam,* the completion of which was stopped by the war. In its present state it comprises about 4,500 different entries under "Authors," and about 6,500 under "Subjects." It is not possible to publish it now in the form of a book, but thinking that some of the sections, although unfinished, may nevertheless be useful to students. I am endeavouring to publish them as opportunity offers. I hope to publish other sections in the near future. I may add that I have personally seen and examined every item in the following list, either in the libraries of the British Museum, the India Office, the Royal Asiatic Society, or elsewhere. I shall be extremely grateful to those readers who are kind enough to notify me of omissions.

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p.49; Pâtan Bihâr, mausoleum and 'Idgâh, p. 55; Dalmau, mosque of Shâh Jahân's time, and tomb, probably of Muḥammad Shâh Sharqi, pp. 59-60; Jaunpûr, pp. 102-126 and plates XXXI-XXXVII; Sahsaram, mausoleums (5) of Shîr Shâh and his family, pp. 132-139 and plate XXXIX; Hilsa, mausoleum of Jaman Madârî, A.H. 950 (1543-4), p. 164; Telâra, mosque and dargâh (with inscription A.H. 951), pp. 168-169.

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Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XIII.

Makundpûr (near to), dargâhs, p. 3; Râmgaṛh, gateway in Fort, p. 34; Chandarpûr, Muhammadan ruins, p. 145; Kosgain, tower and gateway in walls, p. 155.

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Vân Bachrân, *baoli* of Akbar, with 2 minârs and small mosque, pp. 32-33; Bhera, Shîr Shâh's mosque and shrine of Pîr Kayanâth, pp. 39-40; Sohdara, reference to minâr described by Abul Fazl (which fell in 1864), pp. 43-44; Ransi, shrine of Shâh Abdâl, p. 48; Sultânpûr, Bâdshâhî Sarai and two bridges, pp. 56-57 and plate XIX; Nakodar, two fine tile-faced tombs, dated A.H. 1021 (1612) and A.H. 1069 (1657), pp. 59-62 and plate XX; Nûrmahah, Bâdshâhî Sarai, A.H. 1028-30, pp. 62-65 and plate XXI; Panjor, mosque, p. 71; Sadhora, Pathariya masjid, Patharwâla masjid (very neat and well proportioned), Jâmi' Masjid (tile-faced), private dwelling (tile-faced) dated A.H. 1029 (1619—20), Kâzion-kâ Masjid, with inscription dated A.H. 1054 (1644—5), brick mosque (tile-faced), with inscription dated A. H. 1080 (1669) and tomb of Sayyid Shâh 'Abdul Wahhâb A.H. 1137 (1724—5), pp. 73-75 and plate XXIII.

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Pârbatî, dargâh of Hindu materials, p. 9; Gaur a long account with plans supplementary to Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, [q.v.], which does not contain any, pp. iv-v, 39-76 and plates XIII-XXIII; Maldah, Jâmi' Masjid, dated A.H. 1004 (1595-6), seven inscriptions referring to the building of mosques, etc. dated from A.H. 859 (1455) to 938 (1531), and remains of minâr, 60 feet high, pp. 77-79; Hazrat Pandua, (supplementary to Ravenshaw's *Gaur*), with plans etc., pp. 79-94 and plates XXIV-XXVI; Devthala, shrine of Jalâl Shâh and small mosque, pp. 94-95; Devikot, shrine of Sultân Shâh in Citadel, shrine of Shâh Bukhâri, and shrine of Maulânâ 'Aṭâ, with four inscriptions, dated A.H. 697 (1297) to A.H. 918 (1512), pp. 95-100 and plate XXVIII; Mustangarh (Mahâsthan), shrine of Shâh Sultân and of Mahi-sawâr, pp. 105-108 and plate XXX; Ghâtnagar, tomb, p. 122; [Chhota] Pandwa, mosque built A.H. 882 (1477-8), tomb of Shâh Safî-ud-Dîn, minâr 125 feet high and a second mosque, pp. 123-127; Dhakka, tomb of Bîbî Peri (d. A. D. 1684) and small mosque, Palace of Lâl Bâgh, commenced c. 1670, pp. 127-131 and plate XXXIV; Bikrâmpûr, mosque and tomb of Bâbâ Adam, pp. 132-135; Sunargaon, ten Muhammadan buildings and dating slab, pp. 135-145 and plate XXXV.

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Arvi, tomb of Telang Rao-wali, p. 55; Karra, tomb of Kamâl Khân, pp. 93-94; Hathgaon, Jay Chandi Masjid (Hindu temple converted), pp. 97-98 and plate XXIX; Makanpûr, tomb of Shaikh Madâr, ascribed to Ibrâhîm Shâh of Jaunpûr, who died A. H. 844 (1440), pp. 103-107.

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Kâlanjar Fort, parts of which are Muhammadan work, see pp. 28-31; Mahoba, mosque with inscription of Taghlaq Shâh, p. 90; Bhiuli, mosque, p. 130; Kâlpi, tombs of Madâr Ṣâḥib, of Ghafûr Zinjânî, of Chol Bîbî, of Bahâdur Shâhid, and the great enclosure called Chaurâsi Gumbaz, or "eighty-four domes," pp. 132-133; Sultânpûr, pp. 133-134; Damoh, shrine of Ghâzî Miân, pp. 168-169; Lalitpûr, mosque built of Hindu materials, pp. 175-176.

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——— for the year ending 31st March 1911. Signed: A. H. Longhurst. [With Report of the Assistant Superintendent. Signed: D. R. Bhandarkar.] 4to., pp. [i] and 50.

Government Central Press, Bombay, [1911]

Bîjâpûr, Ahmedâbâd, Sarkhej, Broach, Châmpânir, Sojali, Ahmednagar, Thâlner, Tattâ, Khudâbâd, Kuba, Hyderâbâd (Sind), and Pâl.

——— for the year ending 31st March 1912. Signed: D. R. Bhandarkar. 4to., pp. ii and 64.

Government Central Press, Bombay, [1912]

Ahmedâbâd, Sarkhej, Châmpânir, Bîjâpûr, Dhâr and Mandu, Kuba, Kalyân, Sojâli, Junnar, Ahmednagar, Pal, Tattâ, Khudâbâd, Hyderâbâd (Sind) and Bharatpur.

PROGRESS REPORT of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1913. Signed: D. R. Bhandarkar. 4to., pp. ii and 66.

Government Central Press, Bombay, [1913]

Châmpânir, Ahmednagar, Bjîâpûr, Dhâr, and Mandu, Ahmedâbâd, Sarkhej, Pratâpgad Dabhoi, Tattâ, Dadu, Hyderâbâd (Sind), Bharatpur, Aurangâbâd, Gulbarga, Pattancheru, Kuba and Bhodesar.

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Broach, Ahmedâbâd, Châmpânir, Sojâli, Ahmednagar, Pratâpgad, Bijâpûr, Dabhol, Tattâ, Rohri, Hyderâbâd (Sind), Bhodesar Dhâr and Mandu, Bharatpur, Medhak,, Gulburga. Bedar, Aurangâbâd, Nagar, Thana, Bhodesar, Chotiari, Bhilsar, Udaypur.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: ANNUAL REPORTS.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1902-03. Impl. 4to., pp. [i], iv and 293, with 51 plates and 47 illustrations.

Supdt., Govt. Printing, Calcutta, 1904

MARSHALL, J.H. Introduction: object and scope of the Annual Report; past history of the Department: functions of the Archæological Survey; pp. 1-13.

——— Conservation, pp. 14-30. [Ahmedbâd—Mosque of Sîdi Sayyad; Bîjâpûr—Gol Gumbaz and Ibrâhîm Rauzâ; Dhâr and Mâṇḍû (5 pp.); Gaur and Panduah; Rohtasgarh; Agra—synopsis of full report, for which see below; Lucknow; Allahabad—Tomb of Sulṭân Khusrau; Jaunpûr—enclosure of the Sharqî Kings' Tombs; Delhi—Mosque of Sher Shâh, Zînatu-l-masâjid, recovery (from the South Kensington Museum) and restoration of the mosaic panels belonging to the throne of Shâh Jahân, restoration of *pietra dura* of Jahânârâ Begam's tombstone; Ajmîr—Aṛhâi-din-kâ-jhomprâ Mosque and marble embankment of lake.]

COUSENS, HENRY. Sîdi Sayyad's Mosque, Ahmedâbâd, pp. 31-33, with 1 plate.

——— The Mosque at the Gol Gumbaz, Bîjâpûr, pp. 34-36, with 2 plates.

BLOCH, T. Conservation in Bengal, pp. 37-59, with 5 plates and 1 illustration. [See Sect. III.—Gaur and Panduah; and Sect. IV—Remains of the Mughal Period. These are the Dargâh of Bakhtiyâr Khân near Chainpur; and the Jum'a Masjid, Palace, and the Mosque of Habsh Khan, at Rohtasgarh].

MARSHALL, J. H. Conservation of Monuments at Agra, pp. 60-76, with 5 plates and 2 illustrations. [In the Agra Fort:—Jahângîrî Mahall, Salîmgaṛh, Dîwân-i-'Âmm, Angûrî-Bâgh and Macchî Bhawan, Motî Masjid. The Taj and adjacent buildings. Tomb of I'timâdu-d-daulah. Mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandarah.]

VOGEL, J. PH. The Qil'a-i-kuhna Masjid at Delhi, pp. 77-79, with 1 plate.

TUCKER, A.L. P. Restoration Work in Ajmîr, pp. 80-84, with 2 plates and 1 illustration, [(a) The Mosque; (b) The Marble Pavilions erected by Shâh Jahân in 1637 A.D.]

MARSHALL, J. H. Exploration and Research, pp. 104-110. [Includes notes on the Hinîdân tombs, on the Hab river, Baluchistan; and on Nûr Bakhsh's researches on the Lahore Fort.]

——— and J. PH. VOGEL. Excavations at Chârsada in the Frontier Province, pp. 141-184, with many plates and illustrations. [See "Muhammadan Remains on the Bâlâ Ḥiṣâr, pp. 150-151 and fig. 6.]

VOGEL, J. PH. Tombs at Hinîdân in Las Bela, pp. 213-217, with 7 illustrations on 1 plate, and 1 figure.

BAKHSH, NŪR. Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and its Buildings, pp. 218-224, with 1 plate (plan).

MARSHALL, J. H. Epigraphy, pp. 225-231. [See pp. 230-231, Bengal—dating inscriptions of mosques at Gaur, Bagha, Kusumbha and Kalna.]

ANNUAL REPORT, 1903-04. Impl. 4to., pp. x and 314, with 72 plates and 48 illustrations.

Supdt., Govt. Printing, Calcutta, 1906

MARSHALL, J. H. Conservation, pp. 1-12. [The Ancient Monuments Act; Principles of Conservation; in the Punjab—review of work done, for which see Nicholls, *infra*; Panduah—Âdîna Masjid; Râmkel—the Bâradwârî; Gaur—Dâkhil Darwâza and Lattan Masjid; Bijâpur; Ahmedâbâd; Dhâr and Mâṇḍû—survey of work done, for which see Barnes, *infra*; Rohtâsgarh—Fort; Delhi—Mosque of Altamsh; Bahraich—Shrine of Sayyid Salar Mas'ûd; Lucknow—Jâmi' Masjid; Wâtwa—Rauza; the Jâmi' Masjids at Burhânpur and Etawah, and a mosque at Rohinkhed.]

NICHOLLS, W. H. Conservation of Muhammadan Monuments in the United Provinces and Punjab, pp. 13-29, with 13 plates (1 coloured) and 3 illustrations. [The Tâj Mahall; the Fort, Agra;

Sikandarah; Fathpûr Sîkrî; Delhi—partial laying bare of the Hayât Bakhsh garden in the Fort, and restoration of buildings surrounding it; small repairs to Motî Masjid; Tomb of 'Îsâ Khân; Tomb of Tagah Khân; Mausoleum of Humâyûn; Khairu-l-manâzil; Qutb Mosque; Lahore—Motî Masjid, Mosque of Wazîr Khân; Shâhdara—*bâradarî* in the Huzûrî Bâgh Mausoleums of Jahângîr, of Nûr Jahan, and of Âṣaf Khân; Lucknow—Jâmi' Masjid, Sikander Bâgh; Bahrâich—Shrine of Sayyid Sâlâr.]

BARNES, CAPT. E. Conservation of ancient buildings at Mâṇḍû and Dhâr, pp. 30-45, with 8 plates and 8 illustrations. [Mâṇḍû—the Hindola Mahall: the Tower of Victory and the Khaljî Mausoleum; Hushang's Tomb; the Jâmi Masjid; Jahâz Mahall: Dhâr—the Lâṭ Masjid and Kamâl Maulâ Mosque.]

BLOCH. T. Progress of Conservation in Bengal, pp. 46-53, with 1 plate and 2 illustrations. [See "The ruins of Bagerhat near Khulna," pp. 52-53 —Tomb of Khân Jahân, Sâṭh Gumbaz.]

COUSENS, HENRY. Conservation in the Central Provinces, pp. 54-60. [Burhânpur—buildings, of the Faruki kings, mosques, mausoleums, baths, etc., p. 56.]

———— Brâhmanâbâd-Mansûra in Sind, pp. 132-144, with 7 plates and 5 illustrations [Foundations of three mosques discovered, p. 136 and fig. 3.]

BAKHSH, NÛR -The Agra Fort and its Buildings, pp. 164-193, with 1 plate (plan) and 1 figure.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1904-5. Impl. 4to., pp. [i], v and 169, with 40 plates and 35 illustrations.

Supdt., Govt. Printing, Calcutta, 1908

MARSHALL, J. H. Conservation, pp. 1-9. [Agra —adverse comments on the theory that the Tâj was designed by Geronimo Verroneo; Munshiganj, Dacca District—old Fort; Monghyr —Dargâh of Shâh Nâfah; Ahmedabad—tombs of Shâh 'Âlam, Achyut Bibî, and the queens of Ahmad Shâh; Bijâpur—Gol Gumbaz—repair of great cornice (a difficult and troublesome operation); Wâtwâ—Tomb of Burhânu-d-dîn Quṭbu-l-'Âlam; Khudâbâd—Tomb of Yâr Muhammad; Hyderabad—Tombs of the Kalhorâ kings; Burhânpur—fine and little known buildings of the Fârûqî Dynasty of Khandesh.]

NICHOLLS, W. H. Conservation of Muhammadan Monuments in the United Provinces and Punjab, and at Ajmer, pp. 10-23, with 5 plates and 13 illustrations. [The Tâj; Agra Fort—Dîwân-i-'Âmm, Jahângîrî Mahall, Motî Masjid, Tomb of I'timâdu-d-daulah, Zohra Bâgh Kiosk; Sikandarah; Fathpur Sîkrî—city wall, Salîm Chishtî's tomb; Delhi—Hayât Bakhsh garden and Zafar Mahall, Shâh Burj, 'Aqab-i-Hammâm Tughlaqâbâd—Mausoleum of Tughlaq Shâh, Mausoleum of Humâyûn, Jamâ'at Khânah, mosque, parapet round tomb of Jahân Ârâ Begam: Lahore—Mosque of Dâi Angah, Chhoṭî Khwâbgâh and Shîsh Mahall in the Fort, Ajmer—Tahsîl of Akbar in the Fort.]

ANNUAL REPORT, 1905-6. Impl. 4to., pp. vi and 208, with 54 plates and 43 illustrations.

Supdt., Govt. Printing, Calcutta, 1909

MARSHALL, J. H. Conservation, pp. 1-9 [Serious damage done by the earthquake of April 4th. Lahore—Chhoṭi Khwâbgâh (completion of work), ceiling of Shîsh Mahall, Dîwân-i-'Âmm; Delhi—Rang Mahall, Naubat Khâna, Hayât Bakhsh garden; Agra—the Tâj, Dîwân-i-'Âmm; Fathpur Sîkrî—Daftâr khâna, "Mariam's Koṭhî," house of Bîrbal, purchase of Rang Mahall; Qanauj—Mosque of Jahâniân, also tombs of Kabîr Bâlâ and Shaikh Mahdi; Gwalior—Tomb of Muhammad Ghauth; Bîjâpur—Gol Gumbaz, Ibrahim Rauza; Fîrozpur—Sonâ Masjid.]

VOGEL, J. PH. Ancient Monuments of Kângrâ ruined in the Earthquake, pp. 10-27, with 7 plates and 5 illustrations. [Âhanî, Amîrî, and Jahângîrî Darwâzâ in Fort.]

NICHOLLS, W. H. Some Conservation Works in the Northern Circle during 1905-06, pp. 28-32, with 8 plates. [Sikandarah—restoration of minarets on south gateway of Akbar's Tomb, Delhi—some photographs of the Fort, taken shortly after 1857:— Muthamman Burj—Rang Mahall, north-west corner of the Salîmgarh connecting bridge of same; Ajmîr—the Tahsîl.]

REA, A. Progress of Conservation in Madras, pp. 50-56, with 2 plates and 3 illustrations. [Includes fine Mosque in Gandikota Fort.]

———— 1906-7. Impl 4to., pp. x and 267, with 74 plates (1 coloured) and 52 illustrations.

Supdt., Govt. Printing, Calcutta, 1909

MARSHALL, J. H. Conservation, pp. 1-11, with 3 plates. [Policy of the Department with regard to the preservation of ancient monuments. Jaunpur—Jâmi' Masjid, Lâl Darwâza Masjid and Atala Masjid; Agra—the Tâj, Jahângîrî Mahal and Hathyâ Paul; Lahore—Naulakhâ Pavilion, Shîsh Mahal and Hazûrî Bâgh Pavilion; Shâhdara—garden of Akbar's Mausoleum and quadrangle of the Akbarî Sarâi; Delhi—Hayât Bakhsh garden and tomb of 'Îsâ Khân; Kashmir—Shâlimâr Bâgh; references to work at Panduah—Eklâkhî Tomb,

Âdîna and Quṭbshâhî mosques; Firozpur—Sonâ Masjid; Gaur—Lattan and Tântipârâ Mosques, Firoz Minâr, Dâkhil Darwâza; Bagerhat—Sat Gumbaz; tomb of Khân Jahân 'Alì; Chainpur—tomb of Bakhtiyâr Khân.]

NICHOLLS, W. H. Jahângîr's Tomb at Shâhdara, pp. 12-14, with 1 plate and 1 figure. [Removal of skylight; literary and structural evidence regarding original form of tomb.]

——— Railing in the Angûrî Bâgh at Agra, pp. 15-16, with 1 illustration

MARSHALL, J. H. Exploration and Research, pp. 34-43. [Reference to Nicholl's Report, *infra*, and a criticism of his remarks on the tomb of Madanî near Srînagar.]

NICHOLLS, W. H. Muhammadan Architecture in Kashmir, pp. 161-170, with 16 plates (1 coloured) and 10 figures. [Classification of Muhammadan Architecture in Srinagar; Tomb of Zainu-l-'âbidîn's mother; Tomb of Madanî; History of wooden style; Mosques of Madanî, Shâh Hamadân, etc., buildings in the Mughal style.]

SAHNI, DAYA RAM. Notes in the Gôrakpur and Sâran Districts, pp. 193-205, with 1 plate. [Salémpur—mosque dated A. H. 1065 (1654); Siwân—mosque dated A. H. 1165 (1751); Tâjpur Basahi—inscribed slab on grave of a Muhammadan Saint named Khwâja Bâdshâh.]

ANNUAL REPORT, 1907-8. Impl. 4to., pp. x and 304, with 86 plates (1 coloured) and 52 illustrations.

Supdt., Govt. Printing, Calcutta, 1911

MARSHALL, J. H. Conservation, pp. 1-7. [The Society for the protection of Ancient Buildings and its policy; survey of work at Agra and Delhi, for which see Tucker, *infra*; Fatehpur Sikri—Rang Mahall; Lahore Fort; Agra—the Tâj; Sikandarah—Tomb of Akbar, Kânch Mahall: Shâhdara—Mausoleum of Jahângîr, additional references confirming Nicholl's view on opening in vaulted roof; Bijâpur—Ibrâhim Rauza and Gol Gumbaz; Bâgerhât—Dargâh of Khân Jahân 'Alî, Satgumbaz mosque; Panduah—*minâr* and mosques.]

TUCKER, R. FROUDE. The Akbarî Mahall in Agra Fort, pp. 8-22, with 6 plates and 2 illustrations.

——— The Rang Mahall in Delhi Palace, pp 23-30, with 2 plates (1 coloured) and 2 illustrations.

——— Takht-i-Akbarî at Kalânûr. pp. 31—32 with 1 illustration.

———, 1908-9. Impl. 4to., pp. vi and 231, with 57 plates (2 coloured) and 49 illustrations.

Supdt., Govt. Printing, Calcutta, 1912

Vogel, J. Ph. Conservation, pp. 1-4. [Buildings in Delhi Fort—Shâh Burj, Naqar Khâna, Mumtâz Mahall, Hayât Bakhsh garden, etc.; Sikandarah—eastern false gate of Akbar's Tomb; Fatehpur Sîkrî—Rang Mahall; Allahabad—Mughal buildings in Fort; Bîjâpur—Gôl Gumbaz, completion of cornice.]

VOGEL, J. PH. Exploration and Research, pp. 33-37. [Remarks on work at Brâhmanâbâd-Manṣûra, for which see Cousens, *infra*.

COUSENS, HENRY. Excavations at Brâhmanâbâd—Mansûra, Sind, pp. 79-87, with 7 plates (2 coloured) and 7 illustrations. [Foundations of large mosque discovered.]

WASI-UD-DIN. A Persian Inscription in Pêshâwar City, [with postcript by W. Irvine], pp. 203-206, with 1 plate and 1 illustration. [Dating inscription from a bridge over the Bâra stream, built A.H. 1039 (1629), now built into a mosque at Peshâwar.]

ANNUAL REPORT, 1909-10. Impl. 4to., pp. [i], vi and 187, with 54 plates and 33 illustrations.

Supdt., Govt. Printing, Calcutta, 1914

VOGEL, J. PH. Conservation, pp. 1-10. [Delhi—Hayât Bakhsh garden and Shâh Burj in Fort; Agra—Akbar's palace in Fort; Lahore—Dîwân-i-'Âmm, Chhôṭî Khwâbgâh and Shîsh Mahall in Fort, Shâlimâr Bâgh; in neighbourhood of Delhi—Khirkî Masjid, Môth-kî-Masjid, Tomb of Safdar Jang; Bijâpur—Ibrâhîm Rauza, Jal Mandir; Ahmedâbâd district—mosque of Imâdu-l-Mulk at Ihsânpûr, mosque and tomb of Sayyid 'Usmân at 'Usmânpur; Sarkhêj—Palace; Broach—Jâmi' Masjid; Champaner—Jâmi' Masjid; Aurangâbâd—Bîbî kâ Maqbarah; Gulburgah—Mosque; Manêr (Patna District)—Makhdûm Daulat: Kusumbha—mosque; Burhânpur—Jâmi' Masjid, Bîbî Masjid; also Mausoleums of Shâh Nawâz Khân, Shâh Shûjâ and 'Âdil Khân.]

SANDERSON, GORDON. The Shâh Burj, Delhi Fort, pp. 25-32, with 1 plate and 4 illustrations.

——— The Dîwân-i-'Âmm, Lahore Fort, pp. 33-39, with 2 plates and 3 illustrations.

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SANDERSON, GORDON. Conservation Works at Agra and Neighbourhood, pp. 94-103, with 6 plates. [Tomb of Maryam at Sikandarah: Jaswant Singh Ki Chattri, Agra; Akbarî Mahall, Agra Fort.]

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Part III, Carved Doors, pp. [4], with 66 plates (11 col.).

Part IV, Brackets, pp. [4] with 68 plates (2 col.).

Part V, Arches, pp. [4], with 58 plates (10 col.).

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Part VII, String and Band Patterns, pp. [8], with 64 plates (13 col.).

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(To be continued.)

A FACTOR'S COMPLAINT FROM PORAKÂD IN 1665.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BT.

[MR. WILLIAM FOSTER has drawn my attention to the accompanying, rather amusing complaint about a cat and some pigeons belonging to a couple of English factors stationed at the little isolated factory of "Porqua," that is, Porakâd on the Travancore Coast, near Alleppey, in 1665. It was addressed to the President at Surat at that date, Sir George Oxenden and it is of value as showing the condition under which the servants of the East India Company had to pass their lives in India in the early pioneer days. Something of the kind prevailed in Upper Burma in our own time, in the first years of its occupation during the Third Burmese War in 1885-9, for I well recollect a petition to myself in Mandalay about 1888, which began—" Whereas my hen has a habit of laying its eggs on other people's gardens, and whereas X has kept my hen's eggs and refuses to deliver them up, I pray the Court to order X to give up my eggs to me."

As Mr. Foster's forthcoming volume of *English Factories in India* contains full details of the factories mentioned in the letter now reproduced, as well as accounts of the individuals who figure in the story, I have only added such brief notes as are necessary to elucidate the text.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL &CA., MY HONOURED FRIENDS.

Our last unto you was dated the 9th November last Per the *Royall Charles*, since whose dispeed wee have nothing of generall businesse worth your notice, and if there were, this conveyance is not very convenient to write any such matter, nay, am heartily sorry that I am forced to make use thereof, and allso that I must trouble you with so unseemly a matter, which you will find in these insuing lines, allthough there hath been no want in me to present the same, but now to my great greife am able to hold no longer.

The letter I sent you last yeare to the President was occasion'd upon the like story that this now is, the sending whereof Mr. Harrington knew very well, and might, if he had been minded to have written likewise. Therefore, whereas you say in your last to this factory you wonder that Alexander Grigbie mentioned nothing of Mr. Harrington,[1] the reason was because he was well and would not write himselfe, *vizt.* upon the 29th May last, being the Kings Coronation day, at which time I was extreame ill. Yet, about 4 a clock in the afternoon I went out into our Balcony, where wee commonly dine, at which time I found said Mr. Harrington looking upon a Silver hilted sword that he had newly made, and sitting down, I called to my servant for a boule of Congee (rice and water boiled together),[2] which to this instant is my cheifest lickuor, and seeing them merry, had a desire to participate of their mirth, and began to drink to a Portugall that was in the company in my said liquor. Mr. Harrington, turning towards me, falsely accuses me that in those words I dishonoured him, he imagining that whereas I spake to the aforesaid Portugall, I had asked him to sell his sword, allthough all they that stood by knew and testified that there was no such word spoken ; yet there was no perswading him.

To be short, he said I was what he pleased to call me, and strikes at my beare head with his naked sword, I having nothing to defend my selfe but my boule of Congee. Yet, by Gods mercy I had no hurt, only a small cutt' upon the backside of the finger on the left hand,

[1] John Harrington, who had been put in charge of Porakâd factory c. 1661. He and Grigsby had been previously stationed at Old Kâyal, near Tuticorin. (Information from Mr. Wm. Foster).

[2] Hind. *kânji*, Tam. *kañji*, water in which rice has been boiled, invalid 'slops,' gruel-used by sick Europeans in India.

the standers by preventing him from doing me any further mischiefé. Mr. Wade[3] can testifie the thing, being present ; and the same evening finding ditto Wade asleep, cuts him over the Nose, because I had desired him to take notice of the aforementioned passages, who besides that, hath received (pooré man) severall' base usages at ditto Harringtons hands in the time he was with us. Yet, allthough this was not the first by many, I was contented to passé it with the rest, not so much as mentioning the same in the aforesaid letter to the President, expecting that your Worshipp &ca. would have fully granted me my petition without any restriction, for as long as there is life there is hope. Besides I was so farre from remembring those hare-brain'd stories, that considering that wee had lived 6 yeares (unfortunately) together, I was loth to leave him here alone.

But now he hath me all alone and sick, domineers worse then ever, allthough I have indeavoured all the wayes that possible I can to shunne these occasions by retiring my selfe, and at all times giving him his owne way and saying ; yet all this will not suffice him.

For being extreamely troubled with rats, in so much besides the damage they did my things, they allso bit my fingers, that I was not able to rest for them ; to remedy which I procured a cat. But first please to take notice that he brings up pigeons in our dwelling house, nay, they are commonly in the very place I lie, and, as he saith, my cat killed two of them. And a few dayes after this, spies the cat upon the house and shoots her. Whereupon I told him if I would, could put as much shot into something else of his that was then sitting by me, and that in killing ing my cat for going aloft upon our house he cleared his old malice, being naturall for all such creatures so to doe, who were farre more profitable and wholesome in a house then pigeons. Upon this he rises up and begins to spurne me maliciously in the belly (the effect of which I felt for some dayes after) with his foot, knowing the cheifest of my infirmity lay there, and having used me farther at his pleasure in like manner, then sets him down againe. If I would I was not able to resist him, for I had resolved before hand if any thing should happen againe not to doe any thing but wholly to referre my selfe and cause to your Worshipp &ca., who I am confident will not faile to doe me Justice herein. And if I were not certaine of that, allthough I have not at present sufficient strength, there wants not other wayes which I beseech God to withhold me from and replenish me with patience, seeing its my lot to have such a comforter in this my so tedious aflictions, though some times when these things comes in my mind, together with the force of my infirmity, were it not but that I am confident that you will order me satisfaction, I should sink down under this so heavy a burden, I being so ill fitted to beare it.

He is continually ubraiding both me and my relations in a most vile manner, both in publique and private, saying the other day I was but Mr. Travers butler at Caile,[4] and what am I more here, and who am I to bring cats into the house, and that I was good for nothing but to . . . . , and that he had as absolute power as any prince. And thus he lords it over a poore Sick man, that the very people and servants cry out shame againe at him.

And because he doth assume to himselfe such power and to govern after such a rate, please to accept of a small peice thereof, and by that you may guesse what the rest is, for by the manner of it, it seems as if he were not to be accomptable to none but God for any actions done here. (He would faine be Royall but cannot indure a Royallist.)

[3] Mr. Foster tells me he has only found one mention of Henry Wade, as a witness to a protest to the Dutch in 1664.

[4] Walter Travers was head of the factory at Old Kâyal, established in 1658, and Harrington and Grigsby were his subordinates. Foster, *English Factories*, 1655-1660, pp. 218, 220.

First, as concerning the exercise of his religion. Wee have used it with such secrecy that there is none to this time knowes that we professe any, yea or no. Secondly, to this houre no accompts calculated or passed. Thirdly, orders or good houres here is none, for he sleeps not one night in 3 monthes in the factory. He hath also entertained the Portugall that came from Surat upon the *Royall Charles* for his companion, at the Companys cost.

As for me, he hath severall times told me if I were not contented, I might walk upon't, which now I hope you will not take amisse if I goe without bidding to winter in Caile Velha, [Old Kâyal], first, because this discontented life doth much augment my distemper. Secondly, this our factory is but as a choutry,[5] not for a sick man to winter in, being within a stones cast of the Sea, so that I intend, God willing, in Aprill for that place, and in August will not faile to be here againe,[6] before which time I hope wee shall heare from your Worshipp I may be fully ordered to imbarque for Surat upon the first shipp that shall touch at this port ; for my flux is now turned to another disease common to many in these parts, and for want of good meanes, leaves very few untill they goe to their grave. The Portugall calls it Almeerama,[7] or piles in the guts. Be it what God pleases, I feare it hath been so long upon me that I shall never recover my health perfectly againe, and that for want of meanes in time.

If I live untill September next, I shall have served the Honble. Company Seaven yeares, having hitherto received but 20 li., therefore intreat you to order me to receive what you shal think fitting. For the rest, I will not trouble you here againe with repe[ti]tions of our hard fortunes and losses, because it hath been formerly done, only say that our hap cannot be paralelled, intreating you to have that in remembrance.

And now craving pardon, allthough I could not make my greifes known unto you in fewer lines, not doubting but that your Worshipp &ca., will seriously consider this my case, so with presentation of my best service, I rest

Your Worshipps &ca., most humble servant,
to my power,
ALEXANDER GRIGBIE.

Porqua [Porikâd]
the 21th february,
1664-5.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTE ON ONE OF THE AMARÂVATÎ SCULPTURES IN THE COLOMBO MUSEUM.

BY THE LATE E. K. AYRTON, ARCHÆOLOGICAL COMMISSIONER, ANURADHAPURA.

Prefatory Note.

[The late Mr. E. R. Ayrton, Archæological Commissioner, Ceylon, wrote some time ago, a few valuable notes on a paper by Mr. R. Sewell, in Vol. XXXI of this *Journal*, showing that certain Buddhist sculptures now in the Colombo Museum must have come from Amarâvatî. These notes, which support Mr. Sewell's contention, were for some reason never published, and a duplicate of them was found amongst Mr. Ayrton's papers. The duplicate has been forwarded to me by his successor, Mr. A. M. Hocart, together with three photographs of the sculptures concerned. These photographs have already been published with Mr. Sewell's paper and the reader can refer to it. But the notes are published now for the first time—ED.]

Mr. R. Sewell in a paper published in 1907, entitled *Antiquarian Notes on Burma and Ceylon* (*ante*, XXXV, 293-299), pointed out the probable provenance of three pieces, two sculptures and one octagonal pillar, of light grey closely grained quartzite stone, which are in the Colombo Museum. He showed, on good grounds, that these three stones must have been carried off from the Amarâvati Tope in the Madras Presidency.

In this note I only propose to try and show what the subject of the sculptures on one of these stones (Plate II, fig. 4, in the article referred to above) represents.

5 An interesting South Indian term : a rest-house at four cross-roads : a public building. Tamil *shâvadi* ; Malayal, *châvati*, Can. *châvadi*; Southern Hindustani, *châwaṛî* : old Anglo-Indian choutry, choultry, through Northern Indian influence : Hindi, *chautrî*, a Court.

6 Grigsby did not get to Old Kâyal, as Harrington had to go there hurriedly on the death of Travers, in April 1664, to maintain the co.'s position. In July the unfortunate Grigsby was seized by the Dutch, who raided Porakâd, and carried him off to Cochin. (Information from Mr. Wm. Foster

7 Port : *almorreimas*, hæmorrhoids

As Mr. Sewell has pointed out, this particular stone is carved in the cruder style of the older sculptures of the Amarâvatî Tope.

Unfortunately, the slab lacks a corner, but otherwise it is well preserved. In the foreground crouch three women in attitudes suggestive of deep sleep, and the arm of the fourth is just visible near the edge of the stone. Facing these, and lying on her *right* side on a couch, is a woman. Behind the couch stand four men, one of whom is armed with a long spear; two are unarmed, and of the fourth only the left shoulder is visible.

There can be little doubt that this represents the bedroom of Queen Mâyâ on the night of the conception of the Buddha.

According to the *Jâtaka*, Mâyâ, on the night of Buddha's conception, saw in a dream the four Gods of the cardinal points raise her couch and carry it to the Anâwatapta lake where she bathed. She was then carried back again, and as she lay on her couch, the Bodhisattva, descending in the form of an elephant, entered her *right* side.

The traditional attitude of repose for Mâyâ at this moment was on her left side. So much so that in the Gandhâra sculptures "in sculpture No. 251 in the Rawlinson Collection at Peshawar . . . . the sculptor having placed the head to the left, has been forced to draw the queen with her back to the spectator to avoid breaking the tradition" (Spooner, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, p. 6). And this case is not unique, since there is a small sculpture of the same period in the Lahore Museum which shows the queen lying on her left side with her back to the spectator.

The only exception to this rule which I have been able to find is on an old relief at Sânchî (Fergusson; *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. XXXIII) where Mâyâ lies on her right side, the elephant hovering above. Possibly the tradition had not crystallised at that early period.

The Amarâvatî sculptures, which show the scene with the elephant, all show the queen in the same traditional position, that is to say, lying on her *left* side. See Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. LXXIV, and Pl. XCI, 4, p. 232, which represents Suddhodana and his friends.

It is extremely unfortunate that our stone should be broken at the top left hand corner, since had it been perfect and shown no elephant, the identification of the scene would have been simple.

An Amarâvatî slab figured by Burgess (*Amaravati and Jaggayyapetta Stupas*, Pl. XXVIII) resembles the Colombo sculpture. The chief exception is that the four men are standing at the four corners of the couch instead of behind it. Only one of the four is armed; the queen lies on her *right* side as on our slab and the four women slumber in the foreground. It is interesting to contrast the carving and grouping on this slab, which is of the later Amarâvatî style, with that of the Colombo example.

Writing of it, Dr. Burgess says: "Scene very frequently represented. It reveals the bedchamber of Mahâ Mâyâ, the mother of Gautama the Buddha, on the night of her conception, with four female slaves in the foreground. She is represented asleep on her couch, and with four male figures at the corners of it who are the guardian *Devas* of the four quarters.—Vaiśrâvana of the North, Virupaksha of the West, Dhritarâshtra of the East and Virudhaka of the South—whom she saw in her dream take up her couch and bear it to the Himâlayas, where their queens bathed her at the Anâwatapta lake."

It is undoubtedly this scene which is portrayed on our slab—the bedchamber of Queen Mahâ Mâyâ just before her visit to the lake Anâwatapta.

Other representations of the conception of Buddha which throw light on this subject are the following:—

(1) In Cunningham's *Bharhut Stupa,* Plate XXVIII is representative of Mâyâ Devî's Dream. She lies on her *right* side and an elephant is hovering above. Behind her head a female attendant stands with hands raised in prayer. Before her couch are two seated females, one with a *chauri*; both are apparently asleep. On p. 83, paragraph 2, Cunningham says: "A white elephant of the Chhadanta breed approached the princess in her sleep and appeared to enter into her womb by her *right* side." At p. 89 he says: "In Bharhut sculpture the princess is represented in the centre of the medallion sleeping quietly on her couch, with her right hand under her head, and her left hand by her side. The position leaves her right side exposed." The Princess was obviously meant to be lying on her back.

(2) In *Tree and Serpent Worship,* Pl. XXXIII, Right hand pillar of E. Gateway (p. 145), "Mâyâ [is] asleep on the terrace of the palace, dreaming that a white elephant appeared to her and entered her womb."

(3) In *Tree and Serpent Worship,* Pl. LXXIV Amarâvatî: Mâyâ is on her left side on a couch the elephant far above her. Behind her a two women, and in front of her are five women 4 gods are at each corner." [1]

[1] [When preparing "India" for Hutchinson's illustrated *History of the Nations*, 1914, I drew Mr. R. B. Ogle's attention to the ancient sculptured representations of Mâyâ's Dream as reproduced in the above books, and this caused him to draw the spirited illustration shown at p. 118 of that work, which to my mind adequately represents the scene as it presented itself to the imagination of the ancient artists.—ED.]

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE MERS OF MERWARA.[1]

BY LIEUT.-COL. JOHN HOSKYN, C.B.E., D.S.O.

THE Mers of Merwara are the Highlanders of Rajputana. Inhabiting a narrow strip of hilly country in the heart of that province, they have always maintained their independence against the attacks of the powerful Rajput States by which they are surrounded ; and a free and manly carriage, the hereditary badge of liberty, distinguishes them from the neighbouring tribes of bondsmen and tillers of the soil. For centuries before the coming of the British, the Mers not only held their own in the rocky fastnesses of the Arâvali Hills, but made active reprisals on the enemies who sought to subdue them.

Issuing from their narrow glens, parties of these lean caterans would speed North and East and West ; avoiding beaten roads and travelling by desert bye paths ; one or two of them mounted on small ponies, and leading other ponies with capacious sacks for the receipt of booty, but most of them on foot, each armed with a spear, a leather shield on his shoulder, and a short curved sword slung at his side. Thus they held on their way to some distant town or village, drowsing in the stagnant security of the plains ; where, that night, would be heard the shout of the startled watchmen, quickly stifled; the cries of terrified bunnias, dragged from their beds and persuaded, without loss of words to produce their hoards ; the shrieks of women, and the hoarse cries of the plunderers ranging swiftly through the streets. The city of Ajmer, lying amongst their own hills, was a milch-cow to these wiry little marauders. They knew the secret paths by which they could swarm like bees into the Fort of Târâgarh, and they took toll of the marches of Bûndî, Shâhpura, Jodhpur and Udaipur up to the very walls of those cities.

Naturally, the proud Rajput States looked on these reivers with contempt, considerably tempered by exasperation. The small chiefs and Ṭhâkurs whose lands lay at the foot of the hills, paid blackmail to the hillmen, and even sought to gain their friendship by giving them assistance and shelter when they needed it ; but the larger states scorned such terms as these. Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur each claimed the over-lordship over different portions of the Mer country ; and several expeditions were sent by the Princes of those States to punish the "Crows," as they called the hillmen, and destroy their nests in the glens. But the Rajput warrior, brave as a lion in a galloping, sword and lance encounter in the open was never a hill-fighter ; his horse was useless to him in the narrow, rocky ravines and thick scrub-jungle of the mountains ; his lance could not reach the active enemies who swarmed on the hill-sides shooting arrows, hurling down boulders and charging home, sword in hand, when they saw an opening. The Rajput Armies were forced to retire ; the "Crows," squatting on the ridges above them, croaked cheerfully at the retreating cavalcades, and not many nights passed before the villages of the plains were again paying the penalty of their Prince's failure.

It was not until about a hundred years ago that these wild mountaineers were subdued by a British force ; and in due time a British Officer, a subaltern in the Bengal Artillery, Dixon by name came to rule over them. How this Gunner subaltern devoted himself to the service of this "new-caught sullen people" ; how he exorcised the "devil" in them, and taught the "child" that remained the elementary lessons of civilisation and discipline ; how with firm hand and kindly heart he won their devotion, once for all, to the British ; how he fought for them against political intrigue, when the Rajput Princes, seeing them tamed and, as they thought, broken, revived their old claims to their land ; how he lived among them, and how, finally,

[1] Reprinted from the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, Vol. L, April 1921.

he died among them, having seen the fruit of his work, when the Mers stood firm as a rock in the flood of the mutiny of 1857, and a loyal Mer Regiment marched into Ajmer, and defied the mutineers of Nasîrabad to lower the British Flag in the chief city of Rajputana: all this is written, no mean page of it, in the Book of the Chronicles of the British Empire. But our business at present lies not with the modern history of the Mers, strangely interesting though it be, but with their origin and early history.

The Mers themselves have no historical records ; all connection with the past, written or oral, except what exists in names and customs, was effaced during the centuries of anarchy which preceded the British occupation, and when the tribe returned once more to the paths of civilization they found it necessary to give an account of themselves which, in that country of exclusive castes and prehistoric genealogies, would fix the conditions of social intercourse with their neighbours. The hereditary Bards of the tribe rose to the occasion and produced a legend that the tribe was descended from a Chauhân prince, a grandson of Prithvî Râj, the last king of Ajmer. The legend says that this prince carried off a Mîna girl of Bûndî, and married her, believing that she was a Râjpûtnî. When this mistake was discovered, she was expelled from her husband's home with her two sons Anhel and Anûp, and wandered into the Arâvalî hills, where she found a refuge: and her sons became ancestors respectively of the Chîtâs and Barars, the two chief clans of the Mers. But the legend takes no account of the facts that the stock names of the Nâks or branches of the Mers are, not Chauhân alone, but Pañwar, Gahlot and Pariâr as well : and if any further proof is needed of the incorrectness, or at any rate incompleteness of the legend of the Bards it is contained in the Bardic chronicles of the Chauhâns themselves, which mention the Mers as a powerful fighting tribe long before the times of Prithvî Râj.

The accounts given by modern historians of the origin of the Mers do not as a rule go much beyond this legend of the Bards. Colonel Dixon in his sketch of Merwârâ accepts the legend, which he gives at great length, and traces the genealogy downwards through various mythical descendants of Anhel and Anûp ; and this genealogy, on the strength of Dixon's acceptance of it, is to-day implicitly believed in by the Mers themselves.

Colonel Tod in the *Annals of Rajasthan* derives the name of the tribe from *meru*, a hill ; and states, in one place, that the Mers are a branch of the Mînâ tribe, and in another, that they are descended from the Bhaṭṭîs of Jaisalmer. A Muhammadan historian of Ajmer mentions a vague legend from the Bardic chronicles of an ancient Mer Kingdom of Tanor, in Merwâr, from which the Mers were driven by the Râthors when the latter took possession of the country. A native Christian missionary named Manâwar Khân, who lived for 40 years in Todgarh carrying on missionary work among the Mers, and who therefore should have known better, published, about 1900, a small *History of the Mers of Merwârâ* in Hindî, in which he says that they are aborigines like the Bhils and Minâs, from whom they are distinguished by the fact that they have made more progress, socially, under the British, than those tribes have done under native rule. This theory, unfortunately, did not commend itself to the Mers, who solemnly burnt the book in a public assembly of the representatives of the tribe, and called the reverend author names which I should be sorry to repeat. Finally, Sir William Hunter in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* dismisses the ancestors of the Mers with the remark that they were half-naked aborigines, careless of agriculture, and engaged in constant plundering expeditions into the surrounding States. "Up to 1818," he says, "the history of Merwara is a blank ". It is necessary to go further afield to find the clue which connects this tribe of "half-naked aborigines" with an ancestry at least as ancient and as renowned as that of any other race in India.

The principal authorities on which I have based the following account are :—Elliott's *History of India*, Volume 1, Professor Dowson's notes to the same ; Pandit Bhagvanlal's *Early History of Gujrat*, and the account of the Gujars given in Volume IX of the *Bombay Gazetteer.* The Rajput annals of Râjpûtânâ and Kâthiâwâr also furnish several references to the Mers, which complete and elucidate these accounts, and specially throw light on the subject of the connection of the Mers with the Rajputs.

At some period during the 5th century of the Christian era, when the Persian empire of the Sâsanids was being attacked by the White Huns or Ephthalites, and the great hordes of Central Asia were in a state of volcanic flux and turmoil, an upheaval took place in the regions of Northern Persia, on the confines of the ancient kingdoms of Georgia and Media, which resulted in a huge tidal wave of humanity being propelled Eastwards and Southwards toward the Frontiers of India. This Army or horde (*urdû*) was composed mainly of two tribes, the Gurjaras from Gurjistan (Georgia) and the Mihiras from Mihiristân, the land of the Sun, Media. Through the passes of the mountains this flood poured into the Panjab, and its further progress to the South-East being stemmed by the strength of the Hindu Kingdom of the Gupta dynasty established there, it followed the line of least resistance, turned South by the Indus valley, and spread over the deserts of Sind and Western Rajputana. In Sind it encountered the opposition of the great tribe of the Jats, themselves the jetsam of a former horde of Getae, or Goths, who had flooded the country in the same way some three centuries earlier, and were then settled on both sides of the river. The newcomers moved down the Eastern bank, driving the Jats across the river ; and, leaving a large colony of Mihiras to occupy the valley, they passed on into Kâthiâwâr. Here the Mihiras appear to have remained, while the Gurjaras moved on and settled in the adjacent province, now know as Gujarât. The name of the former tribe is variously written as Maitraka (belonging to Mitra=Mihira), Mihira, Med or Mand. This varied nomenclature has led to some confusion, and historians have not always recognised the tribe under the various names by which they are mentioned, but the arguments of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji have placed it beyond reasonable doubt that the modern Mhairs or Mers of Merwârâ and Kâthiâwâr are identical with the Maitrakas or Mihiras of the great migration.[2]

The period of the arrival of the horde of Mers and Gujars (to give them at once the names by which they are now known) was a critical one in the history of Hinduism. The ancient religion of the Brahmans had suffered from centuries of corruption, and had fallen into disrepute ; the doctrines of the Reformer Gautama, the Buddha, backed by the authority of the Mauryan emperor Asoka, had swept the country from North to South. But with the Mauryan empire long fallen, and the elevation of the Gupta dynasty, the Brahmans saw an opportunity for recovering their lost supremacy. In the civilised regions of the North and East they were successful ; but in the West they encountered the vigorous opposition of the Jains, who had established themselves in great strength in the Western Kingdoms. By the active proselytism of the Jains on the one side, and the more carnal arguments of slings and arrows employed by the aboriginal Bhîls on the other, the ranks of the Rajput Kshatriyas, on whom the Brahmans relied to defend their temporal power, were getting perilously thinned : and the opportunity of recruiting these ranks, by admitting the warlike strangers from the North to the privileges and responsibilities of the Kshatriya caste, was too obvious to be missed by the astute Brahmans.

2 *Early history of Gujrat, Bom. Gazetteer,* Vol. I, Part I. p. 135.

There was nothing revolutionary in this proceeding, for many times in the history of Hinduism the same expedient has been resorted to.[3] According to the strict law of Manu the higher caste of Hindus cannot be entered by foreigners or men of lower caste, except by the drastic process of re-birth. But has any human law-maker yet succeeded in defeating the ingenuity of his disciples ? The acumen of the Pandits was not unequal to the twisting of this rule to suit the dictates of policy or of necessity. First of all, there was the discreet fiction, that the warlike neighbours were descendants of an original Kshatriya stock, who might regain their ancestral caste rights by returning to a devout observance of their religious duties, more especially those which enjoined the protection of Brahmans. Then again, according to Manu, a king is composed of particles drawn from the essence of the gods, and this applies not only to Hindu kings, but to all kings. The ruler even of a tribe of foreign invaders could therefore claim to be an emanation of divinity, and could hardly be denied the right, should he claim it, to rank as a Brahman or at the least a Kshatriya : and once admitted in his case, this right might quite logically be extended to his clan, whose origin was the same as his own. Under successive applications the letter of the law was finally broadened into the general rule, that "who acts as a Kshatriya, him you must consider a Kshatriya"[4] Two well-known examples of the application of this rule in Western India, besides the Mers and Gujars, are the Chitpâvan Brahmans, who are said to be descended from a crew of foreigners shipwrecked on the Konkan coast ; and the chiefs of the old Marâthâ families, who have been admitted to the Kshatriya caste, although the Brahmans of Northern India still believe them to be of Persian origin.[5]

But was there anything to induce the chiefs of the invading tribes to put themselves and their followers beneath the Brahman yoke ? Admission to the exclusive and jealously guarded caste of king-born warriors, over which hung the glamour of Rajput tradition and chivalry, was undoubtedly an inducement to the warlike barbarians : and the subtle Brahman well knew how to turn to account the common weakness of human nature, to desire most that which is most difficult to attain, without regard to its intrinsic value. But there was another powerful bond which attached the Mers to the Brahman cause and alienated them from their opponents. The Mers brought with them from Persia the worship of fire and of the Sun.[6] Mihir in the ancient language of Persia, and Mitra, in Sanskrit, are names for the sun ; and the names Maitraka and Mihira by which the Mers are known in the Hindu accounts of the great invasion, seem to connect this tribe in a particular manner with Sun-worship.[7] They would therefore be naturally attracted to the side of the Brahmans (Chitpâvan), who were also Fire and Sun-worshippers, in opposition to the Jains and Buddhists, who had not only abandoned this worship themselves, but had forbidden its continuance in the territories where they held sway.[8]

In order to lend especial emphasis and *eclat* to the admission of this powerful reinforcement to the ranks of their defenders, the Brahmans determined to signalise it by performing the sacred rite of Initiation by Fire. This rite would appeal especially to the newcomers

[3] *Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 434—452.

[4] Wilford in *Asiatic Researches*, X, 91.

[5] [There is this much to be said in favour of the "Brahmans." The Mers were probably quite as much "Kshatriyas" as the other "Râjpût Kshatriyas" of the 5th century.—ED.]

[6] See below for an account of the connection of the Magha Brahmans with the Magi.

[7] *Cf.* Mihirakula, Child of the Sun, the title of the great White Hun ruler in Northern India in the early 6th century.

[8] Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 43.

as a sacrament of their own religion, and would emphasise their antagonism to the Jains, who had tried to stamp out fire-worship. Apparently it was reserved for the most solemn occasions only, and was seldom employed, except for the initiation of the Brahmans themselves. Something resembling it is said to have been employed at the initiation of the Chitpâvan Brahmans above referred to.[9] Actual details of the rite are not known. Legend describes the scene on the sacred mountain of Abu, where the gods assembled in open Lodge round the great Agni-kuṇḍ, or Fire-pit, which is still to be seen there. First Indra made an image of grass, sprinkled it with the water of life and threw it into the fire-fountain, muttering the Charm of Life slowly. From the flame arose a mace-bearing figure shouting "*Mâr. Mâr*". He was called the Parmâr or Foe-slayer. Next Brahmâ framed an image of his own essence and threw it into the fire-pit, repeating the Life-charm. A figure rose with the sacred thread round his neck, a sword in one hand and a copy of the *Veda* in the other. He was called Châlukhya or Solânkî. The third champion was the Pariâr, who was created by Rudra, and rose from the flame, black and ill-favoured, bearing a bow. Last of all came Vishnu's image, the four-armed Chauhân.

According to the legend, the Parmâr or Pañwar received Dhâr and Ujjain as his heritage, to the Solânkî was assigned Anhilpura, to the Pariâr the desert regions West of Abu, and the North was given to the Chauhân. Of the thirty-six royal races of Rajputs it is said the fire-born are the greatest, the rest were born of women, while these owe their origin to the gods themselves.[10]

There can be very little doubt that these four fire-born races were originally Mers and Gujars, and date their origin from the fifth century.[11] Unless we are prepared to accept the legend of their miraculous creation, we must conclude that they originated from a non-Hindu warrior race. The fact that their appearance synchronised closely with the arrival in Rajputana of the conquering tribes of fire-worshipping Mers and Gujars, points at once to a probable source from which this new accession to the fighting force of the Kshatriyas was drawn.

In an old Rajput inscription, a prince of the Pariâr race is referred to as a Gujar.[12] The principal division of the Gujars in the Panjab bears the name of Chauhân.[13] The Solânkî Oswâls, the leading class of Western Indian Jains, are Gujars. In poems, Bhim Solânki, the great king of Anhilvâdâ is called the Gujar.[14]

The nature of the connection between the Mers and the Gujars is not quite clear, but in view of their common country, common religion and customs and their combined invasion of India it is fair to assume that it was very close. It has been suggested that the Mers were not regarded as a separate tribe, but as a ruling class of the Gujars ; the later still refer to their head-men as "Mîr." In any case the fact that Mer kingdoms were established in the countries first over-run by the invaders, as Kashmîr, the Indus valley, and Kâthiâwâr, while the Gujars either went further afield or remained in the Mer kingdoms in a subordinate position, seems to show that of the two tribes the Mers predominated in power and influence. It is in the last degree unlikely, therefore, that if Gujars were admitted to the caste of Kshatriyas, Mers should have been excluded.[15] Moreover, of the four stock-names of the Mers given above,

9 *Chitpâvan* signifies "pyre purifier."

10 Tod, *Annals*, II, 407.

11 *Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. X, Part I, p. 486.

12 *Prachinalekha-mâlâ*, Vol. I, pp. 53-54.

13 *Gujarât Gazetteer*, pp. 50-51.

14 *Râs Mâlâ*. I, 222.

15 The only semi-independent Gurjara Kingdom of which we have records was that at Nandôd in Southern Gujarât, but the kings of Nandôd acknowledged the Mer kings of Vallabhipura as their overlords. —*Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 113.

three correspond with names of the fire-born tribes. The fourth stock-name, Gahlot, refers to a different origin, which will presently be explained.[16] I conclude therefore, that of the four fire-born tribes of Rajputs, three, *viz.*, the Chauhân, Pariâr and Parmâr were composed of both Mers and Gujars ; the fourth Solânki, may have been composed of Gujars alone.

In the early 19th century, the Bards of the Mers, greatly daring, ventured to ascribe the origin of their race to the debased off spring of a Chauhân prince. A strain of Chauhân blood, even though blended with disgrace, was the highest genealogical pinnacle to which they could aspire, and even this claim was not admitted without derision by their neighbours. The strange truth appears to be, that instead of the Mers being descended from the Chauhâns, the Chauhâns themselves are descendants of the ancient nation of Mers.

Besides those who were specially distinguished by the fire-initiation, other clans of the invaders attained the dignity of inclusion among the Rajput royal races without undergoing this ordeal. Probably most of the Rajput Chiefs of Kâthiâwâr are descended from the Mer conquerors of that province. The Jethvâ Chiefs of Porbandar for instance, who were formerly powerful rulers, are almost certainly of the Mer [17] tribe. They are still called Mer Kings, and the Mers of Porbandar regard them as the head of their clan. But the most noteworthy case is that of the kings of Vallabhipur in Eastern Kâthiâwâr. About the end of the fifth century, a chief named Bhatarka, a Mer of the Gahlot clan, conquered the city of Vallabhipur, the last stronghold in Kâthiâwâr of the decaying Gupta monarchy, and founded a kingdom there which included the greater part of Kâthiâwâr, Gujarât, and Southern Rajputana. A scion of this dynasty in A. D. 720 conquered Chitor[18] from the Morî or Maurya Chief who held it. His descendants are the present ruling family of Udaipur. This origin of the Sisodias perhaps accounts for the curious blend of Sun-worship with orthodox Hinduism which exists in Udaipur ; and it throws an interesting light on the claim of the Mahârânâs to a descent from Nûshîrwân, the great Sasanian emperor of Persia.[19]

Not only were the warriors of the Mers admitted to the Kshatriya caste, but their priests were recognised as Brahmans. The horde of fighting men was accompained by a hereditary tribe of priests, called Maghs, who were under the special favour of the great conqueror Mihirakula [20] In India the Maghs seem in general to have worshipped a combination of the Sun and Śiva under the title Mihir-eśwar (Sun-god). This was the established religion in the Vallabhi kingdom of Bhatarka and his successors.

But a pure form of sun-worship was maintained at Multân, Dwârkâ, Somnâth and other holy places, probably by the priests of the sect.[21] The descendants of the Maghs under the name of Maghâ Brahmans now form one of the leading priestly classes of South Mârwâr.

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16 These names are probably adaptations of tribal stock-names of the Mers and Gujars, which have been given Indian meanings. *Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 483. Tod's *Annals*, 2nd edition, II, 407. The Gahlots for instance are probably identical with the Getæ mentioned by Herodotus as a principal tribe of Medes (*Encyc. Brittanica*, Art. "Media").

17 *Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 87

18 Tod's *Annals*, I, 229-231.

19 *Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 102. Tod's *Annals*, I, 235. Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari*, **I, 181.**

20 Troyer's *Rajatarangini*, 307-309.

21 Herodotus mentions the Magoi (Magi) as the hereditary priests of the Medes. Modern (post-Islamic) Persian poetry is full of references to the Maghs, the priests of the ancient religion. Reinaud' *Mémoire sur L'Inde*, 93-99. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, I, 497.

Neither the date nor the circumstances of the fall of Vallabhipura are clearly known. The most probable account is that preserved by the Portuguese traveller Alberuni, who says that the Arab chief of Mansûra, in the Indus valley, sent a naval expedition against Vallabhipura. In a night attack the king was killed and his people and town were destroyed. Alberuni gives no date to this event; but it must have occurred between A.D. 750 and 770.[22] After the destruction of Vallabhipura, the Mer power seems to have moved inland, probably to avoid another encounter with those terrible raiders, and to have centred in the hilly country West of Chitor, where a large tract of country received the name of Medwâr[23], the country of the Meds (Mers).

The subsequent history of the Gahlots of Mewâr, as well as that of the main branches of the Chauhâns, Pañwârs, and the Pariârs is sufficiently well known from the *Annals* of the Rajputs among whom these tribes are now included. But besides those who by achievement, or Brahman initiation, were cleansed from the dust of their ignorance and obtained a place among the Kshatriyas, a proportion of the Mers held to their ancient faith, and either from choice or from necessity, remained outside the pale.

Among these were the Mers of Sind, of Kâthiâwâr and of Merwârâ. In proportion as the fire-born Rajputs grew in reputation, in power, and in pride, their brethren of these tribes sank into oblivion, and finally after a lapse of nearly a thousand years, they emerge into the light of modern history as despised barbarians, stripped of every vestige and even every memory of their former greatness. One can only darkly surmise the causes and circumstances of this strange discrimination of fate.

One curious tradition has been handed down in the tribe from ancient times and survives to this present day. According to this tradition the kings of the Mers in ancient times were white men, and it is decreed that the Mers shall never be ruled or led by any other than a white race. I like to think that the old Mers who did not become Kshatriyas were sturdy independents of the tribe, who held to the legend of the white king and refused to be tempted to bow the knee to the dark-skinned races of Hindustan. With the coming of the British in the early years of the ninteenth century the riddle seemed to be solved. The Mers accepted the white officers as their destined rulers, and have followed them ever since with unswerving loyalty. It is true that their faith received a shock by the substitution of a Hindu District Officer for the "Chhotâ Sâhib" a few years ago, but the tradition clings, and the Mers are still inclined to hold themselves as a race apart, to regard the seething politics of India with complete unconcern, and to speak of their district as "a piece of Britain," and themselves as the peculiar servants and soldiers of the British King-Emperor.

NEW LIGHT FROM WESTERN ASIA.

(A Lecture delivered to The Royal Asiatic Society, London, on Tuesday the 8th November 1921.)

BY THE REV. PROF. A. H. SAYCE, M.A., D.LITT.

THE other day I was looking into a book on Ancient History published less than a century ago. It has itself become ancient history. It is like nothing so much as the maps of central Africa which were current in my childhood and in which there was little else but a blank space. What was not a blank space was for the most part erroneous. So it was

22 *Bom. Gazetteer*, Vol. I; Part I, pp. 94-95.

23 The modern Mewar or Udaipur.

with the Ancient History of our immediate forefathers so far as Asia and Europe were concerned. Behind the classical age of Greece and Rome there was either thick darkness, or assertions and guesses which we now know to have been wide of the truth. Apart from what could be gleaned from the pages of the Old Testament, (not unfrequently misinterpreted or misunderstood), nothing practically was known of the earlier history of Europe and Western Asia.

When I went to school light was beginning to dawn. Champollion had lifted the curtain which so long covered the script and records of Egypt, and the outlines of early Egyptian history were beginning to be sketched, while the ancient life of the Egyptians, their crafts and arts and theology, were being recovered from the painted walls of tombs and temples. The Persian cuneiform inscriptions had just been deciphered, and through them the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia were at last revealing their secrets. Among my first recollections are the discoveries that were being made in Assyria and Babylonia, the bulls that Layard was sending from the ruins of Nineveh, the names of Sennacherib and Sargon that the decipherers were finding in the inscriptions, the new world of art and history that was being opened up on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. The story of it all had penetrated into the remotest country places, the daily papers were filled with accounts of what had been found, and the theological public, which was a large one in those days, was intensely interested in discoveries which explained or supplemented the familiar stories of the Bible.

Then came the reaction. The canons of a sceptical criticism were introduced from Germany and eagerly assimilated by our classical scholars. The Homeric Poems were dissected into small morsels, assigned to a late age, and denied all historical credence, while Niebuhr's rejection of early Roman history became a fashion. Sir George Cornewall Lewis proved to his own satisfaction and that of his readers that Roman history so-called, before the capture of the city by the Gauls, was entirely devoid of truth : Grote made it clear to an acquiescent world that Greek tradition was valueless and that we might as well look for history in the rainbow as in Greek myth and legend ; and finally, the philological theory of mythology became the vogue, which derived a myth from a misunderstood word or phrase and resolved most of the figures of early legend into forms of the Sun-god. Except perhaps in Palestine and Egypt, it was assumed that writing for literary purposes was unknown to the ancient world until a few centuries before the Christian era, and that consequently, as there were no contemporaneous records, there could be no reliable history. Archæology still meant discussions about the age and authority of Greek statuary and the like ; scientific excavation, and examination of the materials found in the course of it, were left to the students of the prehistoric ages, more especially in Scandinavia. The application of the methods and results of the Scandinavian scholars to the lands of the Eastern Mediterranean was not dreamed of, or if dreamed of, dismissed as a dream. The old sites of the East were explored for the sake of the great monuments and smaller antiquities which they yielded and which were coveted by the Museums, as well as for the inscriptions which were to be discovered in them. That the history of the pre-Hellenic past could be recovered, except through the help of written records, had not as yet dawned upon the world of students. As for Assyriology, the Semitic scholars of Germany still regarded it as unworthy of their attention.

It was an outsider, Dr. Schliemann, who was the revolutionist, and it is needless to say that the first announcements of his work and discoveries were received with violent opposition, unbelief and contempt. He was not a Professor ; he had not even received a University

education ; a self-educated man, what did he know about the classics, much less about their interpretation ? The Trojan War had been proved to be a solar myth ; how then could he have discovered the city of Priam and established the historical credibility of the Iliad ?

It was worse when his enthusiasm led him to excavate Mykenae and find there the tombs of the royal heroes for whom he was looking, filled as they were with gold and other treasures which displayed the features of a hitherto unknown art. Some scholars maintained that they were Byzantine ; there were others who were equally assured that they were Gothic loot. That they could not be what their discoverer maintained they were, was agreed on all sides ; Homer had been shown to be a medley of late date, and Agamemnon and his colleagues were creatures of myth.

I was one of the first advocates of Schliemann's beliefs, and an article of mine in *The Academy* brought me his acquaintance and friendship. It was not long before discoveries similar to those at Mykenae and Tiryns were announced from other parts of the old Greek world ; little by little the opposition to the conclusions to be drawn from them died away, and it came to be admitted on all sides that the spade had disproved the confident convictions of scholarship, had revealed to us the prehistoric past of Greece, and had shown that the old traditions were founded on historic truth. It was the first blow delivered against the historical scepticism of the middle of the nineteenth century.

As an excavator Schliemann had to seek his evidence in the material objects which he disinterred. How to interpret this evidence had already been made clear by the prehistoric students of northern and western Europe. Among the material objects, the most important part was played by the pottery. Pottery is indestructible except by the hand of man : it is the most common of objects wherever civilised or semi-civilised man has existed, and the potter is almost as much subject to the dictates of fashion as the milliner. Successive periods of history can thus be traced through varying styles of pottery, as well as the relations of various forms of culture one to another.

Now a new excavator appeared upon the scene in the person of Mr. Flinders Petrie, and the scene of his work was no longer the ancient Greek world, but Egypt. Under him the study and classification of pottery became an elaborate branch of science, and brought with it the scientific study and arrangement of other objects of social life. Upper Egypt is a land where nothing perishes except by the hand of man ; where the relics of early civilisation seem hardly to grow old, and where accordingly it is easier than elsewhere to unravel their history and arrange them in chronological order. The archæological science of to-day is largely the creation of Petrie and his followers in the lands of the Nile.

Meanwhile Assyriology had overcome opposition and suspicion, and had forced the older Semitic scholars to accept its statements and conclusions. Even Germany had at last yielded ; the enthusiasm of the Swiss scholar Schrader silenced all opposition, and a Chair of Assyriology was established for him at Berlin. But Assyriology itself had widened its domain. It was no longer only the Semitic language of Assyria and Babylonia and the Iranian language of ancient Persia, which the cuneiform scholar was called upon to decipher; the cuneiform script had once extended over the greater part of Western Asia and had been used by the various languages that were spoken there. It was discovered that Assyro-Babylonian had been the pupil and heir of an earlier culture and an earlier language which was agglutinative, but unlike any other known form of speech. The earlier Assyriologists called it Akkadian ; we now know that its name was Sumerian, the language of Sumer,

and Akkadian properly denoted the Semitic language spoken in the northern half of Babylonia. The first attempt at a grammar and analysis of the language had been made by myself in 1870, and was developed by my friend, François Lenormant—a name ever to be honoured—three years later. The Sumerians were the founders of Babylonian civilisation, the builders of its cities, and the originators of its theology. The larger part of Babylonian literature was due to their initiative.

Another agglutinative language, unrelated, however, to Sumerian, was spoken in the highlands of Elam and is now known as Susian. In its later form it is represented by what in the early days of Assyriology was termed the Scythian version of the Achæmenian inscriptions. It was, in fact, the language of Susa, the third capital of the Persian kings, and we owe most of our present knowledge of it to the numberless inscriptions disinterred by de Morgan among the ruins of Susa and brilliantly deciphered by Dr. Scheil.

There was yet another language embodied in the cuneiform characters, which was spoken in the north of Assyria in what is now Armenia. This I succeeded in deciphering in 1882, my Memoir appearing in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and so brought to light the history, geography and theology of a power which once contended on equal terms with the Assyrian Empire, and was for a while the mistress of the nations of the north. To this language I gave the name of Vannic, the capital of the kingdom having been the city of Bianas, the modern form of which is Van. The language belonged to what is called the Caucasian or Asianic group, that is to say, to the numerous languages spoken to-day in the Caucasus and formerly in Asia Minor, and divided into several groups unrelated to one another.

In 1888 came a discovery which revolutionised our ideas of ancient Oriental history and had a far-reaching effect. This was the discovery of cuneiform tablets at Tel-el-Amarna in Upper Egypt. By a stroke of ill-luck they were found by the peasants in the winter of 1886-7, the one winter that I did not happen to be in Upper Egypt. Both before that and afterwards I spent my winters on the Nile, and always visited Tel-el-Amarna, sometimes twice during the same season, where I was accordingly well-known to the natives from whom I purchased small antiquities. Had I been there that winter, the whole collection of tablets would have passed into my hands intact. As it was, there was no one in Egypt, much less among the antica-dealers, who knew anything about cuneiform or cuneiform tablets. A tablet sent to Paris was pronounced by Oppert to be a forgery, and the result was that the precious documents were packed on donkey-back and carried more than once up and down the two banks of the Nile, so that a considerable number of them were lost altogether, and a large number broken and rendered more or less illegible. When I arrived in Cairo in the spring of 1888, a few had made their way there, and I was able to assure the authorities at the Museum, that whatever their date might be, they were genuine.

The following winter I was again at Tel-el-Amarna where the fellahin showed me the house in which the tablets had been discovered. The bricks of the house, some of which I carried away with me, proved that it was the Foreign Office of the later Kings of the 18th dynasty. Most of the bricks were inscribed with the words : " Record Office of Aten."

The discovery, as I have said, had far-reaching consequences. For one thing, it dealt a second blow at the destructive criticism of the sceptical school of the historians of the ancient East. That criticism was based on the assumption that literature and the use of writing for literary or epistolary purposes had no existence before the classical age, and that consequently no contemporaneous history of an earlier period could have come down to us, the

further conclusion being that as there was no contemporaneous history, there could have been little or no history at all. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets showed, on the contrary, that already in the pre-Mosaic age there was almost as much diplomatic and literary correspondence going on from one end of the civilised world to the other, as in our own day ; that schools must have been plentiful, and knowledge of writing widespread. They completed what the discoveries of Schliemann had begun ; as the excavations at Troy and Mykenæ had restored our confidence in the traditional history of the ancient Orient, so the tablets restored our confidence in its literary character.

It was not long before another shock was given to the complacent scepticism of the older school of historians. Professor Erman had stated in a lecture at Berlin that the age of archæological discovery in Egypt was over, and that henceforward the Egyptologist must devote himself to the philological analysis of his texts. Hardly had he made the pronouncement, when de Morgan revealed to the world, not only the pre-historic age of Egypt, but the earliest historical dynasties as well. So far from belonging to the domain of mythology, as had been confidently assumed, they turned out to be as fully historical as the dynasties of a Ramses or a Psammetichus, and the Egypt they governed was an Egypt which had already enjoyed a long preceding period of culture and civilisation. Menes, the founder of the united monarchy, was suddenly transformed from a creature of fable into a historical personage whose palace we can reconstruct with its ornate furniture, its vases of glass or obsidian brought from distant Melos, its gold-work and jewellery, and its hierarchy of officials.

Then came Sir Arthur Evans' discovery of ancient Krete. One morning he came into my rooms at Oxford with copies of some Kretan gems on which he had found what seemed to him the indubitable symbols of a picture-writing. They reminded me of a sealing-wax impression I had taken many years before at Athens of a Kretan seal which I had seen in the possession of Professor Rhousopoulos. When we examined it we found that the characters upon it were those of the same unknown script which Sir Arthur Evans had just detected.

Sir Arthur started for Krete as soon afterwards as he could ; there he came across clear evidences of an early civilisation which made him determine to excavate in the island whenever political circumstances would allow him to do so ; the result was the excavation of the palace of Knossos, as well as the Italian excavations at Ploestos and Agia Triada and of other explorers elsewhere, which have restored to us the early history of the Ægean and brought to light a civilisation and an art which in many respects was a precursor of that of classical Greece. In fact it is not too much to say that we now know that what we call the classical art of Greece was but a Renaissance ; the seeds of the older culture, which had been overwhelmed by the northern barbarians, had been lying under the soil, ready to burst into life whenever outward conditions favoured them.

Meanwhile, a forgotten people, who had much to do with shaping the history of the Nearer East and with carrying the culture of Babylonia to Greek lands, had sprung again into existence. These were the people known to the Babylonians and Egyptians, as well as to the Old Testament, under the name of the Hittites. It was in 1879 that I first endeavoured to establish the fact of a Hittite empire, the capital of which was at Boghaz Keui in Cappadocia, and to show that the curious hieroglyphic texts that had been found in Syria and Asia Minor, were the work of a Hittite people. In a letter to the *Academy* I declared, to what was then an unbelieving world, that the hieroglyphics attached to the figure carved on the rocks near Smyrna, in which Herodotus had seen the Egyptian conqueror Sesostris, were not Egyptian as was supposed, but would prove on examination to be Hittite, and similar to

those attached to the figures of various deities at Boghaz Keui. A few weeks later I was standing by the side of the figures and taking a squeeze of the inscription. My prophecy was fulfilled ; the characters were Hittite like the figure itself, and bore witness to the march of Hittite conquerors as far westward as the shores of the Ægean.

The Tel-el-Amarna tablets brought the Hittites once more to the fore. They showed that in the age of the Exodus, when Palestine was nominally under Egyptian dominion, it was to a large extent actually governed by Hittite chieftains from Asia Minor, whose troops garrisoned the cities of Canaan. It is with good reason that the writer of Genesis describes Heth as the second-born of Canaan. Even the King of Jerusalem bears a Hittite name, and the Khabiri whose attacks he fears, and in whom some scholars have seen the Hebrews, in spite of historical improbability, now turn out to be the mercenary bodyguard of the Hittite Kings. If they eventually captured Jerusalem, as is generally supposed, they would have been the Jebusites of Scripture.

In 1893-4 M. Chantre made some excavations at Boghaz Keui, one result of which was the discovery of fragments of cuneiform tablets. It then became clear that the Hittities employed the cuneiform script as well as their native hieroglyphs and that if excavations could be made on a sufficient scale at Boghaz Keui, a library of cuneiform tablets might be found there similar to those of Assyria and Babylonia. In 1905 I was at Constantinople with Dr. Pinches, and there we obtained a tablet, said to come from Yurghat, near Boghaz Keui, and inscribed with cuneiform characters in the same language as the fragments discovered by Chantre. It was the first tablet of the kind that had come to light which was not only of large size, but also fairly perfect, and an edition of it was published by the Royal Asiatic Society as one of its special monographs.

The discovery had the effect of making the German Oriental Society keenly anxious to excavate at Boghaz Keui, as Dr. Belck and others had already urged them to do. I too, on my side, was equally anxious that British excavations should be undertaken there, more especially as Professor Garstang, the most capable of excavators, was as much interested in the Hittites as I was myself, and was ready to give up his work in Egypt for the purpose. Hamdi Bey had promised me to do all he could to further my plans. But the funds for excavating were slow in being provided ; Germany was omnipotent in Constantinople, and the ex-Kaiser instructed his ambassador there to demand a firmân for the work, to the expenses of which he himself contributed. Eventually I received a letter from Hamdi Bey stating that he could hold out no longer, and that the firmân would be given to Germany. Accordingly, in the summer of 1906, Winckler, the Assyriologist, started for Boghaz Keui with money supplied by the Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft, and there took possession of the site, and the following year a regular expedition was sent out under the auspices of the German Oriental Society and the conduct of Winckler and one or two architects. Unfortunately, no archæologist was attached to the expedition, so that had it not been for the fortunate accident that Professor Garstang happened to visit Boghaz Keui while the excavations were going on, its archæological record would have been entirely lost ; as it is we are still in the dark as to the historical sequence of its pottery.

Winckler was a good Assyriologist, and he devoted himself to copying and deciphering the tablets, of which a very large number was found. Indeed, I hear from Berlin that there are now about 20,000 tablets or fragments of tablets there, those which had been kept at Constantinople having been removed to Berlin during the war. The result of his researches was published in December 1907 in a provisional Report, and opened up a new chapter in

ancient history. For one thing, we now heard the Hittite side of some of the political questions of which the Tel-el-Amarna tablets had given us the Egyptian version ; it is needless to say that the facts were placed in a new light. Most of the documents relating to contemporaneous history were fortunately in Assyrian, that being the language of diplomacy, as French is to-day.

It was not only in Cappadocia, however, that the German Oriental Society was at work. Excavations extending over several years, were being made at its expense at Babylon and Assur, the primitive capital of Assyria. Those at Babylon did not add much to our previous knowledge ; it was different at Assur. There the history of the great temple of Assur was traced through its successive rebuildings and enlargements ; the earlier history of the city was carried back to pre-historic times ; the stately tombs of the later kings of Assyria were discovered, and above all, the royal library was disinterred, the existence of which was divined years ago by George Smith. Of all this we had meagre reports, which only indicated the riches of the promised land ; and then came the war.

(*To be continued.*)

THE HISTORY OF THE NIẒÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from p.* 73.)

It so happened, however, that the 'Âdil Shâhî army had been informed by spies of the design, and on the night on which half of the besieging army marched the 'Âdil Shâhî army also marched for Bîjâpûr by another road, and before the army of Aḥmadnagar could reach that place, had entered Bîjâpûr and taken refuge behind its walls. Just at this time [245] the force which had been sent by Kishvar K͟hân to slay Muṣṭafâ K͟hân, having slain that great man, returned, and joined the rest of the 'Âdil Shâhî army in Bîjâpûr, so that the strength of the army of Bîjâpûr was greatly increased. The *amîrs* of Bîjâpûr had, however recently expelled Kishvar K͟hân from the country[246] and had not yet raised any other to the head of

245 From Firishta's narrative it would appear that the force sent to deal with Muṣṭafâ K͟hân had returned to Bîjâpûr some time before the arrival of the allies before the city.—F. ii, 96.

246 This is a very imperfect account of Hâjî Kishvar K͟hân's downfall. Chând Bîbî became estranged from him owing to his murder of the Sayyid, Muṣṭafâ K͟hân, and the quarrel between them reached such lengths that Kishvar K͟hân caused Chând Bîbî to be arrested and sent as a prisoner to Satâra. He then sent Miyân Buddhû the Dakanî to threaten the *amîrs* at Naldrug with imprisonment unless they opposed the enemy more vigorously. The African *amîrs*, Ik͟hlâs K͟hân, Dilâvar K͟hân, and Hamid K͟hân, put the envoy in irons and marched on Bîjâpûr with the object of deposing Kishvar K͟hân, while 'Ain-ul-Mulk Kan'ânî, Ankas K͟hân, and other *amîrs* retired to their estates. The murder of Muṣṭafâ K͟hân and the imprisonment of Chând Bîbî had rendered Kishvar K͟hân extremely unpopular in Bîjâpûr, and he was openly abused as he passed through the streets. When he heard that the African *amîrs* were marching on the capital he took the young king out hunting but, realizing the futility of opposing the Africans, allowed him to return from the first stage and obtained leave of absence. He fled with 400 horse to Aḥmadnagar but, being ill received there, fled to Golconda, where he was slain by an Ardistânî in revenge for the murder of Muṣṭafâ K͟hân. Ik͟hlâs K͟hân was then made *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, and Chând Bîbî was recalled from Satâra. She dismissed Ik͟hlâs K͟hân, and appointed Afẓal K͟hân Shîrâzî in his stead. Ik͟hlâs K͟hân caused Afẓal K͟hân to be put to death, and, resenting Chând Bîbî's partiality for the foreign *amîrs*, expelled Shâh Fatḥullâh Shîrâzî, Shâh Abdûl Qâsim, Murtaẓâ K͟hân Injû, and other Foreigners from the city. The African *amîrs* then summoned 'Ain-ul-Mulk Kan'ânî from his estate and, as he approached the city, went out to meet him. He seized them, put them in irons, and carried them towards the city on elephants, but on learning that the royal guards were prepared to oppose him fled to his estate, leaving his prisoners behind They were released and restored to power.—F. ii, 97, 98.

affairs. The African *amîrs*, such as Ikhlâṣ Khân, Dilâvar Khân, and Ḥamîd Khân, had conspired together and had succeeded in getting into their own hands most of the power in the state and the former concord between them and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was the greatest and most powerful of the *amîrs* of Bîjâpûr, was changed to enmity. One day, when all the African *amîrs* had gone to 'Ain-ul-Mulk's house, he had them arrested and on the following day, having drawn up his troops and placed the Africans under arrest with them, he marched to the citadel of Bîjâpûr, intending to gain possession of the person of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, to assume the chief power in the state, and to imprison the Africans in the fortress. On his way one of his friends met him and told him that the slaves of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had entered into a conspiracy with the *Kotwâl* of Bîjâpûr and the troops in attendance on the young king to release the Africans as soon as the cavalcade entered the fortress and to arrest their captor. The suspicious 'Ain-ul-Mulk, on receiving this false information, left the African *amîrs* in the midst of the bâzâr at Bîjâpûr and fled to his own estates.

The 'Âdil Shâhî army was much demoralized by the flight of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, but the power of the African *amîrs*, who had thus been released from imprisonment, was greater than ever. As the army of Bîjâpûr was demoralized by the quarrels between the *amîrs*, so the Niẓâm Shâhî army became more powerful and advanced and encamped before Shâhpûr. On the following day at daybreak the Niẓâm Shâhî and Quṭb Shâhî armies were drawn up in battle array against the enemy, and marched on Bîjâpûr. The 'Âdil Shâhî army also streamed out of the gates of the town and was drawn up for battle. The infantry, the rocketeers, the spearmen and the halberdiers, the war elephants, and the cavalry advanced to the attack. The light cavalry first joined battle but the fight soon became general, and the two armies crashed together like contending seas.[247]

The Quṭb Shâhî warriors performed great feats of valour on that day, made frequent attacks which broke the enemy's line, and then, as before, when the battle was at its height, nearly a thousand picked horsemen of the Niẓâm Shâhî army charged the centre of the 'Âdil Shâhî army, doing great execution. The centre broke and the wings followed its example. When the allied armies saw the effect of this bold charge on the enemy, they charged at once and slew so many of the enemy, that the corpses lay in heaps. They then pressed on in pursuit of the disorganized forces of the enemy, which fled in all directions. Some, with great difficulty, succeeded in reaching the fortress of Bîjâpûr, while large numbers fled in all directions over the country. Those who made for Bîjâpûr were pursued to the gates by the allies, who captured from them seven of Ibrâhîm's best elephants, Âtashpâra, Kûhpâra, Chanchâl and others, and drove them back to their camp. The allies having reached their camp, relaxed no whit of their vigilance, but prepared to resist any fresh attack and to capture the fortress.

On the day following, the 'Âdil Shâhî army was again formed up for battle but their spirit was so broken by their defeat that they would not leave the fortress.

At this juncture spies informed the 'Âdil Shâhî army that Sayyid Mîr Zainal Astarâbâdî, who had been sent by Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh to besiege the fortress of Gulgûr,[248] had taken that fortress and was hastening to the aid of the Niẓâm Shâhî army. The commanders of the 'Âdil Shâhî forces decided that the wisest course would be to detach the force against this reinforcement, to attack it by night before it effected a junction with Sayyid Murtaẓâ's army and to disperse it. They therefore sent Sayyid Mîrzâ Nûr-ud-dîn Muḥammad Nîshâbûrî and some other *amîrs* with their troops to attack Mîr Zainal. Mîrzâ Nûr-ud-din

[247] These battles before Bîjâpûr are not mentioned by Firishta and the army of Aḥmadnagar appears to have gained no success of any importance there.

[248] Gollaguda.

Muḥammad with a fresh 'Âdil Shâhî force marched from Bîjâpûr at night and on the second night he met the Quṭb Shâhî force and in the darkness of that night a fierce conflict between these two armies took place. The fight lasted until the morning, but when the sun rose the 'Âdil Shâhî's left the field and retired towards Bîjâpûr, while the Quṭb Shâhî army encamped on the field.

When the Quṭb Shâhî army found that the Bîjâpûrîs had fled and would not renew the fight they resumed their march, plundering and ravaging the 'Âdil Shâhî country as they advanced to a distance of four or five leagues on either side of their line of their march, until they approached the *amîr-ul-umarâ's* army. Here they were received with honour, and as this reinforcement greatly increased the strength of the besieging army, renewed efforts were made to capture Bîjâpûr.

At this time Kishvar Khân 'Âdilshâhî,[249] of whom it has already been mentioned that he fled from the *amîrs* of Bîjâpûr and took refuge in Aḥmadnagar arrived, by the royal command, with fresh troops at the camp of the *amîr-ul-umarâ*, and the news of the arrival of these two fresh reinforcements utterly demoralized the army of Bîjâpûr, and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was the commander-in-chief of the enemy, found that the strength of the allies was overwhelming, and that in the absence of any sound statesman the kingdom was rapidly falling into decay. Thus Sankal Nâik, commandant of the fortress of Charî and of its dependencies rose in rebellion, and asserted his sway over most of the villages and towns (with their districts) which 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh had, in the course of his reign, added to the 'Âdil Shâhî kingdom, and was oppressing and plundering the inhabitants. The African *amîrs*, who had acquired all power in the city of Bîjâpûr, now exerted themselves to the utmost to avert the overthrow of the kingdom and, as a first step to this end they sent for 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had now been for eight days in the camp of the allies, assuring him of his safety and imploring him to return to Bîjâpûr. He responded to the appeal and, leaving his pavilion standing, fled from the royal camp with his troops by night towards Bîjâpûr, and entered the city by the Allâhpûr gate.[250]

When the allies heard of the flight of 'Ain-ul-Mulk they pursued him even to the gate of the city, slaying all whom they overtook and capturing all his baggage and treasure, so that the pursuers were enriched by the quantity of gold and jewels which fell into their hands.

The 'Âdil Shâhî army was, however, much strengthened by the return of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and *farmâns* were issued to all parts of the kingdom ordering the assembly of the infantry, musketeers and archers, and in a short time 8,000 foot (joined the army in Bîjâpûr).

XC.—An account of the third battle between the Bijâpûrîs and the Allies.[251]

The allies, having recently been strengthened by two reinforcements, were now over-confident on their strength, and on the next day at sunrise, were drawn up and advanced against the city in full force. When the 'Âdil Shâhî army were aware of the advance of the allies, they were drawn up, and a number of their bravest *amîrs*, such as Mîrzâ Nûr-ud-dîn

249 Firishta makes no mention of the dispatch of Kishwar Khân from Aḥmadnagar against Bijâpûr. He appears to have fled directly from Aḥmadnagar to Golconda.

250 The African *amîrs* had by this time resigned office, and Shâh Abûl Hasan had been appointed *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*. He begged Sayyid Murtaẓâ, who held him in great respect, to persuade Bihzâd-ul-Mulk and Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh to raise the siege and Sayyid Murtazâ, who was still at enmity with Bihzâd-ul-Mulk and Ṣalâbat Khân very readily exerted himself to ensure the failure of the siege. He reproached 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Ankas Khân, who had taken refuge with him, with their treason, and persuaded them to return to their allegiance to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II. They accordingly returned to Bijâpûr. Firishta says nothing about the attack made on them as they were returning, which Sayyid Murtazâ would not have been likely to permit.—F. ii, 102, 103.

251 This battle is not mentioned by Firishta.

Muhammad Nîshâbûrî, Mustafâ Khân Astarâbâdî, Shîr Khân Barâqî, Muzaffar Khân Barâqî, Ankas Khan Dakani and Ikhlas Khân, Dilâvar Khân, and Hamîd Khân, the Africans, led the numerous army of Bîjâpûr out by one of the gates of the city and drew it up over against the armies of the allies.

The two armies then joined battle and a fiercely fought battle ensued, which raged from early morn until the sun was past the zenith, when a division of about 1,500 cavalry with several war elephants charged the centre of the 'Âdil Shâhî army, broke it, and dispersed it. When the rest of the 'Âdil Shâhî army saw that all their efforts were in vain they broke and fled, pursued by the Nizâm Shâhî army. Many of the fugitives fled so precipitately from fear of the avenging swords of the pursuers that they fell into the ditch of the fortress.

When those in Bîjâpûr saw that the battle was not going in accordance with their hopes, they shut the gates and prevented the entry, not only of the victors, but also of their own men, and rained from the bastions and curtains showers of arrows on the allies. The allies having thus gained the victory over their enemy, retired from before the walls to their own camp.

After this heavy defeat, the army of Bîjâpûr remained shut up in the city and had neither strength nor courage to arm themselves, nor to come out again to the fight. Then, having found that they could effect nothing by force, they had recourse to fraud. Having regard to the friendship which had existed between Sayyid Murtazâ and Sayyid Shâh Abû-l-Hasan, son of Shâh Tâhir, who was imprisoned in a fortress in the Bîjâpûr kingdom, they sent for the latter and appointed him *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* of the kingdom,[252] knowing that the *amîr-ul-umarâ* had always made the release of Abû-l-Hasan and his elevation to the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* his object in life, and that this appointment would open the door to friendly communications. When these communications were firmly established the Bîjâpûrîs, who were craftily seeking to sow discord between the allies, sent a message to Sayyid Murtazâ saying that friendship would be restored if the army of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh[253], who was the prime mover of discord and whose troops were the cause of it, were removed. Sayyid Murtazâ, who did not at once fathom the enemy's guile, accepted this advice and began to scheme to get rid of the Qutb Shâhî troops. A common friend, who by chance became aware of the design of the enemy, disclosed it to Sayyid Shâh Mîr, who was the commander-in-chief of the Qutb Shâhî troops, and who, on being acquainted with the guile of the Bîjâpûrîs wrote a letter to them, warning of them of the danger of liberating Shâh Abû-l-Hasan and of making friends with Sayyid Murtazâ. Sayyid Shâh Mîr then hastened to Sayyid Murtazâ's quarters and, finding him alone, questioned him closely and with great persistence regarding the communications which he had received from the sowers of discord, *scil.* the *amîrs* of Bîjâpûr. Sayyid Murtazâ was thus compelled to disclose all the circumstances, and Sayyid Shâh Mîr, who was well known for his persuasive eloquence, tactfully exposed the guile of the enemy to Sayyid Murtazâ and proved to him that he would have cause to regret any alliance with the Bîjâpûrîs. Sayyid Murtazâ was now ashamed of his traffickings with the Bîjâpûrîs and once more devoted himself to conoslidating the alliance with Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and with Sayyid Shâh Mîr.

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252 Abûl Hasan had already been appointed *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* before the return of 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Ankas Khân from Sayyid Murtazâ's camp to Bîjâpûr.—F. ii, 102.

253 This is a mistake. Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh had died during the first siege of Naldrug and Muhammad Qulî Qutb Shâh was with the army of Ahmadnagar before Bîjâpûr.

The Bîjâpûrîs on their side, repented of having released Shâh Abû-l-Ḥasan and, having again imprisoned him,[254] once more prepared for war. They employed a force of Bargîs[255] who, for their valour and endurance, are known as the Uzbaks of Hindûstân, to prevent supplies from reaching the besiegers, and thus caused a famine in the camp of the allies. The allies, reduced to great straits owing to the scarcity of food, took counsel as to the course to be followed and it was agreed that they should not confine themselves to the siege of Bîjâpûr, but should disperse and ravage the country[256].

XCI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH OF THE ALLIES FROM BEFORE BÎJÂPÛR WITH THE OBJECT OF PLUNDERING THE CROPS OF THE ÂDIL SHÂHÎ KINGDOM AND DESTROYING ITS BUILDINGS.

All the *amîrs* and the officers of the army agreed that the neighbourhood of Bîjâpûr should be abandoned, and they began operations by plundering and laying waste the suburb of Shâhpûr which contained palaces and gardens full of fruit and flowers. Having levelled its palaces with the ground and uprooted all its fruit trees, the army marched, in the latter days of Muḥarram A.H. 988 (March A.D. 1580),[257] from Bîjâpûr through the ʿÂdil Shâhî kingdom, which was populous and well cultivated. As they went they plundered and ravaged, levelling huts of the poor and the palaces of rich with the ground, and destroying the crops, until they reached the city of Kalhar, which is one of the most famous cities of the Dakan for its populousness and its fine architecture. This city they plundered and burnt, obtaining such spoil that the whole army, both small and great, was made wealthy by the plunder of this city alone. When they had done with Kalhar, of which they left no stone standing on another, they marched towards Râî Bâgh Dihgirî a populous city noted for its fruits, and especially for its grapes. This place they so devastated that of the city no trace remained, and no remnant of its vines, which were all destroyed. Thence the army marched through the country plundering all, both rich and poor, and slaying all.

On this march the army plundered and destroyed all the cities, villages and forts, such as Miskîrî, which lay on their way, and ravaged and wasted all the towns and districts, until they came to the fortress of Mîraj. The garrison of Mîraj was thrown into great confusion by the news of the approach of the allies, but as the fortress was exceedingly strong, a few of the bravest of the garrison, relying on its strength, came forth, and there was a fight between them and the advanced guard of the Niẓâm Shâhî army. Owing, however, to the great strength of the fort, the allies did not tarry to besiege it, but marched on to besiege Naldrug.

254 This is a mistake. Shâh Abûl Hasan remained in power throughout the siege of Bîjâpûr.

255 Marâṭhâs.

256 This is a very partial account of what happened. The allies, completely demoralized by their failure before Bîjâpûr, and harassed by the Marâṭhâs, sued for peace, which Ibrâhîm ʿÂdil Shâh refused to grant. They then agreed that Muhammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh should march on Gulbarga, which was on the way to his own capital and attempt to reduce it, and that the army of Aḥmadnagar should renew the siege of Naldrug. They left Bîjâpûr depressed and humiliated by their failure, and Muḥammad Quli Quṭb Shâh returned to Golconda, leaving a force under Sayyid Zainal Astarâbâdî, whom he entitled Muṣṭafâ Khân, to besiege Gulbarga. The army of Aḥmadnagar according to Firishta did not venture within striking distance of Naldrug, but retired to Aḥmadnagar by way of Kolhar and Mîraj, plundering as it went. A force under Dilâvar Khân utterly defeated Sayyid Zainul at Gulbarga and captured from him 150 elephants.—F. ii, 103, 104.

257 This date is wrong. The siege of Bîjâpûr was not raised until A.D. 1581.

XCII.—THE DEATH OF IBRÂHÎM QUṬB SHÂH AND THE ACCESSION OF MUḤAMMAD QULÎ QUṬB SHÂH.

Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh, who had reigned over the whole of Telingâna for thirty years, died in this year, *viz* :—A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581),[258] and Muhammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, the most able, generous and valiant of his sons, was summoned to his father's death bed to receive his dying advice and to be designated heir to the kingdom. After this the *amîrs* and the chiefs of the army were summoned and were enjoined to be loyal to the new king, and Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh then expired.

Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh was a king plentifully endowed with praiseworthy qualities, of boundless generosity, and great administrative ability. For these qualities he was famed as far as Arabia and Persia, and in his reign oppression and tyranny were unknown.

Although the people of Telingâna are famed for their expertness as thieves, and can, as the proverb says, steal the nose from between the eyes, justice was so executed in his reign that the name of thief was not heard, and no one lost anything by fraud. The king was kept so well aware of all the affairs, doings and conversation of his subjects, whether in town or in the country, that the very smallest matters were reported to him every day. He was, however, very harsh and severe in the administration of justice and the smallest offences were heavily punished. The lightest punishments which he inflicted were the drawing of the finger nails and the toe nails and the cutting off of ears, noses and other members.

A witty fellow once travelled through his country, and, as usual, his arrival was reported to the king and a man was sent to ask him whence he came and what goods he had. He replied that he had brought with him finger nails, toe nails, ears, nose and all other members and parts of the body which were usually taken from the subjects of that kingdom with stick and mallet, but before this reply could be carried to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh the wit had absconded and when sought for could not be found.

When the *amîrs* and officers of state had finished the obsequies of Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh they waited on the new king, enthroned him in an auspicious hour and arranged a great feast such as is usual on the accession of a king. They appeared before Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh to congratulate him and scattered offerings. The festivities lasted for some days and then a *farmân* was issued, informing Sayyid Shâh Mîr of the death of Ibrâhîm and the accession of Muḥammad Qulî. The news reached the army at Nandgâon, near Naldrug, and was the means of increasing Shâh Mîr's uneasiness, for he already feared lest the Niẓâm Shâhî commanders should listen again to the wiles of the enemy and break their treaty with him. He therefore refrained from publishing the news and hastened to Sayyid Murtaẓâ's tent[259]. It had recently been decided by the *amîrs* of the allied armies that Sayyid Shâh Mîr should leave the army and return to Golconda and there use his utmost endeavours to persuade his king to join his army in the field. Shâh Mîr now told Sayyid Murtaẓâ that he was prepared to start for Golconda with this object, but that he was not at ease in his mind regarding the guile of the enemy, for he feared lest they, to gain their own ends, should again endeavour to foment strife and make mischief between the allies, the effect of which would be that the Sulṭân of Golconda would be annoyed and that he himself would be disgraced and ruined. He therefore asked Sayyid Murtaẓâ to set his mind at rest by renewing the agreements and covenants between them, in order that he might go without anxiety to Golconda and endeavour to persuade the Sulṭân to the take the field.

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258 This date is wrong. Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh died on June 6, 1580, as is clear from the epitaph on his tomb.

259 These events happened before, not after, the siege of Bîjâpûr.

At that time the greatest friendship existed between Shâh Mîr and Sayyid Murtazâ, and Sayyid Murtazâ therefore, in order to set Shâh Mîr's mind at rest, formally renewed the agreements and covenants between them, calling up the principal *amîrs,* such as Jamshîd Khân, Khudâvand Khân, Bahrî Khân, Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, and others, in order that they might associate themselves with him in an undertaking to listen to nothing from the enemy that might tend to prejudice them against their Qutb Shâhî allies, always to deal with these allies in a spirit of friendliness and courtesy, and in no manner to inflict any damage on them.

When Sayyid Shâh Mîr's mind had been set at rest by this agreement he unfolded the news which he had to tell, of the death of Ibrâhîm Qutb Shâh and the accession of his son, Muhammad Qulî Qutb Shâh. The *amîrs* all with one accord avowed their intention to abide by their former convenant and that into which they had just entered It was then decided that Mîrak Mu'în Sabzavâri, one of the most ready witted men of the age, should be sent to Golconda on the part of Sayyid Murtazâ and that Khvâja Muhammad Samnânî should accompany him in behalf of Shâh Mîr for the purpose of offering condolences, on the death of the late, and congratulations on the accession of the new king, and that Sayyid Shâh Mîr should, in a short time, himself return to Golconda and use his best endeavours to induce Muhammad Qulî Qutb Shâh to join the army in the field. Mîrak Mu'în and Khvâja Muhammad then went to Golconda and, having been received by Muhammad Qulî Qutb Shâh, discharged the mission on which they had been sent, and then Sayyid Shâh Mîr returned to Golconda. Muhammad Qulî Qutb Shâh came forth from the city with all his troops and elephants to receive the Sayyid, and the Sultân, in consideration both of his Sayyidship and of his former services, honoured him by alighting from his horse and embracing him. After they had entered the city the king invested Shâh Mîr with a special robe of honour and entrusted him with all the whole administration of the kingdom.

Sayyid Shâh Mîr then convinced the king that it was necessary in the interests of the kingdom, that he should take the field with his army and join the Nizâm Shâhî army, and Muhammad Qulî Qutb Shâh, acting on this advice marched from Golconda at the head of his army to join the Nizâm Shâhî army.

When the army of Golconda approached the camp of the army of Ahmadnagar the *amîr-ul-umarâ* and all the *vazîrs* and *amîrs* came forth to meet the king, and were honoured by being permitted to pay their respects to him.

The next day the two armies marched towards Naldrug.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

LOST HISTORICAL PAPERS RELATING TO CEYLON.

PREFATORY NOTE.

[This is reprinted from the *Ceylon Antiquary,* Vol. VII, Pt. I, p. 44, in the hope that some reader of the *Indian Antiquary* may be able to help in the recovery of the valuable lost papers.—ED.]

CURIOUS PAPERS.

BY S. G. P.

During the Uva Rebellion of 1817-18, when the British troops were scouring the country in pursuit of rebels, Lieut. Tulloch came upon the family of the "Arch Rebel" Keppitipola " in a jungle near Narangamme" on 16 October, 1818. His mother, wife, two sons, and a brother were taken with the "baggage" of Keppitipola, who was himself taken and executed a month later. In the baggage were "several curious papers," among them

1. "The Treaty of Alliance proposed by Mr. Robert Andrews to the King of Kandy.
2. A letter from the French Admiral Suffrein, and

3. The original letter from Lord Macartney sent from Madras by Mr. Hugh Boyd and dated October 13, 1781."—*Ceylon Gazette*, 24 October, 1818.

Keppitipola had other things also besides papers. He had the deposed King's crown and sword and wearing apparel; and his brother-in-law Ehelépola "handed over to the English the late King's crown, sword, and wearing apparel which he found concealed in the possession of Keppitipola Dissava and a villager." (Pohath-Kehelpannala, *Ehalapola*, p. 34.)

Does any body know whether these "curious papers" are still extant? Such interesting documents falling into the hands of a British officer on a military expedition are, if anything, likely to be preserved; unless perhaps some high official with a historical turn of mind took them with him for a keepsake on retirement or presented them to the British Museum. Such a case "involving the honour of a whilom Chief Justice and a Colonial Secretary" is on record. (*Cf.* Journal *CBRAS*. 62, pp. 260, 271). Have these curious papers suffered a like fate? If they did they are sure to be better preserved than by the local Government and certainly more accessible.

The Treaty of Alliance referred to is probably the one signed at Fort St. George and brought back by Andrews, on his second journey, to be signed by the King of Kandy. It is given in Andrews' *Journal* recently published (Journal *CBRAS*. 70, pt. 3, pp. 115-117).

The letter of Suffrein has, I think, never come to light.[1] But the letter of Lord Macartney has been preserved by the Dutch. Among the Dutch Records of the Government was found a copy of this letter along with a Dutch translation. Mr. H. C. P. Bell published it in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, IV, pp. 132-3. It was there supposed "probable that on the capture of Mr. Boyd by the French these papers fell into the hands of the Dutch Government." (*ib.*, p. 125). But Boyd was captured on the high seas. A packet, which he threw overboard, was rescued by the Frenchman, and sent to Amsterdam (*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1799). The Diaries of both Boyd and Andrews are now published, the latter so far back as 1799. A French *Ambassade de M. Hughes Boyd* (Paris, 1803) was published from a German translation, to a second hand copy of which we might here give a free advertisement: "*Boyd H. Gesandtschaftsreise nach Ceylan. M. histor statistichen Nachricten* v. *dieser Insel u. dem Leben des Verfass, hrsg.* v. *L. D. Campbell. Aus d. Engl. Hamburg* 1802" 2 m. Katalog 490, No. 396, Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1921.

BOOK-NOTICES.

EPIGRAPHIA BIRMANICA, Vol. II, Pt. II. edited by CHAS. DUROISELLE. Archæological Survey of Burma, Rangoon. 1921.

This is an appendix to the Talaing Plaques on the Ananda Plates at Pagan, described and edited in full in Vol. II, Part I, of this invaluable series, and already reviewed, *ante*, Vol. L, p. 246. In it are given illustrations of the 389 plaques with a full description of each. The identification of so many plates relating to the stories in the last ten *Jâlakas* is of first-rate importance to archæological students of many kinds, and its appearance is a matter of no small note.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE DELHI MUSEUM by G. R. KAYE. Archæological Survey of India, Memoirs, No. 12. Calcutta 1921.

This is a very valuable account of three astrolabes recently purchased for the Delhi Museum from a member of a family of astrolabe makers in Lahore, a fact which places the genuineness of the instruments beyond doubt, despite their known history. Their dates are respectively 13th and 15th cents. A.D. and 1676. It is needless to say that the monograph describes the astrolabes in minute detail and in a manner that is beyond praise.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

30. Court Martial for desertion.

5 *August* 1689. *Consultation at Fort St. George.* There being three fugitive Soldiers that lately ran away with their Armes, intending to serve the Moores [Muhammadans] in the Mogulls [Aurangzêb's] Camp, were by our Peons sent in persuit of them, apprehended some dayes Journey on their way, and secured by the Polligars [Tam. *pâḷaiyakkâran*, Mahr. *pâlegâr*, subordinate feudal chief] in those parts, who would not deliver them, but upon Condit[ion] of a Pardon for their lives, which upon necessity being consented to, they were returned to us and now under confinement, but these troublesome times requireing more severity then formerly, and tho we spare their lives, yet tis held absolutely necessary to make them otherwise exemplary, to deterr others from the like crimes. Tis therefore orderd that a Coart Martiall be held by the President &ca. in the fort hall on Wednesday next for their tryall. (*Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book*, 1689, p. 67.)

R. C. TEMPLE.

[1] The circumstances that led to the French and English correspondence with the king of Kandy are well known. See *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, V, 180 and *sqq.*

NEW LIGHT FROM WESTERN ASIA.

(*A Lecture delivered to The Royal Asiatic Society, London, on Tuesday the 8th November* 1921.)

BY THE REV. PROF. A. H. SAYCE, M.A., D.LITT.

(*Continued from p.* 125.)

Two years ago we once more began to hear something about the stores of cuneiform tablets from Boghaz Keui, which are at Berlin. A few German Assyriologists had been working at them fitfully ; a small number of texts had been published ; and it was rumoured that an Austrian Assyriologist had made out Hittite to be an Indo-European language. Fortunately there was one small country in the centre of Europe which had remained neutral, and a young Swiss Assyriologist, Dr. Forrer, had taken advantage of the fact to establish himself at Berlin and there copy the Hittite and Assur tablets. It is largely to his labours that some of the most startling of our recent discoveries are due.

A considerable number of the tablets from Boghaz Keui have now been published, and we thus have sufficient materials, not only for reconstructing the history of the Hittite empire in the Mosaic age, but also for determining the nature and character of the Hittite language employed in them. Among the tablets are comparative vocabularies—or dictionaries, if it is preferred so to call them—of Sumerian, Assyrian and Hittite, to which the pronunciation of the Sumerian word is often added ; and the numerous ideographs which are sprinkled over the Hittite texts have greatly facilitated our reading of them. One thing is now clear ; the official Hittite of Boghaz Keui was not an Indo-European language as Hroziny supposed, though it contains a large admixture of Indo-European words and grammatical forms, along with a similar admixture of Assyrian and even Sumerian words and expressions. It was, in fact, an artificial literary language, and is accordingly called in the native texts " the language of the scribes." To the comparative philologist, however, it is of very great interest and value, and throws light on the philology of Greek and other Indo-European languages. We have learnt that, in strict accordance with the statement of Genesis, Javan was the brother of Meshech and Tubal, that Indo-European languages existed and developed in Asia Minor side by side with those which we term Asianic, and that contact between them produced its inevitable consequences, loans and borrowings on both sides. Light has already been thrown, in consequence of this, on some of the elements of Indo-European grammar.

One of the unexpected facts that has emerged on the linguistic side, is that the ancestors of the Aryan tribes of north-western India were still living in eastern Asia Minor, in the 15th century before our era. There they plied the trade of horse breeders and trainers, and supplied the Hittite language with words relating to it. There is a long work on the subject by a certain Kikkuli who hailed from Mitanni or Northern Mesopotamia, in which the most minute directions are given with regard to the horses, their treatment, harness, and exercising.

Another linguistic fact which has emerged, is that the language of the hieroglyphic Hittite texts is not that of Boghaz Keui. It belonged to the Kaskians and Moschians who lived to the east of Cappadocia, and the texts themselves are the records, not of the older Hittite empire of Boghaz Keui, but of a second and later empire, called that of the Cilicians by the Latin writer Solinus, which started into existence about B.C. 1200, and seems to have had its centre at Tyana. The hieroglyphs themselves, however, were of Asianic origin, and had long been in use in eastern Asia Minor. Examples of them are found at Boghaz Keui itself, where the phonetic values attached to the characters were naturally as different from those

which they had in the later inscriptions as the values attached to the cuneiform signs by the Assyro-Babylonians are different from those which they had in the Sumerian script.

Like the Caucasus to-day, Asia Minor in those early times was the home and meeting-place of a very large number of unrelated languages. In the tablets of Boghaz Keui Dr. Forrer finds no less than eight different languages represented, to which I have been able to add a ninth. One of these languages is what he calls Proto-Hittite, which was the real language of the country and is as unlike the official "language of the scribes" as Chinese is unlike Latin. There was, in fact, no relationship between them except in the matter of borrowed words, and it therefore becomes a question whether the official language, which we have hitherto termed Hittite, has any real right to the name. Since it was used, however, at Boghaz Keui, which bore the name of Kattusas "the Hittite" or "Silver lily," the word *khattu* signifying "silver," I think we are justified in retaining the old term and distinguishing the earlier language of the country as Proto-Hittite.

Another language which has been brought to light is that of the Kharri or Murri—the pronunciation of the name is still doubtful—who were emigrants from Mitanni or Northern Mesopotamia. One of the texts in the Kharrian language is a long epic in no less than fourteen tablets, by a certain poet Kesse, about the Babylonian hero Gilgames. The people of Mitanni —that is, "the land of Midas," afterwards famous in Phrygian legend—originally came from the Caucasus and preceded the Semitic Assyrians in the possession of Assur. The earliest High-Priests of Assur known to us bear Mitannian names, and the attributes assigned by the Assyrians to their god Assur were many of them of Mitannian origin, while the chief goddess of Assyria continued to be invoked by her Mitannian name of Sala, "the Lady."

The Mitannian Kharri were at one time employed as mercenaries by the Hittite Kings, but their place was afterwards supplied by the Khabiri, whose name is translated "Executioners." The Khabiri, once erroneously identified with the Hebrews of the Old Testament, formed the chief part of the royal body-guard ; 600 of them, we are told, protected one part of the city and 600 the other part of it. I believe I have evidence showing that they were the original of the Greek Kabeiri, who consequently had nothing to do with the Phœnicians or a Phœnician word. The Khabiri were an old institution in Babylonia ; Rim-Agum, the Arioch of Genesis and contemporary of Khammurabi, mentions them as among the mercenary troops who formed his body-guard. The Khabiri of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets were the picked soldiers of the Hittite King.

The Hittite King was deified. His supreme title was "the Sun-god," not "the son of the Sun-god" as in Egypt, and he was regarded as the manifestation of the Sun-god here on earth. The belief survived into the later religions of Asia Minor; at Pessinus, for instance, as Sir W. M. Ramsay has shown, the High Priest of Athys was himself Athys and was accordingly addressed under that name. Whether religious worship was paid to the deified king during his lifetime we do not yet know : it was at any rate paid to him after his death in many cases. Most of the older Hittite Kings who reigned before the foundation of the Empire and when Boghaz Keui had not as yet become the capital, were included among the gods; one of the most popular gods indeed was Telibinus who reigned 2000 B.C., and a special cult was paid to Khasa-milis "the Swordsman," another king of the same period, in whom I see the Kabirite Kasmilos of Greek mythology.

Eastern Asia Minor had been at an early date the object of attack on the part of the Babylonian Kings, who were attracted to it by its metal-mines. Already, in the time of the 3rd dynasty of Ur, that is to say, B.C. 2400, a flourishing Babylonian colony was established

at a city called Ganis, now represented by the ruins of Kara Eyuk a few miles from Kaisariyeh. The country was garrisoned by Assyrian soldiers who formed the best part of the Babylonian army; the mines were worked by Assyro-Babylonian firms whose agents lived at Ganis, and good roads were constructed throughout Cappadocia along which the postmen travelled with letters and even a species of cheque. A large number of cuneiform tablets have come from Ganis, the greater part of them having been discovered by the peasants just before the war; from one of them which I have published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* we have learned that there was a city not far off in which there was a Ladies' University where the higher instruction was divided into the two branches of "science" and "art." It was through colonies like that of Ganis that Babylonian culture, art and theology were introduced into Asia Minor, and that the tribes of the north became acquainted with the cuneiform script.

The earliest Babylonian campaign against Asia Minor, of which we know, was conducted by Sargon, the founder of the dynasty of Akkad, though he refers to a still earlier invasion on the part of an otherwise unknown Adamu or Adam. The discovery of the missing portion of the dynastic tablets from Nippur, made last winter by Mr. Legrain in the Philadelphia Museum, has at last fixed the date of Sargon at B.C. 2800, with a few years' margin of error more or less. At that early date the Babylonian army crossed the Gulf of Antioch, made its way through Cilicia, and brought back from the northern slopes of the Taurus various trees, including vines, two species of fig, walnuts (?), terebinths and roses, which were planted in the gardens of Babylonia. The account of the campaign, written in Hittite Assyrian, was found in the house of the Hittite ambassador to Egypt, at Tel-el-Amarna, by the German excavators, during the winter before the war, and was translated by myself in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* in 1915. At the time I naturally regarded the whole story as a legend, but Dr. Forrer has now found among the Boghaz Keui tablets the contemporaneous Hittite official version of it, from which we learn that the invader was successfully driven out of the country by the combined forces of the Hittites and the people of Garsaura and Ganis. It would seem that Ganis had not yet become an Assyro-Babylonian settlement.

I must now turn to the revelations that have been made to us by the tablets from the Library of Assur. In the first place we have a continuous list of Assyrian High-Priests and Kings, reaching back some way beyond the age of Khammurabi. This is matter of rejoicing for the chronologists who occupy themselves with the skeleton of history. Then, secondly, we have learned a good deal about the geography of Western Asia in the days of Sargon of Akkad. There is a copy of a geographical survey of Sargon's empire, in which the length and breadth of the various provinces are given in double miles as well as their respective distances from his capital. The most important part of the document, however, relates to what extended beyond the empire. "To the Tin-land and Kaphtor [Kaptara]," we read, "countries which are beyond the Upper sea [or Mediterranean], Dilmun and Magan, countries which are beyond the Lower Sea [or Persian Gulf], that is from the lands of the rising sun to the lands of the setting sun . . . his hand has conquered." We know from the Old Testament that the island of Kaphtor was Krete.

Six hundred years after Sargon, or more exactly, B.C. 2180, there was another Sargon, who was not king, but High-Priest of Assur under Babylonian supremacy. He has left us a stele engraved with a long inscription, not yet published, in which he recounts the conquest of the Assyrian army in the lands of the West. Among other conquests was that of Egypt

then under an Ethiopian dynasty from the south—a statement which explains my discovery at Ed-der, opposite Esna, of Sudanese or Nubian pottery in graves that were intermediate between those of the 13th and 17th dynasties. But this was not all. The High-Priest also states that he conquered the island of Kaphtor, and there received tribute from the " Tin-land " beyond the Western Sea. Dr. Forrer asks me : " Does this mean Britain ?" At any rate it pushes back the beginning of the Bronze Age and opens up a new vista for the historian of early Europe.

Another remarkable document found at Assur transports us into the controversial domain of theology. It has been published and annotated by Professor Zimmern, and is likely to occasion a good deal of discussion in circles which are not Assyriological. We learn from it that once a year, on the Babylonian New Year's Day, a miracle-play was performed in the great temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon, in which the death and resurrection of the god were portrayed. The document gives in detail the stage-directions of the play, and the parallelism between them and the Gospel narrative is striking and extraordinary. Bel, the divine lord of Babylon, we are told, was bound and brought before the tribunal which awaits mankind on the bank of the river of death. Here he was wounded and scourged and condemned to death, and then led away to the prison-house of the other world. Along with him another malefacter was put to death, while a second malefactor, if Professor Zimmern's translation is correct, was released. After the god had thus "descended into the prison-house away from the sun and the light," the city was plunged in confusion, and the clothes of the slain god were laid before the divine queen of Erech. After this a goddess washed away the blood of the god's heart which had flowed from a wound in his side. The tomb of Bel was now watched by a " son of Assur," while his priestly followers wept and lamented for him. But eventually he rose again from the dead and thus became the saviour who, in the language of the early Sumerian hymns, " raises the dead to life."

Thus far the stage-directions discovered in the Library of Assur. They explain the fragment of another tablet published by Dr. Pinches some years ago, and which we now see contained the words of the miracle-play. In this it is stated that after he had "descended into hell" this is a literal rendering of the Assyrian text—"the spirits who were in prison"—another literal rendering—" rejoiced to see him," and he then proceeded to address or preach to the lords of Hades. It is evident that we have here the cuneiform original of the apocryphal book which is quoted by St. Peter in his First Epistle, and the fact is made still more certain by the connection of the deluge with the descent into hell, " the days of Noah " being referred to in the Epistle, since the weapon with which Bel-Merodach overthrew the powers of evil is expressly stated to have been " the deluge." If ever the apocryphal book turns up among the papyri of Egypt, like other lost works of the kind, we shall doubtless find that it is modelled throughout on the old Babylonian miracle-play.

I will now briefly allude to the new light that has come to us from a wholly different part of the world, the land of " the blameless Ethiopians " of classical literature. The excavations of Professor Garstang at Meroe before the war had brought to light the great temple of Ammon in which the Ethiopian kings were crowned, and even the pedestal on which they stood after their coronation, and had shown that in the very heart of Africa a great city had once existed, where an exquisite form of pottery was made and an active trade was carried on. Meroe was, in fact, at one time a centre of the iron-industry ; the smoke of its smelting-furnaces went up to heaven like that of a modern Birmingham, and magnificent quays were constructed for exporting the products of the industry up and down the Nile.

Since the beginning of the war the excavations in the Soudan have been continued by the American Scholar Dr. Reisner, who has succeeded in recreating the history of Ethiopia. He has excavated and explored the pyramids and burial-places of the Ethiopian kings and queens, and a page of history which was practically a blank has now been filled in. He has found the pyramid of Sabako, the founder of the Ethiopian dynasty of Egypt and the antagonist of Sennacherib, and has traced his predecessors and successors, reign by reign and dynasty by dynasty, down to the age of Alexander the Great. It would seem that Sabako's ancestor had originally come from Libya, and so had belonged to that blond Libyan race of which the Berbers are the modern representatives. At first Napata near Dongola was their capital ; subsequently, after the Assyrian conquest of Egypt, they moved to Meroe, 120 miles north of Khartum, which hence-forth remained the capital of the kingdom down to its last days. Some of the royal tombs have yielded jewellery and other precious objects which present a blending of Egyptian and Sudanese art. Among them are massive vases and other objects of solid gold, as well as inlaid brooches and pectorals.

It is not only on the later history of Ethiopia, however, that light has been cast. At Kerma, at the northern extremity of the Dongola province, Dr. Reisner has found remains which reach back to the days of the old Egyptian empire. There was a temple of the 6th dynasty there, and in the age of the 12th Egyptian dynasty, the place was an important Egyptian fortress and settlement. Exquisite enamelled bricks and vases of turquoise blue were manufactured there, as well as elaborate bowls and vases of Egyptian pattern. The Egyptian governor married Sudanese wives, and adopted to a certain extent the customs of the country. Human sacrifices were permitted ; the tomb was a tumulus of Sudanese form, and the skull and horns of the sacred ram of Amon was buried with the dead. It was in this age that the city of Napata was founded, partly as the centre of the Egyptian administration, partly as the terminus of the trade-routes to the southern Sudan. When Egypt was conquered by the Hyksos, the Theban princes retreated to the south, and the Hyksos scrabs found at Kenna by Dr. Reisner, show that if the foreign rule did not extend so far to the south, the Egyptians who had taken refuge there were, at all events, in commercial contact with the ancestral home.

At Napata, Dr. Reisner has cleared the temples which stood under the shadow of Gebel Barkal, and discovered among them remains of the 18th and 19th dynasties. On the opposite bank of the river he has also indentified the city of Ethiopia built by the Heretic King Akhenaten, and his next campaign is likely to be devoted to its excavation. In short, the history of Ethiopia has been at last recovered, and we can trace it almost continuously from the age of the Old Empire of Egypt to the period when it became the prey of negro hordes, and finally vanished from the pages of history.

Such are some of the chief additions which have been made to historical and archæological knowledge, during the years of the great world-war.

ŚÛDRA.

BY PANDIT VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

THE derivation of this word which occurs only once in the *Ṛgveda* (X. 90. 12) is not yet certain. In Bâdarâyaṇa's *Vedânta-Sûtra* (I. 3. 34)[1] the word is divided into two parts, *śuk* 'grief' and *dra* from √ *dru* 'to rush,' and the commentator, Śaṅkara, explains it (with reference to Jânaśruti, *Chândogya Up.*, IV, 2. 3) in three ways, *viz.* (*a*) as 'he rushed into grief' (" *śucam*

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1 " शुभस्य तदनादरश्रवणात् तदाद्रवणात्सूच्यते । "

abhidudrâva"), (β) or as 'grief rushed on him' ("*sucâ vâ abhi-dudruve* "), (γ) or again, as 'he in his grief rushed to one Raikva' ("*sucâ vâ Raikvam abhidudrāva*"), he was called ***Śûdra.*** The derivation given by the author of the *Uṇâdi Sûtras* (√*śuc* or *śuk+ra*, "*śucer daśca,*" II. 19) throws a little better light as regards the last part or the suffix of the word ; but on the whole it is not satisfactory and is as fanciful and far-fetched as the former ones.

It seems to me that the word is not a *pure* Sanskrit one, and is derived from Skt. *kṣudra.* As in comparison with the other three higher classes of people (*viz.* the Brâhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, and the Vaiśyas) the Śûdras were inferior in their work and quality they were called Śûdras, *i.e.*, 'the inferior ones.' The following few lines quoted from the *Aggañña Suttanta,* 25 (=*Dîgha nikâya*, XXVII. 25, = *PTS.*, Vol. III, p. 95), will support this view very clearly :—

" Tesaṃ ñeva kho Vâseṭṭha sattânaṃ ye te sattâ avasesâ te luddâcârâ (Skt. ***rudrâcârâḥ***) ahesuṃ. ' Luddâcârâ khuddâcârâ (Skt. *kṣudrâcârâḥ*) ti' kho Vaseṭṭha suddâ suddâ tveva akkharaṃ upanibbattaṃ. "

' Among those people the remaining ones, O Vâsettha, were of dreadful conduct, of mean conduct, so they are called Suddas, and thus the word *Sudda* has come into existence.'

Again, in giving the names of the different classes of mankind the author of the *Mahâvyutpatti* (*ASB.*, Part 1. p. 35) mentions the Śûdras as follows :—"*Śûdra* or *Kṣudra.*" It appears from this that according to him these two words are in reality one and the same, though they differ in forms.

Furthermore, in the vocabulary of the Tirhai dialect in the province of Niganhàr (*JASB,* 1838, p. 783) the word for 'little' is *sùdà* which is undoubtedly derived from Skt. *kṣudra.* It is to be noted here that the Tirhai dialect contains a very large number of words of Sanskritic origin.

Now, it remains to prove philologically how the word *Śûdra* may come from *kṣudra.* And in doing so let me say at the very outset that Prakritism has played not an insignificant part in the formation of words, even in the language of the Ṛgveda. It is a fact so well-known to scholars that it is not necessary to dilate upon it here. A few examples may, however, be given for the sake of illustration.

Take the word *vikaṭa* (*RV*. X. 155. 1.). It is derived through Prakritism from ***vikṛta*** (***RV.*** I. 164. 15, II. 38. 6). And similarly, *śithira*[2] (*RV.* VI. 58. 2, etc.) is from ****śṛthira*** from √ *śrath* ' to become loose or slack.'

Now instances of the change of *kṣ* into a sibilant (*viz. ś, ṣ,* and *s*) abound in Indo-Iranian languages. The river called *Śiprâ* in Ujjayinî is a famous one in Sanskrit works. Even Kâlidâsa refers to it in his *Meghadûta*, I. 31 ("*Śiprâvâtaḥ priyatama iva* "). There is not the least doubt that this *śiprâ* is derived from *kṣiprâ* ' a speedy one.' A large number of MSS. of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitâ* (*Bibliotheca Indica,* XVI. 9 ; *Various Readings,* p. 14) read here *kṣiprâ* instead of *śiprâ.* It is to be noted that the sibilant of the word is palatal in some works while in others it is dental. As regards this point I shall speak later on.

Let me cite here a few more examples. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar cane,' Marâṭhî *ûs*ª or *us*ª ; Skt. *akṣi* or *akṣa* 'eye,' Siṃhalî *ęs* (pronounce *ę* as *a* in 'cat') ; Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'a bear,' Mar. *ris*ª or *rîs*ª ; Skt. *makṣî* 'a fly,' Mar. *mâśi* ; Skt. *kṣetra* 'a field,' Mar. *śet*ª ; Skt. *kṣîṇa* ' feeble,' Mar. *śîn*ª.[3]

2 *Śithila* is its later form.

3 It is to be observed here that with reference to the Marâṭhî language *s* becomes *ś* only when it is followed by a simple or diphthong palatal vowel, *i.e.*, *i*, *e*, and *ai*.

As regards the Iranian languages, the following words may be cited in this connection :—

Skt. √ *kṣip* 'to throw,' Avesta √ *sip* ([illegible] or [illegible]) 'to turn upside down' ; Skt. √ *kṣi* 'to dwell,' Av. √ *ṣ̌i* ([illegible]) ; Skt. *makṣu* (later Skt. *maṅkṣu*) 'quickly,' Av. *mošu* ([illegible]) ; Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'right', Av. *daîna* ([illegible])

Again, Skt. *kṣîra* 'milk,' Persian *šîr* (شیر) ; Skt. *ksapâ* 'night,' Av. *ḫašp* ([illegible]) Pers. *ṣab* (شب).

Now, the interchange of the three sibilants, *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s*, in Vedic language, even at the time of the Saṃhitâs, is found not unfrequently. As for example, *vāśî* 'a kind of axe' or 'a pointed knife ' (*RV.* I. 88. 3), and *vâśî* (*Av.* X. 6. 3) ; *kéśa* 'hair' (*RV.* X. 105. 5), and *késa-ra* 'the hair of the brow ' (*VS.* XIX. 91) ; *kûśma* (*VS.*) besides *kûṣma* 'a kind of demon' ; √*sru* beside √*śru* 'to flow' 'to go,' as in *śrûvat* (*RV.* I. 127. 3) ; *śvâtrya* (*RV.* X. 49. 10) 'dainty' from √ *svad* 'to test.'[4]

Thus we have no difficulty in accounting for *ś* in *Śûdra* from *kṣudra*.

For the long vowel *û* in *Śûdra* instead of a short one, *ŭ*, as in the original word compare *tîkṣṇâ* and *tigmâ* (*RV.*), 'sharp,' from √ *tij* 'to be sharp' ; *hálîkṣṇa* (TS.) beside *halîkṣṇa* (*VS.*) 'a kind of animal' ; [5] and *śikṣâ* beside *śîkṣâ* (Taitti. Up.) 'one of the six Vedâṅgas'.

THE EVOLUTION OF INDIAN COINAGE BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

BY P. N. RAMASWAMI, B.A. (HONS.).

FOR more than seventy years the varied coinages of India, which extend over a period of 2,500 years have been diligently studied by a multitude of collectors and scholars, whose labours have had a great share in the gradual recovery of the long lost history of ancient Indian coinage. The history of the evolution of Indian coinage before the Christian era is however admittedly obscure. And, although much has been done, the numismatic field is so vast, and the difficulties of its thorough exploration are so great, that ample scope remains for further researches. In the following sketch an attempt is made, so far as the prescribed limits of space permit, to give a general view of the evolution of Indian Coinage before the Christian era.

The early history of Indian coinage cannot be traced back further than the Vedic period (B.C. 2000—1400). References to precious metals in the *Vedas* are financial and industrial: we get a good idea of working in precious metals in Vedic times from the description of various gold ornaments, utensils and implements of war which is to be found throughout the *Ṛig-veda*. Gold, which was variously called, Candra, Jātarūpa, ("possessing native beauty") Suvarṇa ("beautiful") Harita and Hiraṇya was widely used. Goldsmiths melted gold and fashioned bright jewels (*angi*) such as necklets (*nishka*) ear-rings (*karṇa-sobhana*) and even cups. They made anklets (*khadi*) girdles, chains, water-ewers, and images of kings. The smith sought "after the man who possessed plenty of gold, with well dried wood, with anvil, and bellows to kindle the flame" (*Ṛig-veda*). The word *Hiraṇya-kaśipu* of the *Brāhmaṇas*, frequently met with in the *Vedas* denotes a "golden seat" probably one covered with a cloth of gold ; and Dr. Macdonell guesses that the word *Hiraṇya-dant* (gold-toothed) refers to the use of gold to stop the teeth. We have also references in the *Ṛig-veda* to golden helmets, breast-plates for the breast and crowns for the head.

"It is hardly possible" says Dr. Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 504) "to exaggerate the value attached to gold by the Vedic Indians. The metal was, it is clear, won from the bed of rivers. Hence the Indus is called "golden" and of "golden stream." Apparently

[4] See Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, 53, and the Introduction to my *Pâliprakâśa*, p. 81 *sq.*

[5] Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 6.

the extraction of gold from the earth was known and washing for gold is also recorded. Gold is the object of the wishes of the Vedic singer and golden treasures are mentioned as given by patrons along with cows and horses. It was also put to a variety of industrial uses." Such widespread use of gold undoubtedly paved the way for a gold currency.

'A gold currency,' to quote again Dr. Macdonell (*Ibid.*, p. 504) was evidently beginning to be known, in so far as definite weights of gold are mentioned. Thus a weight *astaprud* occurs in the *Saṁhitās* and the golden *śatamāna* " weights of a hundred " *kṛṣnalas* is found in the same texts. In several passages moreover *hiraṇya* and *hiraṇyāni* may mean pieces of gold. Geldner is inclined to think that a gold unit is alluded to in the *Ṛig-veda.*

Silver is rarely mentioned ; but find references here and there in the *Atharva-veda,* to ornaments (*rukma*) dishes (*patra*) and coins (*niska*) made of silver (*Vedic Index,* Vol. II, p. 197). Next to gold and silver, the word *ayas* is often referred to ; and since in the *Atharva-veda syamam ayas* and *lohitam ayas* (black metal, red metal) are both mentioned, we may infer that smiths worked in copper too, a conclusion strengthened by the fact that copper vessels alone were allowed to be used for holding consecrated water in all ceremonial. It is unlikely that coins were manufactured out of the " holy " metal.

In time, there are some passages in the *Ṛig-veda* which would indicate the existence of current money for the purposes of buying and selling. We have instances of Ṛishis acknowledging the gift of a hundred pieces of gold and there can be no doubt, pieces of gold of a certain fixed value were used as money, as indicated in these passages. Mr. P. T. Srinivas Aiyangar (*Age of the Mantras,* p. 41) finds a reference in the *Ṛig-veda* to the golden *mana,* an old semitic measure or coin. At the same time it must be frankly admitted that there is no distinct allusion to coined money in the *Ṛig-veda.* The word *nishka* is often used in a dubious sense. In some passages it means money, in others it means a golden ornament for the neck. The two interpretations, as an eminent writer points out, are not necessarily contradictory, for in India pieces of gold have habitually been used as ornaments for the neck since times immemorial (Dutt, *Civilisation of Ancient India,* Vol. I, p. 39).

Next, comes the epic period (1400—800 B.C.). The question what coin was then in use is, as Mr. C. V. Vaidya remarks (*Epic India,* pp. 222, 223), very difficult to decide. " The rupee was certainly not in use," says Mr. C. V. Vaidya (*ibid.*) " as it is not mentioned in any ancient work but the silver *kârshâpaṇa* must have been in existence, as mentioned in the Buddhist works. The word however does not occur so far as we remember either in the *Mahābhārata* or *Rāmāyaṇa.* The word used is Nishka which was clearly a gold coin. The value of the *ṇishka* seems to have been considerable for in one place it is said that the Brahmans were glad when they were given a *ṇishka* each in gift cried, " you have got a *ṇishka,* you have got a *ṇishka* ! "

This evidence is further strengthened by the fact that in the epic period the wealth of rich men is said to have chiefly consisted in gold and silver. Gold was considered a proper gift at sacrifice, the gift of silver being strictly prohibited. The reason is sufficiently grotesque, as the reasons generally given are : When the gods claimed back the goods deposited with Agni, he wept and the tears he shed became silver ; and hence if silver is given as *dakshiṇā* there will be weeping in the house ! The reason scarcely veils the cupidity of the priests ; but at the same time it evidences the fillip given by the Brahmans to the circulation of a gold currency.

In the Buddhistic period (B.C. 800—320) we come to a well-marked stage in the evolution of Indian coinage before the Christian era. According to Mr. V. A. Smith (*Imp. Gazetteer,*

vol. II, ch. IV, p. 135), the introduction into India of the use of coins, that is to say, metallic pieces authenticated as currency by marks recognised as a guarantee of value should be ascribed to the seventh century B.C. There is reason to believe that the increasing necessities of commerce with foreign merchants were the immediate occasion for the adoption by the Indian peoples of a metallic currency. The old system of barter, as Dr. Rhys Davids points out (*Buddhist India,* p. 100), had entirely passed away, never to return. The latter system of a currency of standard and token coins issued and regulated by government authority had not yet arisen. Coinage as Mr. James Kennedy justly observes, was according to Oriental ideas, " the business not of the state but of the banker and merchant " (*JRAS.*, 1898, p. 281). In accordance with this principle, the earliest Indian currency was struck by private persons, not by governments. Transactions were carried on, values estimated and bargains struck on terms of the *kahāpaṇa,* a square copper coin, weighing about 146 grains, and guaranteed as to weight and fineness by punch marks made by private individuals. Whether these punch marks are the token of merchants or simply the bullion dealers is not certain.

" The most archaic looking coins " says Mr. Vincent Smith (*I.G.*, vol. II, p. 136), " are punch-marked copper pieces, found at extremely ancient sites near Benares. These rare copper pieces are possibly older than any silver coin, and may be a memento of Babylonian trade by overland routes."

Silver coins were not unknown. Some of the silver coins, known to have circulated at this time, have been discovered by modern numismatists. The greater number of these silver coins are roughly square or oblong bits of metal cut out of a strip and containing about 20 per cent. of alloy. The circular pieces are scarce. The marks on the punch-marked coins whether circular or square are extremely numerous and varied. They comprise rude outlines of men, animals, trees, the sun, and a variety of miscellaneous objects. Legends are always absent. The Laws of Manu denote coins of this kind as *purâṇas* and Southern writers call them *salâkâs* or " dominoes. "

Silver, however, was never produced to any considerable extent in India, but has always been, as it still is, one of the chief items in the list of imports. "The Phœnicians before the time of authentic history "—writes Prof. H. D. Macleod (*Bi-Metallism,* sec. 6, p. 63) brought silver from Tartessus and exchanged it for the gold dust of the Indus, which Sir Alexander Cunningham, the first authority on the subject, holds to be Ophir." Even in the Vedic times silver is very rarely mentioned (P. T. S. Aiyangar, *Age of the Mantras,* p. 29). Silver coins consequently cannot have been very considerably minted in ancient India.

The references to gold coins are late and doubtful and no such coins have been found. (Rhys David's *Buddhist India,* p. 100). Some thin gold films with punch-marks upon them were found in the Sakiya Tope, but these are too flimsy to have been used in circulation as coins. It is said that gold was not coined at this time, but was kept as dust tied up in little bags, which passed current as equivalent to money. History records that the Persian King Darius, who invaded India about 500 B.C., exacted 360 talents of gold dust from a king of Northern India as tribute. This gold dust Darius got coined into darics.

Besides these coins there was a very considerable use of instruments of credit. Th great merchants in the few large towns gave letters of credit to one another. And there is constant reference in Buddhistic works to promissory notes. There were no banking facilities. Money was hoarded either in the house or buried in Jarsunder-ground, or deposited with a friend, a written record of the transaction being kept.

Alexander's victorious progress through the Panjab and Sind in 325 B.C. produced little effect on the Indian coinage. A few cast coins usually of copper or bronze, inscribed with characters dating from about 300 B.C., are found in Northern India. Though our information of coinage in the Mauryan India is imperfect, we have some references to Mauryan coinage in the *Arthaśāstra*.[1] The bulk of the payments seems to have been made in the copper *kārsha* and silver *paṇa*. No specimen of a silver *paṇa* is known, but it was presumably of the same weight as a copper *kārsha*, namely about 146 grains. The "punch-marked" pieces impure silver (*purāṇa* or *dharana*), which are known to have been in ordinary use in the author's time, were struck to a standard of about 56 grains. Possibly this silver *paṇa* may have been only a money of account. The value of a silver *paṇa*, which presumably was much alloyed, like the "punch-marked" coins, may be taken as not far from a shilling. Gold coins were not unknown. We have no other information of the coinage of Mauryan India.

The history of Indian coinage during the post-Mauryan period—which ends for us with the beginning of the Christian era—can be conveniently dealt with under the two heads, *viz.*, (i) indigenous and (ii) foreign.

(i) For the history of the indigenous coinage we must go to the *Śukranīti*[2]. Several references in *Śukranīti* point to gold and silver, specially the former being the "measure" or standard of value. Their function as the medium of exchange is also frequently indicated. The use of gold in both the functions of money as the standard of value as well as the medium of exchange is referred to in the following lines :

(1) That man is to be in charge of jewels, gold, silver and coins, who can distinguish their values by the weight, shape, lustre, colour and resemblances.

(2) Houses are meant for gold, jewels, silver *nishkas* or coins, etc.

(3) *Dravya* (*lit.*, goods) is silver, gold and copper coined for commercial purposes.

Like the sun and moon, gold and silver have been mentioned in *Śukranīti* almost as twins. References to the two metals have been made together both explicitly as well as implicitly. Thus our information about silver is nearly the same as about gold, whether as regards (1) the uses as money, *i.e.*, standard of value and medium of exchange, (2) or as regards the circulation as legal tender. The *Śukra* statesmen have supplied us with parallel facts on all these points.

It may be noticed here that both gold and silver seem to be mediums of exchange and "legal tender" in the *Śukranīti*. Prices are mentioned sometimes in terms of gold, often in terms of silver. "Eight *ratis* make one *māsa*, ten *māsas* make one *suvarṇa*. Five times that *suvarṇa* make eighty silver *kārshakas*." The *suvarṇa* and *kārshaka* are gold and silver *coins* respectively and one *suvarṇa* is equivalent to sixteen *kārshakas*." The same rates are also noted by Śukra as determining the comparative value of gold and silver as bullion or ingot. Thus "the value of gold" was sixteen times that of silver.

"It would be thus evident," says Benoy-kumar Sarkar, "that both nominal or 'face' value and intrinsic or 'real' value of the coins were the same. There was no law artificially regulating the price of the coins and the precious metals. The market value of the metals (as indicated in the relation between gold and silver as bullion) was maintained in the currency.

Copper coins were also extensively used. A *paṇa* was a piece of copper coined by the king weighing ten *māsas*. Excluding gold and silver, copper had the lowest value in the realm. "The value of silver was 80 times that of copper."

1 *Trans.* R. Shama Sastri.

2 *Trans.* B. K. Sarkar.

(ii) The history of the foreign coinage—which was introduced into India at this time—broadly resolves itself into a history of the Bactrian coins. We cannot do better than quote Mr. V. A. Smith, who has succinctly described the Bactrian coinage in the following words:—

"In the middle of the third century B.C. the independent Bactrian kingdom was separated from the Seleucid empire of Syria, and in the following century several Bactrian monarchs, notably Eucratides and Menander, made incursions into India, where their coins are now found. Scions and connexions of the Bactrian royal family established themselves as rulers of principalities in the countries now known as Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the Punjab which became Hellenized to a considerable extent.

These princes issued an abundant currency chiefly in silver and copper, modelled on Greek lines, and up to about 150 B.C. exhibiting a high degree of artistic merit. Some of the foreign kings on the border adopted the characteristic Indian square form for their coins, which in other respects also indicate the influence of Indian ideas. Bilingual legends were adopted to meet the convenience of a mixed population, and the devices reproduced familiar Indian objects. The later Indo-Greek issues are semi-barbarous in style. The Punjab excepted, India was little affected by ideas of the west, and the vast populations of the interior continued their purchases and sales through the medium of the indigenous private currency. For this reason no coins are known bearing the name of Asoka or any other member of the Maurya dynasty founded by his grandfather Chandragupta.

The working of Greek influence may perhaps be traced in the fact that the coins erroneously attributed by some authors to the Suṅga dynasty bear the names of kings Agni-mitra and others. The coins of the later Andhrabhṛitya (or Andhra) dynasty which are Northern in type although geographically belonging to the South, also frequently record the name of the reigning sovereign. But the old system of private coinage continued." (*Imp. Gazetteer*, vol. II, ch. IV, p. 138.)

ORIGIN OF THE GODDESS PARṆAŚABARI.

BY RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTE.

THE goddess Parṇaśabarî described by the Curator of the Dacca Museum in the *Statesman* of 29th February 1920, seems to have been evolved out of the accepted figure of the Orion. That constellation is called Kâlapurusha in Bengal and Mṛiga in Bombay. The three stars in the belt of Orion, the mighty hunter of the west, represent the three heads of the goddess. Long before the importance of the study of the stars was recognised, says R. A. Proctor in his *Myths and Marvels of Astronomy,* men had began to associate with certain star-groups the names of familiar objects. They are figured with innumerable combinations which a fanciful eye can recognise among the orbs of heaven. They show that the first observers of the heavens were shepherds, huntsmen and husbandmen. These primitive folks depended for their subsistence on a familiarity with the progress and vicissitudes of the season. Their observations are full of interest to the student of Ethnology, inasmuch as they depict the unwritten early history of man, as if in a hieroglyphic script. If we could but learn with certainty the names assigned to certain star-groups we could deduce lessons of extreme importance, throwing side lights on the evolution of the religious beliefs of the different races. When in long past ages a star-group really resembles a known object, we have, in the present resemblance of that group to the same object, evidence of the general constancy of stellar lustre. When we see that the figures assigned to certain star-groups are named after some mythological incidents, we feel sure of its origin from the myth, or *vice versa.* In the latter use the mythological story has its origin from the shape of the star-group. Such is the case with the shape of the goddess Parṇaśabarî. Chronologically this figure shows its connection with the struggle between Hinduism and Buddhism.

Orion, Lepus and the dogs have been grouped together to imagine the figure of Dattâtreya, the three-headed god, his cow and his dogs, as I have described in my book on *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials.* Similarly, Orion is in this case utilized for sketching mentally the

main figure of Parṇaśabarî and the constellation Karka (Crab) has been shown as Gaṇeśa, while the Centaur has been made use of in depicting the man on horse back. Homer records that Orion was the "more refulgent" of the constellations. This mighty hunter Orion is turned, in this case, into the equally mighty Parṇaśabarî. But Orion is called Mṛiga in the Indian astronomies. The three stars in the head of the antelope represent here the three heads of the goddess. The flames on the head or group of heads possibly refer to the following circumstance recorded by Proctor. He says that there was an apparition of Hailley's comet in the year 66 A.D. That approximately is the time of the struggle of the Śaivas with Buddhists.

Pope, who makes frequent references to heavenly bodies, introduces a comet in Book IV:—

As the red comet———
With weeping glories glides along the air
And shakes the sparkles from its blazing hair,
Between two armies thus in open sight
Shot the *bright goddess* in a trail of light.

It must be admitted that poets succeed better with fiction than with truth. It is therefore not difficult to suppose that the fire shown on the combined head of the goddess Parṇaśabarî was suggested by the simultaneous appearance of Hailley's comet. It has been proved from the study of Assyrian sculptures that representations of the constellations were common among the Babylonians, as Sabaeanism or star worship was the prevailing form of religion in olden days.

Proctor tells us, in his essay on the *Origin of the Constellation Figures,* that men imagined certain gures in the heavens, pictured these figures in their astronomical temples and *made stories to fit the pictures.* I am inclined to add, as I have done in my book just mentioned, that these figures and the stories about them were intelligently coined for fixing into the memory, before the art of writing was invented, the position of the stars in relation to the apparent progress of the sun and the moon through the celestial vault. In fact, these are the hieroglyphics which were invented to fix in memory the old astronomical discoveries and researches and supplemented by suitable stories to further help the memory. These hieroglyphics of the original astronomers have been appropriated by subsequent composers of religious myths or mytholigies each in his own way. For instance, Orion itself is turned into Trimûrti or Dattâtreya by the Vaishṇavas and mixed up into the Śaivite antelope—story of the Mahâśivarâtra. Similarly, Buddhists, the rivals of the Hindus, shaped the same constellation into Parṇaśabarî and her enemies, Indra, Chandra, Gaṇeśa and Mârtaṇda.

If we examine these star-groups to-day, we may not be able to reproduce the exact shape of the original figure, because the earth, besides whirling once a day on its axis, and rushing on its mighty orbit around the sun (spanning some 184,000,000 of miles), reels like a gigantic top, with a motion so slow that 25,868 years are required for a single circuit of the swaying-axis round an imaginary line up right to the plane in which the earth travels. In consequence of this reeling motion the points of the heaven opposite the earth's poles necessarily change, and thus the position of the star-groups changes, causing a distorted view of the original. In spite of this variation, it is quite possible to imagine a figure resembling Parṇaśabarî.

The following description of Hecate, or Triformis or Tergenina, that is, the triple goddess of the ancient Grecians may be compared with advantage :—

"Alcamenes, who flourished about four hundred and forty years before the Christian era, was the first, according to Pausanias, who thought of making a statue of this goddess, with three faces and three bodies *back to back.* In the six hands were placed a sword, poniards, whips, cords, torches, a crown of laurel, and a key."

DATE OF LAKSHMANASENA AND HIS PREDECESSORS.

BY DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

It is a curious fact that, with the great progress of historical research in our country, the date of the last independent Hindu ruler of Bengal has been thrown out of a definite certainty into a confusion of conflicting evidence. For the synchronism of Lakshmaṇasena and Bakhtiyār Khilji, which has long been a household tale in Bengal, has recently been assailed by a band of scholars headed by Mr. R. D. Banerjea, who seem to have derived their inspiration from an abandoned theory of the late Dr. Kielhorn. The latest contribution to the subject is from the pen of Mr. N. G. Mazumdar, who, in deciding the question under cover of a modest and partial discussion of the "Lakshmanasena Era,"[1] seems, like an "orthodox" epigraphist, to ignore, if not to fight shy, of the numerous literary and historical evidences bearing on the question. Before examining the views of Mr. Mazumdar, it is we think necessary to put forth and discuss all the evidence, which would furnish strong reasons for throwing doubts on the apparently convincing arguments of Mr. Mazumdar and which have not hitherto been fully and clearly stated in their latest developments.

Vallâlasena is reputed to be the author of the *Dânasâgara* and the *Adbhutasâgara* and as far as we know his authorship has not yet been, as it clearly cannot be, questioned. At the end of at least two MSS. of the *Dânasâgara* occurs the following verse.[2]

निखिल (नृप) चक्रतिलक श्रीमद्बल्लालसेनेनपूर्णे ।
शशिनवदशमिते शकवर्षे दानसागरो रचितः ॥

This is followed in a single MS.[3] by two other verses referring to the same date, 1091 *Saka* (1169-70 A.D.), when clearly the work was finished. Mr. R. D. Banerjea and his supporters can only pronounce these verses to be an interpolation—"clever and ingenious interpolation by shrewd and unscrupulous Brahmins"[4],—because they are not to be found in several other MSS. of the work discovered up to date, and the copies in which they occur are only 2 or 3 centuries old. It is however difficult to comprehend what purpose can be served by a simple statement of a false date of composition and what cleverness, ingenuity or shrewdness was displayed in making the interpolation. Anyone acquainted with MS. literature in Sanskrit knows that the introductory or concluding verses and colophons, which have no direct bearing on the subject of a book, are very often omitted in copies. And if we once accept the charge of interpolation put forward by Mr. Banerjea, we shall have to question many a statement that has found general acceptance in the history of Sanskrit literature. Thus, the concluding verse of the *Bhaṭṭikâvya* connecting its author with Valabhi is omitted in most Bengal MSS. and the full colophon to the same work is found only in extremely rare copies.[5] The well known concluding verses in the *Śiśupâlavadha* relating to the personal history of Mâgha are omitted even by Mallinâtha. The dates of Ramânâtha, the famous grammarian of the Kalâpa School and of Gopâla Nyâyapañchânana,[6] the

1 *Ante*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 171 ff. Mr. Banerjea still clings to his own views in his latest utterance on the subject in *E. I.*, Vol. XV., p. 281.

2 *JASB.*, 1896, pt. I, p. 23. Also *Ind. Office Cat.* (Eggeling), p. 545.

3 *Notices of Sans. MSS.* (H. P. Sastri), vol. I, p. 170. Also *JASB.*, 1913, p. 276.

4 *Ante*, Vol. XLIV, p. 216. For Mr. Banerjea's arguments, *vide JASB.*, 1913, pp. 274-77. *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 105.

5 H. P. Sâstri: *JASB.*, 1912, p. 339.

6 For Ramânâtha, *vide* Eggeling: *I.O. Cat.*, p. 295. For Gopâla, *vide Notices of Sans. MSS.* (R.L. Mitra), No. 3188.

celebrated *Smṛiti* writer of Bengal, are found in single copies of their respective works, which are nevertheless available in any number throughout Bengal. Far from regarding such verses as interpolations, scholars have hitherto hailed them as extremely fortunate and rare discoveries, without waiting till the Doomsday to verify them from never-to-be-recovered contemporary copies. Moreover, in the case of the *Dânasâgara,* the argument based on the lateness of the MS. copies loses much of its force from the important discovery made by the late Mr. Chakravarti, that the celebrated *Smṛiti* writer Śrînâtha Âchâryachûḍâmaṇi (fl. *circa,* 1500 A.D.), who was Raghunandana's *guru,* not only cites, without the least suspicion, the above date of the *Dânasâgara,* but vouches for the genuineness even of the very two verses that follow in a single MS.[7]

The date of the *Dânasâgara,* moreover, agrees remarkably with that of its sister-work, the *Adbhutasâgara,* and even if we yield by admitting the date of the former to be an interpolation, we have no way to do the same with regard to the latter. The work was published fifteen years ago in 1905 by Prabhâkarî and Co., Benares, but curiously remained inaccessible to most scholars, who kept on referring to still more inaccessible MS. copies in their discussions. The publication disposes of all questions of rejecting the date of the work as contained in the following introductory stanza:

शाकेऽब्रनवखेन्द्वाब्ये आरेभेऽद्भुतसागरम् ।
गौडेन्द्रकुञ्जरालानस्तम्भवाहुर्महीपतिः ॥ (p. 4)

For this date of its commencement, 1090 *Saka* (1168-69 A.D.) has been repeated at least thrice in the body of the book, where no question of interpolation can reasonably be raised. Thus on p. 125, we have अथाद्भुतसागरारम्भशकाब्दात षष्ट्यब्दयुगगणनम् खनवदशोनशकाब्दात् षड्गुणितात् etc. On p. 235 again, we have अतस्तन्मतेनैतत्ग्रन्थारम्भशकाब्दषाधिपगणनम्—खनवदशशेषशाके

On p. 236 occurs the following verse referring to the same date :

खनववियदिन्दुहीना व्येकाः शकवत्सराः शरैस्तष्टाः ।
क्रमशोऽत्वसंपरीशान्त्रिनह्याद्या वत्सराः पञ्च ॥

This verse seems to echo the sense of the two verses at the end of the *Dânasâgara.* It is a significant fact that in their campaign for interpolation, Mr. Banerjea and his supporters confined themselves to the introductory verses only, ignoring the passages in the body of the book, to some of which the late Mr. Chakravarti had already drawn attention.[8]

This date of Vallâlasena bears independent corroboration from other literary evidence of the period. In the introduction to his *Dânasâgara,* Vallâla refers to his *guru* Bhaṭṭa Aniruddha "of Varendrî" (श्लाघ्यो वरेन्द्रीतले), who helped him in the compilation of the book. This man has been happily identified with Aniruddha, author of the *Hâralatâ* and the *Karmopadeśinîpaddhati,* whose title *Champâhiṭṭîya* marks him out as belonging to a clan of Vârendra Brahmans. Aniruddha refers to the *Kalpataru* of the famous Lakshmîdharabhaṭṭa, who flourished under Govindachandra of Kanauj (1114—1156 A.D.)[9]. Aniruddha and his patron Vallâla cannot therefore be placed before the third quarter of the 12th century A.D.

Similarly, in the introduction to his *Adbhutasâgara,* Vallâla records his indebtedness to one Śrînivâsa in a glowing verse, which however appears in a corrupt form in Bhandarkar's *Report* and worse still in the printed edition. With a slight emendation in Bhandarkar's reading we can easily get the following correct version[10].

[7] *JASB.,* 1915, p. 347. [8] *Ibid.,* 1906, pp. 17 and 171.

[9] Eggeling's *Cat.,* pp. 474-5. Chakravarti : *JASB.,* 1912 ; p. 344. Also 1915, p. 360.

[10] Bhandarkar's *Report,* 1894, p. lxxxv : for Śrînivâsa of the *Śuddhidîpikâ, vide* Chakravarti, *JASB.,* 1915, p. 334.

मीमांसानयमांसलस्मृतिपरामर्शप्रकर्षस्फुरद्-
वेदांगागमतत्त्वनिस्तुपमतिं मन्येऽत्रपृथ्वीपतिः ॥
युक्तायुक्तविवेचनप्रणयिनं प्रीत्या महिन्तापनी-
वंशोत्तंसमहार्घरत्नमनघश्रीः श्रीनिवासं व्यधात् ॥

So this Śrînivâsa "a priceless jewel of the ornament of the *Mahintâpanî* family" can easily be identified with the celebrated author of the *Śuddhidîpikâ*, who is also styled in colophons as महिन्तापनीय. His date can be definitely fixed by the following quotation in Sarvânanda's टीकासर्वस्व (*Triv. Sans. Series*, Pt. I, p. 91) :

इदानीं चैकाशीतिवर्षाधिकसहस्रैकपर्यन्तेन शकाब्दकालेन (१०८२) षष्टिवर्षाधिकद्विचत्वारिंशच्छतानि कलिसन्ध्यायाभूतानि (४२६०) तथा च गणितचूडामणौ-श्रीनिवासः "कलिसन्ध्यायाः खसमयकरकृतवर्षाणि" ॥

The famous commentator Râyamukuṭa, who was himself of the *Mahintâpani* family, leaves us in no doubt as to the identity of the author of the lost *Gaṇitachûḍâmaṇi* by thus improving on the gloss of Sarvânanda [11] :

तथा च गणितचूडामणौ महिन्तापनीय-राजपंडित श्रीनिवासः " कलिसन्ध्यायाः

Śrînivâsa, therefore, wrote in 1081 *Saka* (1159—60 A. D.) and his patron Vallâla cannot be placed half-a-century earlier.

Lastly, Śrîdharadâsa, author of the *Saduktikarṇâmrita*, which was written in 1206 A.D., was the son of Vaṭudâsa, a friend and feudatory of Lakshmaṇasena.[12] This points to the latter half of the 12th century A.D. as the probable date of Lakshmaṇasena. The cumulative effect of these numerous literary references is, we think, enough to rebut the almost absurd position taken by Mr. R. D. Banerjea, when he remarked—"If on later enquiry these verses can be found in all the MSS. discovered, even then they cannot be accepted as basis for the construction of a chronology, so long as they are to be found in modern MSS." (*The Pâlas of Bengal*, p. 105.)

The literary evidence is definitely supported by historical evidence. In the Deopâḍâ inscription there are two verses (20 and 21) recording the conquests of Vijayasena. The manner of the verses seems to indicate that Vijayasena considered himself glorious by defeating several kings, presumably of long-established reputation, especially Nânya(deva) of Mithilā; who is mentioned first of all in both the verses and it may be fairly assumed that it was Vijayasena, and not Nânyadeva, who must have survived the other. The traditional date of Nânyadeva of Mithilā is 1039—1125 A.D., which is remarkably verified by a known date (1097 A.D.) and the following stanza recording the date of an erection[13] :

नन्देन्दुविन्दुविधुसम्मितशाकवर्षे तत्श्रावणे सितदले मुनिसिद्धतिथ्यां ।
स्वाति (?) शनैश्चरदिने करिवैरिलग्ने श्रीनान्यदेवनृपतिर्विदधीत वास्तुम् ॥

Though we are unable to trace this verse to any authoritative work, it looks like a genuine record, which quite regularly works out to be July 18, 1097 A.D., morning *Śudi* 7, Saturday, and *Svati*. On the other hand the date of Vijayasena, according to Mr. Banerjea, would be 1076-1108 A.D. at the latest, and from the recently published Barrackpur plate of Vijayasena, dated, according to Mr. Banerjea, in his 32nd year, we gather that Vallâlasena had already taken over charge (in 1108 A.D. *at the latest*) of royal affairs, as he finds honorable place in the metrical portion of the inscription in the right royal fashion with his *viruda* निःशङ्कशंकर. attached

11 Eggeling; *I. O. Cat.*, p. 271.

12 Chakravarti : *JASB.*, 1906, p. 174.

13 *Vânglâr Purâvritta* by P. C. Banerjea, pp. 255-56 (foot-note). Also *The Brahmans and Kâyasthas of Bengal*, by G. N. Dutt (Madras, 1906), p. 76, for the length of Nânyadeva's reign. The verse quoted is found in several other vernacular works in Bengal, none of which cite the original source. For the known date, *vide Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I., p. 309.

to his name. So the conquests of Vijayasena must have been effected much earlier in his reign, at a time when Vijayasena, far from being a younger or even a true contemporary of Nanyadeva, becomes in Mr. Banerjea's chronological scheme decidedly elderly.

Vijayasena, moreover, is described in the Deopâdâ inscription as having "attacked the king of Gauda" (गौडेन्द्रमद्रवत्). Who was this *Gaudendra*? Scholars have been almost unanimous in their opinion that it was Madanapâla, who was defeated by Vijayasena. Already Mr. Banerjea is at great pains to synchronise Vijayasena and Madanapâla. In one place he states that Madanapâla must have been defeated "sometime *after* the year 1108." In another place he places Vijayasena's death "about the year 1108."[14] But in my paper on a "Chronology of the Pâla Dynasty,"[15] I have shown that Madanapâla usurped the throne in 1115 A.D., so that the reign of Vijayasena in Mr. Banerjea's scheme falls entirely within that of the great Râmapâla, who is not at all likely to have been the *Gaudendra* put to flight by Vijayasena. In the legendary work *Sekhaśubhodayâ*, Râmapâla is said to have been succeeded in his kingdom by Vijayasena. Moreover, Vijayasena merely put the king of Gauḍa to flight. The destruction of the Pâla kingdom must then have been effected by one of his successors. Lakshmaṇasena on the other hand is credited in the inscriptions with having defeated the kings of Kâśi (and Prayâga), Orissa and Kâmarûpa,[16] indicating that Gauḍa and Magadha had already come completely under the sway of the Sena dynasty, evidently by the conquests of his predecessor Vallâlasena. This is supported by the fact that Vallâla describes himself in the introduction of the *Adbhutasâgara* as "endowed with arms that served as tying posts for the elephant *viz.*, the king of Gauḍa" (गौडेन्द्रकुञ्जरालानस्तम्भबाहुर्महीपतिः) This conquest of Gauḍa (and Magadha) by Vallâla becomes impossible in the chronological scheme of Mr. Banerjea, according to which Vallâla died in 1119 A.D., when, as we have shown, Madanapâla was just 4 years on the throne. The destruction of the Pâla kingdom is, for all we know, referred to the reign of Govindapâla, and most certainly not to the beginning of Madanapâla's reign.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICE.

ANCIENT INDIA, by PROFESSOR U. N. BALL, M.A. Kamala Book Depôt, Calcutta and Patna, 1921.

I must commence my notice of this book with an apology. It is a year ago since I promised Professor Ball that I would review it in this *Journal*, but one thing and another has prevented me from giving it attention.

"The object of writing the book is to provide a suitable compendium for University students." Professor Ball has therefore set out to write a University text book of the history of Ancient India, and it is from this standpoint that the book must be viewed. It is in sixteen chapters and takes us up to Harshavardhana, *i.e.*, to 647 A.D., the last two chapters dealing with the "Smaller Kingdoms of Northern India" and the "Kingdoms of Southern India" as far as the Muhammadan supremacy (1192 A.D.).

14 *The Pâlas of Bengal*, p. 103 and p. 105.

15 *Ante*, Vol. XLIX, p. 189 ff.

16 In the Madanapâḍa plate of his son Viśvarûpa (*JASB.*, 1896, pt. I, p. 11) Lakshmaṇasena is described (verse 12) as having installed victory pillars in the three holy cities of Puri, Benares and Allahabad. In his Mâdhâinagar plate Lakshmaṇasena is called a गौडेश्वर and a conqueror of Kâmarupa (line 32), as well as of Kâsi and Kalinga (ll. 19-20), *vide JASB.*, 1909, p. 473. But in line 19 we have an interesting passage which has escaped the notice of scholars: it runs (slightly emended) as follows: "आसीद्गौडेश्वरश्रीहठहरणकरी यस्य कौमारकेलिः"—"whose youthful (when he was a *prince*) sport consisted in forcibly taking away the lady, *viz.*, the Royalty of the king of Gauḍa," We have thus epigraphic evidence to show that the final defeat of the king of Gauḍa was the work of Vallâla, who was largely helped therein by his son, then a prince.

The first chapter on the physical features is a fair summary of the situation, viewed from the point of giving the student a general idea, and the only statement with which I cannot agree is that on p. 8, which says that "Burma is a very low land." As a resident in Burma off and on for many years, my idea of that country is that it is mainly a hilly land. Also I suggest that in any future edition of the book the closing paragraph of the first chapter on "unity" be modified (p. 9). The deeper one goes into the matter the more certain it becomes that the population of India is not more united nor more diverse than any other large community of human beings—than the population of the European continent for instance. Hinduism in India and Christianity in Europe exhibit the same unity, the same continuity, the same diversity, the same powers of assimilation and influence. In fact. Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and what one may call "Chinaism" show on close study the essential unity of one thing only—the mind of man as a whole. They are all phases of it. All the continuity there is in any one of them lies in the consideration that in their respective developments they have obeyed the natural law of following each its main principle chiefly and borrowing and absorbing all that has come its way from the others.

This is a text-book for the younger generation, and as such, and as bringing to their notice the results of the latest research, I am in agreement with most of the statements therein. It is to my mind a fair and well-informed summary of the historical knowledge of the day. In many ways it is of use for the purpose of a *memoria technica* even for the advanced student and teacher. But being a text-book it is important that it should teach correctly, and hence it is important to point out where it appears to err.

The remarks on the *Vedas* (p. 12) that "they are the earliest literary records of man's manners and customs," and again, "The *Vedas* have been recognised as the oldest literature of mankind" (p. 29), and yet again, "The *Rig-Veda* is the oldest literature in the world" (p. 30), ignore many things: *e.g.*, the history of Egypt, Babylonia, Judaism, Greece, Persia and China. It is not therefore a safe axiom to implant in the younger Indian student that his is the oldest civilisation. It would be better to teach him to think that the mind of civilisable man has advanced to much the same level in successive ages everywhere. There is not much to choose in the advance made by the "advanced" populations in any given millenium, B.C. or A.D., wherever they happened to be situated. It should be remembered, too, that the Aryan invaders found a Dravidian population established in India quite as advanced as themselves. To teach that one's own civilisation is the oldest may be "patriotic," but it is not history.

There are several instances of this propensity in the book. "The belief in one Supreme God was searched by the Aryans, but it did not attain the fixity and uncompromising firmness of the Vedantic Theism" (pp. 25-26). This is, to say the least of it. a controversial statement. "The Hindus and the Parsis still worship the Sun: the former made so much progress in the knowledge of the universe that they denied that the sun ever rose or set (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*)". This is reading modern science into an ancient statement: not a safe proceeding (p. 26).

There are however points on which I heartily agree, *e.g.*, (p. 17) "We have now an almost accurate chronological table starting with the time of Buddha," but I hope the young student will not think in consequence that no more research is worth while in chronology. (P. 15) "The gaps between the Old Stone Age and between the New Stone Age and the historic period have not been sufficiently surveyed," and to this fact the attention of students may well be drawn. I also heartily endorse the teaching (p. 20) that "no serious scholar supports" the idea that Negroes are kin to the Indian aborigines and that the Andamanese are "a group of that family," though I am not yet satisfied that the ancient forbears of the race from which the Andamanese spring did not once dwell in parts of India. On the other hand Professor Ball's teaching as to the main immigration of early Aryan invaders is clear and very useful to students (p. 22), and his remark that "*soma* (fermented liquor) was their principal beverage" (p. 24) is not only true but courageous in a Hindu.

Professor Ball teaches sound doctrine (p. 21) as to the relationship of the Aryan to the Dravidian civilisation. and he would do well to point out in a future edition even more forcibly how much modern India owes to Dravidian influence even up to modern times. His remark (p. 22) that the "Tantric form of worship in Bengal is considered a result of Mongolian influence" is worth every student's observation.

Sometimes Professor Ball has been misled by European authorities, as when he quotes (pp. 30-31)

Professor Rapson that the accuracy of the Vedic texts handed down by word of mouth for generations is something marvellous and unique. It is in fact a common phenomenon, where writing does not exist or is rare. The Hebrews could repeat their Scriptures with absolute accuracy; a *hâfiz* will repeat the *Qurân* from end to end without a fault. The same is true of the Buddhist texts in Burma and elsewhere. Some thirty years ago the broken fragments of the Kalyani Stones at Pegu containing the Pali text of the *upasampada* form of ordination of Buddhist monks were set up again in proper order by Taw Sein Ko under my directions, because the text of the 15th century was word for word that which had been printed from word of mouth. At the very end of the 19th century A.D., Sir George Grierson could reconstruct the unwritten text of the verses of the Kashmiri Śaiva Yoginî, Lâl Ded, with complete accuracy after 600 years of "tradition," from the mouths of many writers unknown to each other. Instances of such memory have always been numerous in Europe.

If I have thus found something to criticise in Professor Ball's general principles, his chapter of the Vedic Age, and those that follow it, seems to me to teach the outlines of early Indian History with accuracy and insight, and I have only a remark here and there to make. The struggle between the Vedic Aryans and the aborigines is sympathetically described and Professor Ball might well draw attention to the analogy between the people who were "called Dasyus and their battle-cries... described as yells" (p. 34) and the Irish who were called Tories and their "hullaballoo." I may also mention, as a matter of common interest, that the thrice eleven gods of the Vedic literature still survive as the Thirty-Seven Nats of the Burmese world of ghosts, *i.e.* the subjects of the thirty-three rulers of the Buddhist Tâwâtiṁsa Heaven, plus four extra ghosts of recent date. But as in the Vedas more names than thirty-three are found (p. 43), so there are more than thirty-seven in the complete list of the particular Nats to whom the Thirty-Seven belong.

I am not sure, however, that it is right to ascribe republicanism to the tribal states of the time of Buddha in N. India (p. 82). Republicanism is not a very safe word to use to students in describing a state of ancient society, where in all probability the independent clan's chief acted very much as a king. On the other hand, Professor Ball does very well to draw attention (pp. 94-95) to the analogy between the *Sapta-bhumaka-pasada*, or seven-storied building of Buddha's time and the *ziggurat* of the Babylonians, and to similar ancient buildings in Ceylon. The palace in Mandalay in 1885 when the British took it, was a far-off echo of the old palaces of Nineveh and Babylon—pillared court, high plinth and all. The high plinth of many Muhammadan tombs and *masjids* in India, where it has no meaning, is due to the same very ancient style of building in a country like Mesopotamia liable to high floods, where it had a meaning. There is another analogy with Persia worth pointing out. Professor Ball notes (p. 109) that Chandragupta Maurya "was served by a highly-organised staff of news-carriers, who reported to him about the doing of his officers." More than 200 years earlier, Cyrus the Great established a corps of mounted official messengers, who travelled from end to end of the empire "more swiftly than the crane," to quote the ancient picturesque record. One wonders if this was one of the arts of government Chandragupta Maurya learnt from Alexander, just as he learnt his military administration (p. 115), though Professor Ball does not seem to acknowledge this.

Passing on to the early periods A.D., I am glad to see (p. 153) that as regards the legend of Gondophares and St. Thomas, Professor Ball does not altogether dismiss it as a fable. There *is* something to be said for it (see *ante*, vol. XLVI, pp. 268-269), but I cannot bring myself to hold with him that "the invasions of Alexander, Seleukos and Antiochos were mere raids" and left no practical effect. Personally I should like to see pp. 153-155 much modified, though Professor Ball has the great support of Dr. Vincent Smith. If my old friend were still alive I would willingly break a lance with him as to this subject. It does not follow that because national historians and chroniclers have ignored a fact or situation that it did not exist. The result of the first and second Burmese Wars was the loss of the best parts of their Kingdom to the Burmese, but their official chroniclers recorded that some Western barbarians applied for permission to occupy the territories and were graciously allowed to do so by a kind-hearted king.

The strength of Professor Ball as a fair-minded historian comes out well in the latter part of his work (pp. 156-236), where he deals with comparatively more recent and most difficult times. It appears to me that he disentangles the confused history of the first eight centuries A.D. with much success, considering the extreme difficulties of the subject. He is conspicuously successful with the Kushans and shows a knowledge of the research of quite recent date, though he clearly indicates

that his summary cannot be held to be final. It is, nevertheless, well calculated to lead the young in the right way. On p. 105, however, his reference to Hinduism in the Far East, and it may be added in the Malay Archipelago, is too slight for so remarkable a fact.

His account of the Indian Renaissance of the 3rd to 5th centuries A.D. is good, though he seems to me to attribute a rather higher character to the people than is humanly-speaking likely during the century of small local States between the Kushans and the Guptas. I am very glad, however, to note that he fully brings out the services of my old colleague, Dr. J. F. Fleet, the epigraphist, in elucidating this and much subsequent Indian history. The account of the Gupta Europeans is good and he does well to point out how great a man Samudra Gupta (c. 330—375 A.D.) was in every respect. One remark of his here is good "teaching." "A combination of States under the hegemony of a powerful kingdom has nowhere endured. India has not been an exception in the matter. . . . The empire [of Samudra Gupta] lasted so long as it was guided by a strong monarch, but it fell to pieces when the Central Government became weak" (pp. 167-168). But I would again warn him about revising the idea of ancient Indian "republics." If the Lichchavis were a "republican" clan, they could not have had "princesses" to give to Chandra Gupta in marriage (p. 166) and so help him by marriage relations and inheritance to establish a "Kingdom" and thence an "Empire."

In the 5th century A.D. the White Huns (Ephthalites) swept down on Persia and India and during the 6th put an end to the great Gupta Empire. The description of these Huns is fair and well-informed, and the accounts of Toramana and Mihirakula, the Hun leaders, and of their opponents, Pura Gupta, Bâlâditya, and Yâśodharman, are as clear as is possible at present.

My own idea of the division of dated Indian History is: Ancient from the foundation of the Saisunâga Dynasty, c. 664 B.C., to the Arab conquest of Gujarat, 766 A.D., *i.e.*, to the end of the Valabhi Dynasty. Mediæval Hindus from the foundation of the Râshtrakuta Dynasty of the Deccan, 747 A.D., to Muhammad Ghori's establishment of power at Delhi in 1193. Mediæval Muhammadans from 1193 to the accession of Akbar in 1556. Modern from Akbar onwards. Professor Ball closes his Ancient History with Harshavardhana's Empire, 606-647 A.D., but continues the history of minor States in the north, and of Southern History, up to the days of Muhammadan supremacy at the end of the 12th century.

Professor Ball's account of the very confused story of the rise of Harsha's short-lived Empire is clear and useful, especially as he points out (p. 188) that it was a personal rule, and hence liable to collapse when the commanding hand was withdrawn. I may point out here that we have to Harsha a fair parallel in Sher Shah Sûr, another really great man of similar type. On p. 189, however, the statement, "Ordeal by water, fire, weighment or poison was an effective method of ascertaining the truth." wants reconsideration. On p. 194, the printer has served Professor Ball badly by printing the same line twice and obviously leaving out one containing a useful piece of information at present lost.

Professor Ball's account of the mediæval Rajput States is quite good as a well-informed summary leading students to enter on a course of useful study: indeed a monograph on Rajputs is badly wanted, if it be thought the time has come for one. On p. 209 he alludes to the cause of the fatal quarrel between Jaichand of Kanauj and Prithivi Raj of Ajmer owing to the latter's abduction of the Kanauj princess in 1175. But I think he hardly makes enough of this incident. To my mind it constituted a turning-point in Indian History, as the feud thus generated between the two great Rajput rulers of the Hindu frontier of that day enabled Muhammad Ghori to overcome Hindu opposition and found the Sultanate of Delhi (1193).

Professor Ball turns lastly to Southern India, and here again he is clear and well-informed on a confused subject. If he reprints his book I suggest, however, that he brings out more clearly the enormous effect of pre-Hindu Southern India on Hindu ritual, even of modern times. A consideration of this subject will do more than perhaps anything else to explain the great divergence between Hindu philosophical religion and Hindu ritual observable everywhere. The reflex action of Southern Hinduism on Northern as exhibited by Śankarâchârya and Râmânuja and the Bhâgavatas generally is another and later consideration altogether.

The accounts of early S. India and the S. Deccan will be useful to students, but I suggest that the statement, p. 218, that Pulikêśin II "sent an embassy to the Court of Khusru II (Parvez), King of Persia, in 625-6 A.D." should be put the other way round. The great disturbers of the peace of S. India for about seven centuries were the Pallavas, of whom one would like to see much more discovered, as they were evidently no mean rulers. The latest research seems to show that they were originally really a local "Rajput"

tribe in the Eastern Deccan and not from the North, as Professor Ball thinks, or from beyond the North-west frontier as I have thought. One would like also to see even in such a summary as the present, more about the Andhras, evidently an important people of the far off Indian days.

On p. 227 Professor Ball says. "The Dravidians visited Babylonia and Persia." My own impression is that they did much more and that their cradle is to be sought in that region and not beyond the North-eastern borders of India. I have often wished that some Indian scholars would investigate such a thesis. Of the Cholas and what Professor Ball calls the Chalukya-Cholas, he has a fair summary: and I wonder if it has ever occurred to him that Kulottunga Chola's "Domesday Book" was put together in the very same year as was the famous English one of William the Conqueror, 1086 A.D. The great Tanjore Inscription of Rajendra Choladeva (1007-1042) mentions the Andamans and Nicobars, but I doubt his having *conquered* them—certainly not the Andamans (p. 232).

My last remark is to regret that Professor Ball's scope does not enable him to call to the student's mind the profound effect on S. Indian History of the raids of Alâu'ddîn Khilji and Malik Kâfûr (pp. 233-234), and their successors of the fourteenth century onwards.

With this I close this review of a University Text Book which I have made long because of its importance as a source of authoritative information to the rising generation at its most impressionable age. If I have ventured on criticisms here and there, it is because of a desire to help in securing accuracy in future editions of a book conceived on the right lines.

Alas! there is no index. When will Indian writers grasp the value of an index to students?

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

31. The Cost of Attempted Suicide.

2 *September* 1689. *Consultation at Fort St. George.* Francis Bett haveing by distemper and distraction lately wounded himself at Porto Novo factory, where for want of a Surgeon, they were necessitated to call the Dutch Surgeon to his relief and cure, which being chargeable to him, he requests that as being the Companys Servants, it may be allow'd by the Rt. Honble. Company which being consider'd of and that twas his own rash act, Tis orderd that he bear the half charge thereof, and that the Cheif doe allow the other half. (*Records of Fort St. George Diary and Consultation Book*, 1689, p. 72.)

32. Volunteer Training.

1 *January* 1690. *Fort St. George Diary.* According to the Governour and Councills order, the Citty Trainbands, containing all the Christian Inhabitants, also the Garrison Soldiers mett at the Generall place of Randevouz, which were divided into two Partyes and the methods of the millatary exercise Shewn them round the garrison, afterwards march't over the river to the Campaigne [open country, plain], where they did form and order them in a Batalion, and then treated them with a handsome dinner. (*Records of Fort St. George. Diary and Consultation Book of* 1690, p. 1.)

33. Punishment for Desertion at Sea.

January 1690. *Fort St. George Diary.* The ship *Chandos* fugitive seamen were this day examined and tryed by the President, Councill and some officers and were sentenced that four of them should run the Gantlett and ride the wooden horse, the other four to be whipt aboard all the shipps in the road with 15 stripes a peice. (*Records of Fort St. George. Diary and Consultation Book of* 1690, p. 3.)

34. A Lunatic Civil Servant sent to England.

22 *February* 1690. *Consultation at Fort St. George.* Mr. Bryan, one of the Honble. Companys writer[s], haveing been long time distracted, to the great trouble and charge of this place, where all endeavours and remedies have been used, and there being no hopes of recovery here. It is ordered that he be return'd home for England by Ship *Chandos*, where he may possibly find a Cure, being a Colder Countrey. The Captain is therefore orderd to receive him aboard and give him good usage and accomad[at]ion and the Paymaster to disburse 20 Pags. [Rs. 70] for cloaths &ca. necessaryes for him and advise it home. (*Records of Fort St. George. Diary and Consultation Book of* 1690, p. 14.)

35. Native objection to taking oath.

13 *April* 1691. *Consultation at Fort St. George.* The Custome house oath upon Masters for the manifest of their Ladeings creats so great trouble, dispute and dissatisfaction, particularly from Moores and Gentues [Hindus] who are averst to and forbidden swearing, and it being of no great importance, each makeing Entryes or forfeiture of their goods, the Customer is therefore orderd to desist pressing the said Oaths from any of them, but that he be strict in the Collection of the Customs and watch that all goods be duly enterd both as to importing, exporting and traversing [transporting across the country]. (*Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book of* 1691, p. 20.)

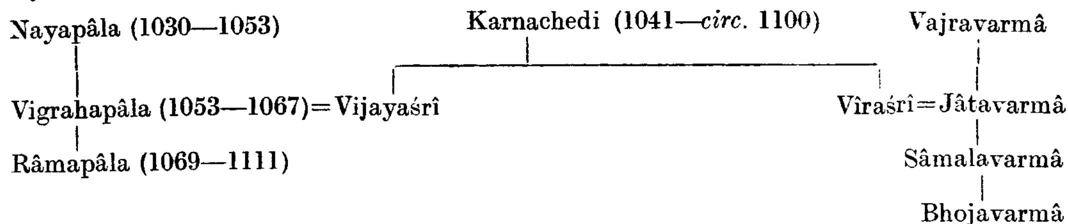
R. C. TEMPLE.

DATE OF LAKSHMANASENA AND HIS PREDECESSORS.

BY DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

(*Continued from p.* 148.)

Vijayasena's Barrackpur plate was issued from Vikramapura. In order to comprehend the full force of this bit of historical truth we have to discuss at some length the chronology of the dynasties of Vikramapura. Before the Sena Kings had sway over Vikramapura there is epigraphic evidence of two dynasties having reigned there one after another. The *Chandra* dynasty is represented by the copperplates of Srîchandra [17] which from palæographic considerations are referred to *circa* 1000 A.D. Srîchandra was probably succeeded early in the 11th cent. by Govindachandra who fled before Rajendra Chola in 1023 A.D. Then comes the *Varman* dynasty represented by the copperplates of Bhojavarmâ and Harivarmâ.[18] Bhojavarmâ's date can be approximately fixed by the following synchronistic table :—



Jâtavarmâ was a true contemporary of Vigrahapâla III. and his son Sâmalavarmâ's traditional date of accession to the throne, 994 *Saka* (1072-3 A.D.) [19] seems to be a genuine record. The date of the first king of the dynasty falls therefore about 1040 A.D. if not earlier, when probably Vajravarmâ usurped the kingdom of the Chandras. Let us now see if Harivarmâ with his long reign of at least 42 years can be adjusted in the 11th cent. A.D. in the scheme of Mr. Banerjea. Supposing Harivarmâ's father *Mahârâjādhirâja* Jyotirvarmâ immediately followed Govindachandra, we have approximately the following succession list: Govindachandra (1023 A.D.) Jyotirvarmâ (1023-25 A.D.) Harivarmâ (1025-1067). His son (1067-70). Vijayasena on the other hand must be taken to have usurped Vikramapura, defeating Bhojavarmâ sometime before his 32nd year, say in 1105. We have thus to impact four generations of kings in the remaining period, which by the greatest possible stretch barely counts to be 35 years. This is on the face of it improbable, and there is, moreover, strong literary evidence which goes against placing Harivarmâ in the 11th cent. A.D. Bhatta Bhavadeva, the celebrated *Smriti* writer of Bengal, was a minister of this long-lived king as well as of his son[20]. In his *Prâyaschittaprakaranam*[21] Bhavadeva quotes Viśvarûpa, who again flourished sometime after Bhoja of Dhâra—say in 1060 A.D. at the earliest. At least a few decades must be allowed to have elapsed before Viśvarûpa could have been quoted by Bhavadeva. Thus

17 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 136 ff. *Dacca Review*, 1912, pp. 250-51.

18 For Bhojavarmâ's plate of his 5th regnal year *vide Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII. p. 37. Harivarmâ's plate is dated in his 42nd year—*Vangera Jatîya Itihâsa* : Brâhmanakânda : Vol. II., pt. I., p. 216. Colophons of two Mss. refer to his reign, one copied in his 19th year and the other in his 39th year (*Vângâlâra Itihâsa* by R. D. Banerjea, Vol. I., p. 275).

19 "वेदमहग्रहमिते स वभूव राजा" *Vangera Jâtîya Itihâsa* : Brâhmanakânda. Vol. II., Pt. II., p. 18.

20 *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 205 ff. Cf. यन्मन्त्रशक्तिसचिवः सुचिरं चकार. राज्यं स धर्मविजयी हरिवर्मदेवः ।

21 *JASB.*, 1912, p. 345. For Viśvarûpa's posteriority to Bhoja, *vide Cat. Catalog.* II., p. 58 and *JASB.*, 1915, p. 323, note 1. According to the late Mr. Chakravarti (*JASB.*, 1912, p. 346). Bhavadeva has been alluded to in the *Prabodhachandrodaya* : the fact however is that a commentator of the **16th** Cent. in his gloss on a well-known verse of the drama merely *adds* the name of Bhavadeva (मन्थकारैरनुल्लिखितमपि अस्माभिरुक्तं) as popular in his own time (इदानीं).

we cannot reasonably place Bhavadeva and his patron Harivarmâ before the last quarter of the 11th cent. A.D., when, undoubtedly, Bhojavarmâ and his immediate predecessors had sway over Vikramapura. Harivarmâ has, therefore, to be shifted to the first half of the 12th cent. A.D. and Vijayasena must have subjugated the country towards the end of his own reign in the middle of the century from Harivarmâ or his son[22].

Against all this crowd of literary and historical evidence has been brought the consideration of three inscriptions dated in the much-discussed *atîtâ-râjya Samvat* of Lakshmaṇasena. I confess I am unable to appreciate the palæographic discussion of these inscriptions, but I think palæography has not at all proved a sure guide in the determination of the age of the records within a century. Mr. Mazumdar seems to gain his point by proving only the futility of a procedure, *viz.*, examination of test letters, because a mixture of *Nâgari* and later Bengali forms characterised the palæography of the period. But he adduces no proof that such a mixture did not continue in Bihar for 80 years more. As an evidence of a more definite character, Mr. Mazumdar introduces astronomical calculation, which, I am afraid is not fully done and has played him false. For according to the *Pûrṇimânta* scheme, which seems to have been unfortunately overlooked by Dewan Bahadur Pillai, the data "*Vaiśâkha vadi* 12 *guran*" do yield two dates between the years 1272 and 1277 A.D.—one in the very year of contention 1274 A.D. (April 5) and another in 1277 (April 1). In this connection Mr. Mazumdar seems cleverly to ignore the astronomical calculation of another important record of the same period and locality, which he has not forgotten to refer to in his palæographic discussion—the famous Bodh-Gayā inscription dated in the Nirvâṇa Era, 1813. Dr. Fleet had already shown[23] that the data given in the inscription quite regularly work out in the *Pûrṇimânta* system to be October 1, 1270 A.D., with 544 B.C., as the starting point of the Era. The late Dr. Indraji suggested October 20, 1176 A.D. as a possible date of the record, referring to a so-called Peguan reckoning of the era from 638 B.C. It does not however require a Dr. Fleet to guide us which to choose of the two dates—the long established 544 B.C era so extensively used in Ceylon and Burma or the 638 B.C. era, which, if it ever existed at all, was apparently never used in a single inscription even in Pegu itself. Thus astronomical calculation rather goes against Mr. Mazumdar's own theory than against the other theory.

We now come to the last and practically the only so-called evidence against the established view of Lakshmaṇasena's date, *viz.*, the interpretation of the word *atîtâ-râjya* used in the said inscriptions and the identity of the era there referred to with the Lakshmaṇa Samvat of 1119 A.D. Mr. R. D. Banerjea and his supporters have fastened themselves with a desperate grip as it were upon an interpretation of the late Dr. Kielhorn, which they have quoted ever so many times in their discussion on the question, though the late Doctor himself did not hesitate to abandon his former views apparently upon a mere glimpse at one or two of the literary evidences discussed above[24]. In his famous monograph on the *Pâlas of Bengal* (pp. 109-110) Mr. Banerjea discusses three interpretations as altogether possible of a similar epithet *gata-râjya*. But among them we curiously miss the

[22] The following succession list of the kings of Vikramapura may now be tentatively drawn : Śrichandra (*circ.* 1000 A.D) : Govindachandra (1023 A.D.) Vajravarmâ (*circ.* 1040) Jâtavarmâ (*circ.* 1050—1072 A.D.) Sâmalavarmâ (1072—1079 A.D.) Bhojavarmâ : Jyotirvarmâ (*circ.* 1100 A.D.) Harivarmâ (*circ.* 1100-1150 A.D.). His son : Vijayasena : Vallâlasena : Lakshmaṇasena.

[23] *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 347 : regarding the time when the new reckoning (from 544 B.C.) was established. *vide* p. 333, also *ibid*, 1911, p. 212.

[24] Vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, App. (Synchronistic Tables).

interpretation accepted among others by Messrs. H. P. Sastri, Chanda and N. N. Vasu.[25] Mr. Banerjea himself has drawn very strange conclusions from the date-wordings in Ms. colophons. A wholly unjustifiable difference has been drawn between the words *gata*, *atîta* and *vinaṣṭa*, which are, for all we know, synonymous. Even if they were not so, it is unthinkable that *atîtarâjya* can ever mean, as Mr. Banerjea holds, a kingdom which is lost somewhere but flourishing (*pravardhamâna*) elsewhere. According to Mr. Banerjea, moreover, *atîtarâjya* indicates that the king was still alive and the "special" word *vinaṣṭa* shows that he was dead. But by no stretch of grammatical construction can the words *atîta* and *vinaṣṭa*, used clearly as qualifying adjectives of *râjya*, determine the life and death of the king himself[26]. The word *atîtarâjya* (or its synonyms *gatarâjya*, etc.), wherever it occurs must mean everywhere the same thing—that the kingdom was at an end (no question whether the king was alive or not, as a king has no civil existence without the kingdom) and the year is reckoned either (1) from the date of the accession of the king to the throne; or (2) from the date of the loss of the kingdom. Two objections have been raised against the 2nd interpretation : firstly, it is grammatically wrong, for we do not get a *samâsa* अतीतराज्ये in the sense of राज्ये अतीते सति and we would expect the ablative and not the locative in the sense of *since*. This is wholly beside the mark, as the locative can be justified equally in *pravardhamânaivijayarâjye* and *atîtârâjyâ* as कालाधिकरणे सप्तमी. *Atîtarâjya* would exactly mean—"of the time during which the kingdom was lost," *i.e.*, remained unrecovered by a lineal successor[27]. The second objection that no era is known to start from a *mṛityu-samvat* (except that of Buddha) is not of much consequence as the origin of many of the eras is yet unknown. It appears that the epithet *atîtarâjya* has been used with full significance only with the names of Govindapâla and Lakshmaṇasena and it is a significant fact that they witnessed the destruction of the Pâla and Sena kingdoms respectively. The devoted subjects of each only expressed their hatred for the usurpers by referring their dates to an imaginary "reign of anarchy." Thus the destruction of the Pâla dynasty (which was Buddhist by religion) after a glorious reign of full four centuries was ill digested by the *Buddhist* subjects, who monopolised the use of the *atîtarâjya Samvat* of Govindapâla. We can easily see that the second interpretation fits in better with the literary and historical bearings of Lakshmaṇasena and should therefore be preferred in the inscriptions under discussion. That the *atîta-râjya Samvat* of Lakshmaṇasena has nothing to do with the Lakshmaṇa Samvat is *primâ facie* evident from the fact that among the innumerable Ms. colophons with dates in *La-sam*, there is not a single one which connects the word *atîtarâjya* therewith, though that misleading epithet is attached even to the Vikrama Era in Mss. of the same locality, as cited by Mr. Mazumdar himself. In connection with Govindapâla also, the epithet *gatarâjya* (of the Gaya ins. of 1175 A.D.) bears the second

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25 *Râmacharita* : Itrod., p. 16, *Gauḍarâjamâla*, p. 55, etc.

26 The colophons numbered 4, 5 and 6 in Mr. Banerjea's monograph (pp. 110-111) are of Mss. belonging to the same collection and written *by the same man*, who could never have used the word *vinaṣṭa* in a *special* sense in the midst of two other Mss., one dated in the previous year (No. 4.) and another in the following year (No. 6).

27 How the epithet *atîtarâjya* used in the Sonpur plates of Someśvaradeva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII., p. 240) "certainly" supports the first interpretation we do not at all see. The use of the epithet may very well be justified by assuming that the coronation had not yet taken place of the successor of Abhimanyudeva in the first year of his reign, when the inscription is dated. This is supported by the fact that there is no mention of *samvat* after *atîtarâjya*, the end (and *not the beginning*) of the last reign having, just taken place.

interpretation better. Govindapâla had at least 4 years' reign and under the first interpretation he would be reigning still in 1165 A.D. We had shown before that it was probably Vallâlasena, who destroyed the last remnants of the Pâla kingdom, and the work of destruction was completed presumably several years before Vallâla sat down securely with the *pandits* "like a swan among lotus beds," (विद्वत्सभाकमलिनीराजहंसेन भूभुजा Introd. to the *Dânasâgara*, v. 54) to write several encyclopædic works. The *Adbhutasâgara* was begun in 1168 A.D.; the *Dânasâgara* was completed in 1169 A.D., and before that he had written at least two other encyclopædias, *Pratiṣṭhâsâgara* and *Âchârasâgara*. So it is probable that Vallâla defeated Govindapâla earlier in his reign, before and not after 1165 A. D., *i.e.*, 1161 A.D. marks the end and not the beginning of Govindapâla's reign.

Two minor objections must now be discussed. How can two eras connected with the same king Lakshmaṇasena run simultaneously? There is no evidence, however, that the *atîtarâjya Samvat* of Lakshmaṇasena did develop into a regular era as such, and if it did, it changed its name. Moreover, the co-existence of the two eras cannot be proved by a single entry in a Ms. colophon, which looks extremely doubtful. Then, what is the origin of the *La-sam*? Though there is nothing authentic or reliable to guide us in the matter we should, at the present state of our knowledge, prefer the traditional origin in the birth of Lakshmaṇasena[28] to mere conjectures. What really happened with regard to the two eras is probably this: with the establishment of Muhammadan supremacy, when independent Hindu rulers ceased to exist, people supplied their want of citing regnal years by creating a local era connected naturally with the name of the last independent Hindu monarch of the region. Some started it with the date of the loss of the kingdom, perhaps by analogy with the *Govindapâlîya Samvat,* and others with the birth of the king. The former did not survive or changed its name before the popularity of the latter. The evidence from a Ms. colophon brought forth by Mr. Mazumdar to show that the *La-sam* was "started" by Lakshmaṇasena is a most amusing piece of research. According to the late Dr. Kielhorn, whom Mr. Mazumdar quotes with the greatest deference, even the epithet *atîta-râjya* "is apt to become *meaningless* phrase," but according to Mr. Mazumdar himself, phrases like "*Lakshmaṇasena-bhûpati-mati,*" evidently used through exigencies of metre, are all the same pregnant with meaning and a very plausible meaning too: for *mate* means, according to him, "approved, *i.e.*, started" though approval and starting are two quite distinct ideas.

We admit that all literary and historical evidence may be smashed by a strong epigraphic record, but we hope we have been able to show that Mr. Banerjea's theory is not the only possible one on the age and interpretation of the epigraphic records under discussion, which equally admit of another theory that is certainly strengthened by being in agreement with all other evidence.

The chronology of the Sena kings can now be determined in fuller detail. A passage in the *Adbhutasâgara* (p. 203) runs as follows: "भुजवसुदशमिते शाके श्रीमद्बल्लालसेनराज्यादौ।" This admits of two interpretations, *viz.*: (1) Vallâla came to the throne exactly in the year 1082 *Śaka* (1160-61 A.D.), or (2) that year only fell "in the beginning" (*âdau*) of his reign. We should like to prefer the second interpretation, which will leave a margin of a year or two to the minimum length (11 years) of his reign, otherwise falling to his lot. The Naihâti plate of Vallâla, recording a land-grant on the occasion of a solar eclipse, is dated—*Samvat* 11 *Vaiśâkha dine* 16 [29]. Assuming that the date of the record coincides

[28] *JASB.*, 1896, Pt. I, p. 23.

[29] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 162.

with that of the eclipse, we get April 9, 1168 A.D., corresponding to *Vaiśâkha* 16, when there was a solar eclipse, which was, however, invisible in India. But records have been discovered referring to invisible eclipses,[30] and on that theory, meagre and doubtful though it is, *April*, 1158, falls in the first year of Vallâlasena. On the indirect evidence of the *Adbhutasâgara*, Vallâla died shortly after 1169 A.D. Mr. R D. Banerjea, while blindly attacking the views of the late Mr. Chakravarti, who also arrived at the above date of Vallâla, commits himself, in his latest pronouncement,[31] to the most unexpected statement that "it cannot be asserted upon the data available at present that Vallâlasena did not reign for more than eleven years "—little suspecting that he is thereby caught in his own net. For, the death of Vijayasena in his own chronology is dated *about* or *after* 1108 A.D., hardly allowing even just the 11 years' reign to Vallâla.

The newly published Barrackpur Plate of Vijayasena records a land-grant on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The date of the record is open to question. Mr. Banerjea at first read it as "*Sam.* 37 " and then as "*Sam.* 31."[32] Finally he puts it down as "*Sam.* 32." The printed plate, however, shows that even this final reading is doubtful. The numerical figures in the palæography of Bengal and Magadha have not at all been properly studied yet and Bühler's chart (or any other similar work) will often mislead us, as it seems to have misled even a veteran like Mr. Banerjea in the present instance. Had the two figures after *Sam.* been joined together, they would almost exactly resemble the figure 5 of the Belabo Inscription of Bhojavarmâ.[33] But Mr. Banerjea, who examined the original plate twice, did not apparently suspect a single figure, and the original plate, like the printed one, must have shown two separated figures. We have examined in this connection all available numerical figures in the records of Bengal and Magadha and we are positive that the first figure, being in the form of a single curve without any angle, does not at all tally with any of the known figures representing 3, most of which show two distinct arcs forming an angle, besides the lower curve. Like the main figure of 5, stripped of the curve in the right, the first figure quite regularly corresponds to the known figures of 6, only it has a slight bend at the top towards the left, almost exactly like the figure 6 inscribed in a metal image of *Vajratârâ* and in a Ms. colophon.[34] The second figure also corresponds better with the figure 1 of the Sarnath inscription of Mahipâla, dated 1083 *Śaka*[35] than any of the known figures of 2. Then again the date of the month is read as 7, but the form at the upper end shows two distinct arcs forming an angle, which possibly cannot represent the single-curved 7, which shows no other variants in the records hitherto discovered in Bengal. We propose to read it as 3. Then the date of the record would be *Sam.* 61 *Vaisâkha dine* 3.

[30] *Ante*, 1919, p. 5, footnote 32, referring to Dr. Venkatasubbiah : *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, pp. 21-22.

[31] Barrackpur Plate of Vijayasena : ed. by Mr. Banerjea in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, *vide* p. 281.

[32] *The Pâlas of Bengal*, p. 105. *Vângâlâra Itihâsa*, Vol. I, p. 292

[33] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 39 (Plate) : *JASB.*, 1914, p. 121 ff. (Plate XX).

[34] *Vide* an account of the image (belonging to the Dacca Museum) in the *Modern Review*, Jan. 1921, p. 60. All the figures from 1 to 8 are inscribed on the petals of the lotus seat in due order leaving us in no doubt. For the Ms. colophon, see *The Pâlas of Bengal*, p. 75 with Plate XXXVI, Colophon of Prajñâpâramitâ : *ASB.* Collection : 6th year of Mahipâla.

[35] *Arch. Survey Report*, 1903-4, p. 222. Also *Gauḍalekhamâlâ*, p. 104 (Plate).

Assuming here also that the date coincides with that of the eclipse, we arrive at the extremely suitable year 1157 A.D., when there was a *visible* lunar eclipse on March 27, corresponding to 3rd *Vaiśâkha*. March, 1097 A.D., falls therefore in the first year of Vijayasena's reign.

If our reading and verification of the date of the Barrackpur plate be accepted, it will be seen that Vijayasena died at a very advanced age in 1157 A.D. after a glorious reign of 61 years, which is already too long to create any necessity of making it longer by further pushing back Vallâla's date of accession (to 1160 A.D.). This great length of Vijayasena's reign explains on the one hand the shortness of his successor's reign and on the other, the unique feature of the Barrackpur plate, which honours Vallâla in all the glory of a full-fledged monarch before he actually came to the throne. Vallâla must have been practically the ruler of the land in the last years of Vijayasena and was himself verging on old age when he came to the throne in 1157 A.D. It becomes quite possible, therefore, to place the birth of Lakshmaṇasena in 1119 A.D., as supported both by tradition and by the account of the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsiri* (Raverty, pp. 554-55). The following chronology of the independent Sena kings may thus be placed before scholars :

Vijayasena (1096—1157 A.D.)
|
Vallâlasena (1157—*circa* 1170 A.D.)
|
Lakshmaṇasena (born 1119 A.D., reign *circa* 1170—1200 A.D.)

PRATHAMASÂKHA BRÂHMANS OR "MID-DAY PARAIYANS."

BY H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.

THE following extract is taken from Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India" (Vol. VI, p. 223), *s.v. Prathamasâkha Brâhmans :*

> "This class of Brâhmans is known in the Tanjore District as "Madhyana Paraiyans" or "Mid-day Paraiyans." According to the *District Gazetteer*, "the god of the Tiruvâlûr Temple was entreated by a *pujârî* of Kôiltirumâlam or Tiruambamahalam to be present in the village at a sacrifice in his (the god's) honour. The deity consented at length, but gave warning that he would come in a very unwelcome shape. He appeared as a *Paraiyan* with beef on his back, and followed by the four *Vedas* in the form of dogs, and took his part in the sacrifice thus accoutred and attended. The Brâhmans who were present ran away, and the god was so incensed that he condemned them to be *Paraiyans* for one hour in the day, from noon till one p.m., ever afterwards. There is a class of Brâhmans called "Mid-day Paraiyans," who are found in several districts, and a colony of them reside at Sêdanipuram, five miles from Nannilam. It is believed throughout the Tanjore District that the "Mid-day Paraiyans" are the descendants of the Brâhmans thus cursed by the god. They are supposed to expiate their defilement by staying outside their houses for an hour and a half every day at mid-day, and if they do this, they are much respected. Few of them, however, observe this rule, and orthodox persons will not eat with them because of their omission to remove the defilement. They call themselves Prathamasâkhas."

The story struck me as so curious that I communicated with my brother, Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., now Judge of Coimbatore. When he informed me, in reply, that one of the copyists in his office was a "Mid-day Paraiyan," and that he had requested him to furnish his account of the tradition, I felt that I was on the track of an explanation The response, however, took the form of a transcript of a petition presented in 1912 to Mr. F. R. Hemingway, I.C.S., then Collector of Coimbatore, by a number of "Prathamasagai Brâhmans of Mannargudi, Tanjore District." The petition is in these terms :

"When your honour was the head assistant collector in the Tanjore District, we were designated as "Prathamasagai Madhyana Paraiyans" in the *District Gazetteer*, which was then being published once in five years, and now once in ten. We do not belong to such a class of Brâhmans, but to the first class among Brâhmans of the world. The other class of Brâhmans are called Thithari Brâhmans, who form the major portion of them. Our "Yajar-veda Guru" is one Yakyavalkiyar, a *rishi*, who learned our *veda* from the sun and applied it to us. In Tamil we used to be styled as "Brâhmans of the first class," and in Sanskrit "Prathama-sagai Brâhmans." The *guru* of the other classes of Brâhmans is one Vaisampayanar. Our above-named *guru* vomited all the *vedas* which he had learned in former days. Vaisampayanar took the form of a *thithari* bird, fed on the vomited matter, and thus learned the *vedas*. So this class of Brâhmans are called "Thitharisagai Brahmans." Those who have learned these details in books [are] used to respect us : while others ignorant of these matters [are] used to scorn us by calling us "Madhyana Paraiyans."

The petition concludes by stating that false information was given while the gazetteer was in course of preparation, and that it was not verified by calling upon the informants to produce their authority. A request is made that the names may be furnished of the persons responsible for the "publication of the scandal," and proceedings taken against them.

Endorsed upon the petition is a note to the following effect, signed by Mr. K. C. Manavedan Raja, on behalf of the Collector and dated April 25, 1912 :

"Mr. Hemingway regrets he cannot now give the names of his informants. He assures petitioners that he was not aware that the passage they refer to would hurt their feelings, and he regrets that it should have done so."

Can any reader of the "Indian Antiquary" throw any further light upon this recent development of the caste-system ? The "explanation," it will be seen, does not help the enquirer in any way to understand why the designation of "Mid-day Paraiyans" should have been applied to this class of Brahmans. It may be that the story told to the compiler of the Tanjore *District Gazetteer* is a malicious invention: but the version offered for acceptance by the petitioners is hardly more credible.

[The petition confirms the story given to Thurston in a most interesting manner. *Primâ facie* both story and petition is a fresh instance of a very old habit amongst castes or tribes seeking to 'better' their social position by a "tale of origin". It is to be found everywhere in Râjputânâ and wherever Râjpûts abound, usually in the form of a 'birth-story'. The hero is generally a foundling, who turns out to be of very high birth by caste or other social position or he is the son of such a person by a foundling girl. Another common form is the commission of a 'caste' fault by the eponymous ancestor. This story belongs to the latter class. The earliest instance I know of such a story being given to a European enquirer is that quoted by Barbosa (early 16th century) and given in Dames ed. (Hak. Soc.) vol. II, p. 57, about the Kasavans or Kuyavans, potters of Malabar. They told Barbosa that they did not differ from Nâyars, "yet by reason of a fault they committed, they remain separate from them."—ED.]

A NEW VIEW OF SHER SHAH SUR.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

I set out to write a review of Professor Qanungo's recent monograph on Sher Shâh Sûr (*c.* 1485-1545),[1] but the interest that his career has long roused in myself, its very great importance to modern Indian History, the excellence of Professor Qanungo's examination thereof, and the quantity of new light he has been able to throw on the life and doings of Sher Shâh from his researches into original sources of information, have tempted me to compose a fresh *rèsumè* of what is known of that remarkable man.

The difference between Sher Shâh and the other great rulers of Upper India was that he was capable of doing all his work himself, with the requisite personal knowledge of the details of both civil and military administration—a knowledge he deliberately acquired in his youth. He was never obliged to trust to, or lean upon, others for details, and was his own Commander-in-Chief, his own Prime Minister, his own Controller of Customs and Revenue, his own Treasurer, his own Minister of Agriculture and Public Works, his own Master of the Mint and his own Provincial Governor of the very many miniature districts he set up. And his capacity in every such position is shown by the fact that he raised himself from the status of the son of an ordinary fief-holder or country gentleman of recent standing to that of true monarch of an empire stretching from Afghânistân to Assam, from the Himâlayas to the confines of Râjputânâ. This vast territory he ruled and organised on lines of his own, so sound that they formed, and still are, the basis of all subsequent government—Muslim and British. This extraordinary genuis, however, had the misfortune to run out his career just before the European commercial invasion of India had any practical effect, and also to be succeeded by the very interests he had combated all his life. So until the recent advent of dispassionate critical research into Indian History, his life and doings had no chance of being appreciated in their true proportion. It has therefore happened that the quality of the work and character of one of the very greatest men of the past in India has been known only to a few investigators and has been practically ignored by all others.

I find I have myself described Sher Shâh Sûr in a short general *rèsumè* of Indian History as "the father of modern Indian Administration, following the lead of his great predecessor, Firôz Shâh Tughlaq of Delhi (1351-1388), and giving it to his successors, Akbar the Great (1556-1605), Warren Hastings (1774-1785) and Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856)." The points I drew into prominence in Firôz Shâh's administration were soundness of principle, light taxation, canals and roads. To Sher Shâh himself we still owe the Great North Road as part of the Grand Trunk Road of Northern India. In making these remarks I did not in fact do justice to the extraordinary achievements of Sher Shâh Sûr: and in this I was not alone. Writers of history have not properly appreciated his worth.

Such a man as this, to whom nearly four centuries after his time India still owes so much, deserves all the research that can be bestowed upon his career and methods. Professor Qanungo has bravely undertaken some of the task in the right way, *i.e.*, from critical study of the original sources of information, whatever they are—Indian, British, Portuguese. The key to Sher Shâh's success lies in the fact that his early self-training was entirely in civil administration, so that when his outstanding military capacities gave him the power necessary to all rulers in his day, he could use it with an intimate personal knowledge of the principles of successful civil government, which was not available to any of his Indian predecessors, contemporaries or successors. He was never in the hands of Ministers, as he knew

[1] Sher Shâh, by Kalikaranjan Qanungo, M.A., Professor, Ramjas College, Delhi. Calcutta; Kar Majumder and Co., 1921.

too much of the subject of dealing with his people to require their guidance. The defect of these remarkable qualities was the natural tendency to concentrate all authority in himself, with the inevitable consequence of the apparent disappearance of his system on his death and the destruction of the short-lived Dynasty he founded, largely owing to the enmity his autocratic methods roused in his opponents on their succeeding to the Empire he created. But what they could not altogether destroy was the system itself; he had applied it on too large a scale for that. So the good he did for his people survived him, and much of it remains still. As a ruler in India he is therefore in some senses unique. I propose now to outline his career from the information provided by Professor Qanungo's researches for the benefit of myself and others who may perhaps desire to carry on the study of a man well worth studying by all who would understand modern India.

Farîd (afterwards the great Sher Shâh), the eldest son of Hasan, was the grandson of Ibrâhîm of the Sûr section of the Mâti clan of Afghâns from Surgurgai, "a detached ridge of the Takht-i-Sulaimân mountains on the southern bank of the upper course of the Gûmal river" on "one of the oldest and most frequented trade-routes between Southern Afghânistân and the Indus Valley". Ibrâhîm Sûr was almost naturally in such circumstances a horse-dealer, like very many of his countrymen before and since. In the reign of the Afghân Bahlôl Lodî (1451-1488) Ibrâhîm migrated to Bijwârâ in the Jâlandhar Doâb (Panjab) to the fief of Mahâbat Khân Sûr of the Dâûd Shâh *khel* (sept), and entered the service of Jamâl Khân Sârangkhânî as a soldier at Hissâr Firôza (Delhi District). He finally obtained for himself a fief in Nârnol "to maintain 40 horsemen," and there he settled and died. His son Hasan Sûr was confirmed in the fief and there were born his eight sons, of whom four came into history, *viz.*, Farîd (Sher Shâh) and Nizâm, sons of the "first" wife, and Sulaimân and Ahmad, sons of a slave-girl raised to the status of a wife. Farîd was born somewhere about 1486 or perhaps earlier, as Mr. Qanungo's authorities seem to be doubtful here (see pp. 3 and 344), and the date will probably never be fixed exactly.

Farîd, like Śivaji, was reared in his early days in a hard school, and for the same reason —the practical desertion of an older legitimate wife and her children in favour of a younger woman and her progeny. In both cases the situation did much to mould character. However badly Hasan Sûr treated Farîd and his mother, he was a capable man, and when Jamâl Khân Sârangkhânî was transferred to the Eastern Provinces, he took Hasan with him and conferred on him Sâsarâm and Khawâspûr (in the Shâhâbâd district of Bihâr) in fief and promoted him to the command of 500. This fief afterwards played a great part in Farîd's life.

Farîd, annoyed at the continual ill-treatment of himself and his mother, went in 1501 to Jamâl Khân Sârangkhânî at Jaunpûr. This was a turning point in his career. He was then about fifteen, and like Napoleon, he became at that age a deep and earnest literary student in a curiously similar manner. He began at that time, and continued for the next ten years, to study civil administration, so that he acquired "a first hand knowledge of revenue affairs, the distress of the cultivators, the oppression of the Muslim soldiery and the corruption of the Hindu revenue-collectors:" a knowledge that not only secured for him a high reputation among his kinsfolk but stood him in good stead when he became powerful, colouring his whole life. It also reconciled him to his father. Farîd at this period was about twenty-five.

We now have clearly before us the makings of a great ruler. Capable scion of a middle-class military family rising to local importance, brought up in a hard school, self-trained to scholarship and civil administration, and known personally to the great political men of his time.

Reconciled to his father and armed by him with the necessary powers, Farîd took over charge of his father's considerable fief, comprising an extensive portion of the modern Shâhâbâd District. His neighbour to the West was Muhammad Khân Sûr, afterwards a great enemy. It was not an inviting country to hold—mostly dense jungle sheltering robbers and rebels—inhabited partly by respectable Hindus, Râjpûts, Ahîrs, and so on, and partly by Cheros and Sâvars (non-Aryans of considerable civilisation), all classes being inclined to be rebellious, predatory, unruly and uncivil, a condition largely induced by the violence of the Muhammadan soldiery that had long ill-treated them. That was one source of the state of virtually chronic insubordination. Another was the endless exactions of the Hindu tax-gatherers (*muqaddam* and *patwârî*), taking advantage of the ignorant peasantry and careless and greedy fief-holders alike.

To set about curing this state of affairs was Farîd's object, and he used the wide knowledge he had gained by study to effect this end by far-reaching and wise regulations. His main object was to foster agriculture as the natural source of all wealth. Maxims attributed to him on this subject show his attitude clearly :—" The cultivators are the source of property :" " If they are badly off they will produce nothing, but if prosperous they will produce much :" —" If a ruler cannot protect the humble peasantry from the lawless, it is tyranny to exact revenue from them." He called the soldiers, the civil officials and the peasants to a meeting together, and told them all exactly and plainly what he meant to do. He made it quite clear that "if a little favour is shown to the peasantry, the ruler benefits by it." He enforced his doctrines by unmistakable practical steps : dealing directly with the peasants himself by agreements, fixing rents and collecting fees in cash or kind at their choice, and thus abolishing the old tax-gatherer system. He had accounts taken in his presence, and encouraged personal communication of grievances and requests.

All this created a contented peasantry but a discontented soldiery and officialdom. In putting down discontent, he first showed his inherited military capacity. He had neither men nor horses, nor even saddlery ; but he collected them all. First he made the officials find the saddlery. Then he promised maintenance to Afghân soldiers and kinsmen and found them horses, and then, in the true Oriental style of the time (which was the Tudor period of England be it remembered), he added : " Whatever booty, cash, goods and gold, falls into your hands is yours : I shall never claim a share of it."

He naturally soon overcame the officials, and then he did a characteristic and wise, but unoriental thing. He seized the wives and children, and kept them in his own custody to prevent their being violated by the soldiers. The booty he gave to his men, as he had promised. The rebel soldiers were more difficult to deal with, but in his treatment of them he adopted novel methods which stood in him great stead in his later career. He had only a small force of irregular cavalry, but he supplemented it with a yeomanry and militia from his now willing peasantry. Every man who had a horse was to ride it ; the rest were to come on foot. Half the force were to go with him, and half to carry on and guard the cultivation.

The method he evolved for this jungle campaign was *more suo*, and was followed in principle all his life. He proceeded cautiously into the jungle and always surrounded his camps by a trench and parapet, and thus made it safe from attack. His cavalry then patrolled the rebels' villages near, killed every male met with in the jungle, captured the cattle, women and children found in it, and destroyed the crops. Meanwhile, his foot soldiers cleared off the jungle. Deprived of their natural shelter, the rebels became helpless, and then Farîd showed

himself as the grim Pathân : refused submission, killed all the men and sold the wives and children into slavery. He repeopled the devastated villages with his own peasantry. It was mediæval and oriental and very severe, but he had hereditary cattle-lifters and savage robbers to deal with.

His administration of his father's fief went on till 1518 when he was about 33 years of age, gaining for him a great reputation for wise management, but he threw it up, owing to trouble raised by his stepmother on behalf of her son Sulaimân Sûr, on the eve of the rebellion in the Eastern Provinces of Dariâ Khân Lohânî against Ibrâhîm Lodî, now of Agra. Such is the story of Farîd Sûr, or Sher Shâh, in the days of his apprenticeship at Sâsarâm.

In Sher Shâh's case the boy was eminently the father of the man, and the rest of his life was the result of the principles he evolved for himself during his strenuous youth and early manhood for the ordering of affairs, civil and military. On his way to Agra he became the guest of the Sarwânî Afghâns at Cawnpore, where he secured two companions, Shekh Isma'îl Sûr and his brother-in-law Habîb Khân Kakar, who were destined to become famous in his subsequent reign as Shuja'at Khân and Sarmast Khân respectively. At Agra he attached himself to Daulat Khân ; and then his father died. Through Daulat Khân's influence he succeeded to his father's fief, meeting with much opposition on arrival from his stepmother and her son Sulaimân Sûr, backed by his old enemy and neighbour, Muhammad Khân Sûr.

Ibrâhîm Lodî was an injudicious and treacherous monarch, who set his nobles against him and drove Dariyâ Khân Lohânî (or Nuhânî), Governor of Bihâr, and others into rebellion for self-protection. Dariyâ Khân died and was succeeded by his son, Bahâr Khân Lohânî (Bahâdur Khân according to some authorities, but erroneously).

Feeling himself in necessity for protection against Muhammad Khân Sûr, Farîd Sûr, as he still was, joined Bahâr Khân Lohânî (afterwards Sultân Muhammad) in 1522, and did him his usual excellent service. From Bahâr Khân Lohânî he received his famous title of Sher Khân, the Tiger :—according to story, from slaying a tiger, but it may well have been a recognition of his qualities, as in the case of the great Frenchman, Clemenceau.

Sher Khân, as he now became, was made *vakîl* or deputy in Bihâr for Bahâr Khân's minor son, Jalâl Khân Lohânî, and also his *'ataliq* or tutor. His methods of civil government soon had effect throughout Bihâr, but his old enemy, Muhammad Khân Sûr, took advantage of the general confusion which reigned after the crucial battle which was fought in 1526 at Panipat between the Lodis and the great Mughal Bâbur, to set Bahâr Khân Lohânî (*i.e.*, Sultân Muhammad) against his *protégé*, Sher Khân, who defended himself with his usual independence, though his troops were defeated at Khawâspûr.

This threw Sher Khân into the arms of the Mughal, Junêd Barlâs (*i.e.*, of the same tribe as Bâbur himself), then Governor of Jaunpûr. So in 1527 we find Sher Khân at Agra in the Mughal military service under Bâbur, recovering his fief in 1528, as the result of Bâbur's Eastern Campaign which commenced in 934 A.H. This preferment, however, put him in a weak position as regards his Afghân neighbours, and so he made peace with them, even with his arch-enemy, Muhammad Khân Sûr, in the true Afghân fashion, though it involved his sending away his Mughal soldiery. But he had to go further in deserting his Mughal friends, as Mahmûd Lodî, who had remained in Râjputânâ during Bâbur's Eastern Campaign, managed to oust Jalâl Khân Lohânî, Sher Khân's former pupil, from Bihâr. On this Sher Khân, in sheer self-preservation, had again to turn his coat and join Mahmûd Lodî, and by 1529 he was concerned in an attack on the Mughal forces, capturing Benares from Sultân Jalâlu'ddîn Sharqî,

Bâbur's Governor and a descendant of the old Sharqî Dynasty (Turkî *mamlûks*) of Jaunpûr. Meanwhile, however, Bâbur had Mahmûd Lodî on the run, and Sher Khân's star was once more in the descendant. In 1529 he made his submission and became again the "faithful vassal" of the Mughals. In the end, Jalâl Khân Lohânî recovered most of his possessions in Bihâr and Sher Khân his old fief at Sâsarâm, resuming his charge of Bihâr as the deputy of Jalâl Khân.

He worked on his old lines, centralising everything in his own hands, with the old result, the envy and enmity of the nobility, to whom he was an upstart, and popularity with the peasantry. He was about forty-three years of age when he obtained the control of Bihâr for the second time, and he retained it for four years, during which period he performed two important acts. He acquired the great fortress of Chunâr and he entered into an alliance with Makhdûm 'Alam, Governor of Hâjîpur (opposite Patna) for Nusrat Shâh, the Hussain-Shâhî King of Bengal.

The first act was truly in the spirit of the times. Chunâr was held for Bâbur by Tâj Khân Sârangkhânî (Afghân), who was suddenly killed in what appears to have been a family quarrel in 1530, and Sher Khân took advantage of the situation thus created to wrest the fortress from his widow, Lâd Malika. Just then Bâbur died, and the Afghâns in the Eastern Provinces, as a body, rebelled against his successor, Humâyûn. Eventually, Humâyûn gained the day and Sher Khân made his peace with the new Mughal monarch, but a peace that was of the nature of the lull before the storm. The defeat of the Afghân rebels had one result of great importance to Sher Khân in inducing Fath Malika, widow of Shekh Mustafa' Farmûlî, elder brother of the Afghân hero, Bâyazîd, an enormously wealthy woman, to place herself in his hands for protection. Unfortunately for her, as the sequel showed, the acquisition of Chunâr made him aggressive.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICE.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN BURMA, Pt. I. Arranged according to dates. Compiled and Edited by C. DUROISELLE, Rangoon. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF BURMA, 1921.

This is a most welcome addition to the work of this vigorous Department and will be of untold use to the earnest student of Burmese history and archæology, even if it does nothing more than draw attention to the vast wealth of epigraphic record existing in Burma. There is a slip in the Preface which may as well be noticed. The Archæological Officer who brought King Bodawphayâ's collection of copies to the serious notice of the Government, and induced it to collect and house them suitably, and afterwards began the printing of the Pagan, Pinya and Ava Inscriptions in 1892 with the help of the staff of Mr. Regan, then the capable and energetic Superintendent of the Government Press, Rangoon, was Major R. C. Temple, then President of the Rangoon Municipality. The work of printing the Inscriptions was carried on by his personal friend, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, after his departure from Burma in 1897. This all happened so long ago that perhaps it is not surprising that the present Archæological Office has lost sight of the facts. It was decided to print copies of the Inscriptions as they stood, errors and all, rather than lose sight of them, there being at the time no one with the knowledge and the leisure to edit them adequately.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A PROVISIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MUHAMMADAN ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA.

BY K. A. C. CRESWELL, M.R.A.S., HON. A.R.I.B.A.

(*Continued from page* 108.)

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See plates 11, Ruins at Futehpur Sîkrî ; 12, mosque at Futehpur Sikrî; 13, mosque at Jaunpur ; 14, mosque at Rajmahal; 15, Agra Fort from the river ; 17 and 18, mosque at Mungheir ; 19, mosque at Chunar Gur; 21, mosque of Aurangzeb at Benares ; 29, Fort at Mungheir ; 31, mosque at Ghazipur ; 34, Bridge at Jaunpur ; 37 and 38, Palace of Suja ul Dowleh at Faizabad ; 39, mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra.

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A NEW VIEW OF SHER SHAH SUR.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page* 164.)

Makhdûm 'Alam of Hâjîpur, a strong partizan of Nusrat Shâh of Bengal against the latter's younger brother, Mahmûd, and Sher Khân had been friends from the time of Bâbur's Eastern Campaign, and when Nusrat Shâh died in 1532 and Mahmûd Shah soon afterwards seined the throne, Makhdûm 'Alam was glad of Sher Khân's assistance. Mahmûd's generals attacked Bihâr and Sher Khân exhibited Parthian tactics, *i.e.*, he declined battle before superior forces, raided, harassed, and judiciously retreated, inspired false confidence, and then suddenly attacked. This first success in direct battle gave Sher Khân that military ambition which was to make him eventually a great monarch.

Soon afterwards Makhdûm 'Alam was killed in another action, and the Lohânîs, to whom Sher Khân was still an upstart, succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of his whilom pupil, Jalâl Khân Lohânî, in a conspiracy against him, which ended ineffectively in the unexpected flight of Jalâl Khân and his Lohânî friends to Mahmûd Shâh of Bengal for protection. Sher Khân was accordingly relieved from an embarrassing position and became substantive ruler in Bihâr, but he was by no means safe with the Mughals to the West and Bengal to the East.

The first thing he did was to invade Bengal, adopting on a larger scale his old plan of campaign when proceeding against his father's rebels around Sâsarâm; and whenever he met with the enemy he entrenched himself. The enemy this time was Ibrâhîm Khân, Mahmûd Shâh's general, and the result of Sher Khân's tactics was that Ibrâhîm Khân's much superior forces, reinforced by elephants and a then famous artillery park, were never able to get to grips with Sher Khân's very inferior force, whilst he was able to sally out of his entrenchments and worry them. He thus managed to keep them on the retreat. This went on until Sher Khân came up with Ibrâhîm Khân at a strategic point—Sûrajgarh on the Kiûl river, where there was a narrow plain about five miles wide, between the Ganges to the North and the Kharagpûr Hills to the South. Neither side could surprise the other. Ibrâhîm Khân's right flank was protected by the Ganges, his left by the Kharagpûr Hills and his rear closed by the fort of Mungêr. Sher Khân's entrenched camp was only assailable by an overwhelming force. Ibrâhîm Khân asked for reinforcements.

This forced Sher Khân into action and he acted with his usual acuteness. He gave out that he intended a pitched battle in the open field on the morrow. He then placed his infantry in ambush and sent picked cavalry forward at dawn to feign an attack and retreat. This manoeuvre drew the enemy's cavalry away from the rest of his forces, and Sher Khân fell on the latter from his ambush, while his own retreating cavalry turned and charged, stirrup to stirrup, Afghân fashion. In the result Ibrâhîm Khân was himself killed and his army routed. Sher Khân had now shown himself to be a consummate general—in organisation, plan of campaign and tactics. The battle of Sûrajgarh transformed the former Jâgîrdar of Sâsarâm into a personage to be reckoned with in all the Indian politics of the day. Among his notable military performances up to this time must be mentioned his organisation of the armed peasantry, which he had created for the consolidation of his father's fief, into a peasant militia armed with matchlocks, the precursor of the *baksariyas* of Surâju'ddaula and Clive.

Sher Khân was now looked on as the deliverer and actual ruler of Bihâr, since his liege-lord Jalâl Khân Lohânî had deserted his kingdom, and as has been already seen, he knew how to keep his subjects contented. He governed in the old way, superintending everything himself, suppressing oppression of all kinds, especially of the peasantry, fixing all salaries himself, and paying them in full.

But he was not an Afghân for nothing, and he soon exhibited all the guile of his race. His attitude was studiously unassuming, though his ambition was now boundless. Ostensibly he held Chunâr as a military subordinate of Humâyûn and laid no claim to sovereignty in Bihâr, thus lulling both Humâyûn and Mahmûd Shâh of Bengal into a false security. Meanwhile, he unobtrusively consolidated his forces, collecting and equipping a formidable army with his accustomed skill and foresight. He had discovered the uses of infantry, which was an unusual idea in his day, and raised them in large numbers ; but while he entertained elephants, he discarded the field artillery, then made famous by Bâbur (with immense effect be it said), because it was in his day too immobile. This shows that he was no copyist but a thinker for himself. Still, his military expenditure was necessarily very high, and to meet it he was driven to seizing the gold that his ward, Fath Malika, had placed under his care, and repaying it by a fief. This act is not defensible and shows him to be a man of his time.

In 1535 Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât had refused to deliver up Muhammad Zamân Mîrzâ, the rebel brother-in-law of Humâyûn, and thus began the great war between the two rulers. Here was Sher Khân's opportunity. Safe from Humâyûn, fully occupied in the West, he

turned on Mahmûd Shâh in the East. He did nothing much in that year, but in 1536, finding himself held up on the then only route to Gaur at Teliagarhi, he led his army by another way, at that time entirely unknown, through the hilly jungle tract of the Jhârkhand. It was a great feat, showing fine leadership and enterprise and imagination, performed again later on in 1659 by Mîr Jumla, but with infinitely more resources at his disposal. Sher Khân had his reward and appeared unexpectedly before Gaur, but without siege artillery. Mahmûd Shâh, however, still held the cards—he could easily have withstood a long siege ; his allies, the Portuguese, now landed on the coast in force, held the Ganges, and the rains were approaching in three or four months, making a return through the Jhârkhand impossible at that season. Sher Khân on the whole was not in a favourable position after all, but the moral effect of his two victories over the Bengali forces and his sudden appearance before Gaur overawed Mahmûd Shâh, who, discarding Martim Affonso de Mello's advice, bought off Sher Khân for a very large sum, used the very following year to raise a new army against him, and also a valuable tract of land useful for future attack on him. Sher Khân was now no longer a 'new man,' but the most powerful Afghân chief in India—the Hazrat-i-'âlî. He was about fifty years of age.

The campaign against Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât went well for Humâyûn, and the situation thus created not only kept Sher Khân quiet in 1536 in regard to Bengal, but made him successfully conciliate Humâyûn through the kind offices of Hindû Bêg, the successor of his old friend Junêd Barlâs of Jaunpûr.

Early in 1537 Bahâdur Shâh was drowned at sea and Humâyûn returned to Agra. Meanwhile, Mahmûd Shâh had been negotiating for help from the Portuguese. All this placed Sher Khân in a difficulty. He felt obliged to proceed against Mahmûd Shâh before effective help could reach him, and he had to be careful of himself in Bihâr with Humâyûn at Agra. He decided to attack Mahmûd Shâh in the autumn of 1537 on the pretext of an impossible demand for tribute, but this was no worse than Mahmûd Shâh's simultaneous action in securing aggressive help from the Portuguese. Both sides in fact tore up their treaty. The campaign, however, was a barren one, as Humâyûn had now become hostile to Sher Khân and Bihâr was in danger. So Sher Khân did not get further than an investment of Gaur and the frustrating of the Portuguese assistance. Also, he now had Humâyûn not only as an active enemy, but as a formidable one, because he had acquired the service of Rûmî Khân, the famous commander of Bahâdur Shâh's artillery, together with his guns.

Sher Khân was consequently in a critical position. Humâyûn had started for Chunâr and might join Mahmûd Shâh. and the Portuguese were in force at Chittagong. He had also to leave his son, Jalâl Khân Sûr, with Khawâs Khân to look after Gaur. He met the situation with his accustomed foresight and skill. He laid a trap for Humâyûn by an obstinate though useless defence of Chunâr under Ghâzî Sûr and Sultân Sarwânî, to gain time to conquer Bengal. Humâyûn duly fell into the trap of sitting down in front of Chunâr, the reduction of which could not really hurt Sher Khân, and wasted his time over it, which his wily opponent left him in peace to do.

Sher Khân's proceedings, as reported by the chroniclers, now became thoroughly Oriental, and indeed Indian. He wanted to capture the great fortress of Rohtâs as a city of refuge for the wives and families of the Afghâns, and is said to have got it, firstly by bribing Chûramân, the Brâhman Deputy of the Râjâ, to influence his master to let the families in, which he did

by the familiar Hindu trick of threatening suicide by a Brâhman (*dharna*) unless he agreed. This act of treachery was followed up by filling litters, supposed to contain "secluded" women and therefore inviolable, with armed men, who then seized the fortress. The whole proceeding was an act of sheer treachery. This is not an uncommon tale in Northern India and both the stories of Chûramân and of the deceptive litters have been denied by Indian writers. Whatever be the truth, Sher Khân got possession of the great strategic fortress of Rohtâs from its Hindu owner.

Rûmî Khân was now seriously threatening Chunâr and the capture of Gaur became important, but Sher Khân's general there, Khawâs Khân, was accidentally drowned in the fort ditch, and so he appointed his own younger brother, with the same title, in his place, and sent him very urgent instructions. The new commander was a most capable man, and by April 1538 Gaur fell to Sher Khân, and with it the independence of Bengal. The younger Khawâs Khân subsequently became Sher Khân's right hand man and ablest general. Sher Khân thus became *de facto* ruler of Bengal in his fifty-second year.

The next move in the game was the fall of Chunâr, owing to a Mughal stratagem, so Oriental that the Afghans should not have been simple-minded enough to have been taken in by it. But simplicity, side by side with cunning, has always been a characteristic of that people. The fort surrendered under promise of safety from Humâyûn, which was disregarded by Rûmî Khân, who cut off both hands of its 300 gunners : a deed which Sher Khân remembered.

Humâyûn was at last free—but too late—to march against Sher Khân, for whom he was no match either in diplomacy or generalship, though the latter was still inclined to be overawed by the reputation of Mughal majesty and military power. Sher Khân's strategic position, however, remained advantageous, as he could retreat indefinitely into the hilly regions reaching to Central India and leave strong, and in those days almost impregnable, fortresses *en route* to worry the Mughals until he wore them out. His diplomatic skill is shown in his offering to give up Bihâr and rule in Bengal as Humâyûn's vassal, so that he appeared, not as a rebel against his liege lord, but as one who was defending what he had won for himself. The pair were now obvious enemies.

Thus began the " Race for Bengal." Now comes into play the question of comparative generalship. Sher Khân sent the bulk of his troops towards Rohtâs and slipped away himself towards Gaur with a few cavalry. Humâyûn followed in pursuit ; but Sher Khân, making a detour, managed to place himself behind his pursuers in the hills about Sâsarâm. Humâyûn reached Munêr on the Sôn in complete ignorance of Sher Khân's whereabouts. Here he met Mahmûd Shâh as a fugitive, to the latter's transitory comfort.

Sher Khân let Humâyûn go on to Patna in peace, following him up in concealment, and as it now became urgent for him to reach Bengal before Humâyûn, he used his knowledge of the country to get ahead of the Mughal forces unperceived, till a few miles east of Patna the Mughal scouts found him on the road to Mungêr. After a somewhat narrow escape, Sher Khân got away in boats down the Ganges to Gaur in about two days. Arrived at Gaur, he sent his son Jalâl Khân Sûr to block Humâyûn's passage at Teliâgharî at all costs without engaging the Mughals in the open. Jalâl Khân Sûr, however, did give them battle and defeated them with immense moral effect, for thus the Afghâns of Sher Khân had actually defeated the Mughals of Humâyûn in open fight.

This check of the Mughals gave Sher Khân time to clear out of Gaur with an immense booty for Rohtâs, by the now familiar route through the Jhârkhand, directing his son to evacuate Teliâgharî and join him, which he did. Humâyûn now marched in fancied triumph to Gaur, while Sher Khân had got in safety between him and the provinces of his Agra dominions.

Sher Khân's journey through the Jhârkhand jungles in the rains was as great a feat as any he had previously performed, and he at once proceeded to shake the foundations of Humâyûn's rule in order to draw him off from Bengal. His conduct towards the Mughals was now ferocious. As has been said already, he was not an Afghân for nothing. He neither forgot nor forgave injuries and he remembered the fate of the gunners of Chunâr. He soon captured Benares, and scoured the country to Jaunpûr and Kanauj, acting as a sovereign prince and collecting the revenue. He plundered the towns, but characteristically spared the peasantry. Sher Khân was marching on Agra when he heard of Humâyûn's departure from Gaur, where he and his officers had been living in false security and luxurious idleness for nine months, while the Mughals in Agra were quarrelling with each other and Sher Khân was occupying his provinces. Sher Khân did not hesitate. He abandoned his tour of conquest and returned to South Bihâr and the neighbourhood of Rohtâs, thus leaving the way open to Humâyûn to reach Agra by the Northern bank of the Ganges undisturbed. His object was apparently that the strife should stop, and that Humâyûn in Agra and himself in Bihâr and Bengal should rule, side by side, in peace. Humâyûn did not seize the opportunities thus offered but crossed the river to march on Munêr on the Sôn right into the Tiger's maw as it were. Sher Khân had placed a division under Khawâs Khân in the hills, ostensibly to keep the troublesome Mahârathâ Cheros in order, but really to get behind the Mughal force—an old trick of his.

Humâyûn's army arrived at Munêr in a somewhat disorganised condition, which tempted Sher Khân to attack it with the general assent of his Afghân officers. This he proceeded to do in his own inimitable way. By leaving Rohtâs with his main force, he put himself, as well as Khawâs Khân, behind Humâyûn and let him be aware of it. And then he made a wide detour in the hills and marched past Humâyûn, so that he could surprise him from the front, and did so by entrenching himself *more suo* opposite him on the bank of the Thorâ Nadî, a swampy little stream running into the southern bank of the Ganges between Chaunsa and Buxar. Here Sher Khân effectively checked Humâyûn, who could neither attack him nor march past him without exposing his flank. The armies sat opposite each other till the rains, when Sher Khân was flooded out and retreated to the Karmanâshâ river, where the armies repeated at Chaunsâ the situation of the Thorâ Nadî.

Humâyûn was now in distress and short of supplies, and without help from the quarrelling factions at Agra. He made overtures for peace, but they came to nothing.

Then Sher Khân let it be known that Khawâs Khân had lost touch with the Cheros and made public preparations to go after him, which entirely misled the Mughals. Finally he marched some miles up the Karmanâshâ at night in the direction of the Cheros, crossed the river safely unperceived, and was joined by Khawâs Khân. He now had the Mughals between him and the Ganges, with the Karmanâshâ in front of them, and could fall on their left flank in full force at daybreak. The situation was parallel with that in 1871, when the French General, Bourbaki was surprised in flank, with consummate skill, by Manteufel, who had walked round the younger Garibaldi at Dijon, which was supposed to protect Bourbaki's left flank, and fell upon him when he had the Swiss frontier on his right flank and the

reinforced German army of communication in front. There can be only one result in such a situation. The Mughal Army fled and Humâyûn barely escaped across the Ganges with his life, while his harem fell into Sher Khân's hands. Sher Khân, however, never fought with the helpless—peasants, women and children—but protected them all.

The effect of the battle of Chaunsâ was to make Sher Khân *de facto* king of Bengal, Bihâr and Jaunpûr. Even now he acted with his habitual prudence and foresight, and made no serious attempt to follow up Humâyûn or to march on Agra. He was specially severe to Mughal and lenient to non-Mughal prisoners, and he recognised that in many respects, for all his victories, he was still an upstart in the eyes of such Afghân families as the Lodîs, Farmûlîs, Sarwânîs, and their like. So he proceeded with caution until his unquestioned position with the people was such as to induce the old nobles, on the proposition of Masnad-i-'âlâ'Isâ Khân Sarwânî, to proclaim him at Gaur as sovereign of the territories stretching from Kanauj to the Bay of Bengal, under the style of Sher Shâh As-Sultân-al-'Adil, in December 1539, when he was 53 years of age.

Sher Shâh now found, like other conquerors, that when he had reached to more than his ambition he had to act with greater vigour than ever to keep the position he had attained. His course was not easy. He made overtures for support to the rulers of Gujarât and Mâlwâ, which were abortive because they did not properly appreciate the consequences of his achievements ; and then he had to go after Humâyûn still in active defence at Agra. In this pursuit his son, Qulî Khân Sûr, met his death at the hands of Humâyûn's forces in an attempt to capture Kâlpî for his father, owing to want of support from Qâdir Shâh (Mallû Khân) of Mâlwâ, on which Sher Shâh had confidently calculated. This shows that even he at times made mistakes.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

36. A Civil Servant's Dismissal for Neglect of Duty.

13 *April* 1691. *Consultation at Fort St George.* Mr. James Johnson the Essaymaster, continuing his Negligent idle life, and being little or noe wayes Serviceable in the Mint, Tis orderd he be dismist the Right Honble. Companyes Service and that what due to him to this time for sallary and dyett money be paid him by the Paymaster after his delivery the Mint Stores to the Mint-master. (*Records of Fort St. George. Diary and Consultation Book of* 1691.)

37. Amnesty for fugitive Europeans.

13 *April* 1691. *Consultation at Fort St George.* The President haveing notice of many English fugitives, at least 100, Scatterd about the Countrey, and haveing used all possible means to recall them by threats and perswasions, but not being able to prevaile, they being fearfull of Justice ; therefore to recover them, as also to prevent their apostateing from the Christian to the Moors [Muhammadan] religion, Tis orderd that a Generall pardon be disperst to Severall parts of the Countrey, which wee hope will be an effectuall means for their returne, when we may devide them to our Severall fortifyed Settlements, especially to Bombay, where they are in great want of Europeans. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

38. Proclamation relating to Counterfeit Gold Coins.

15 *May* 1691. *Consultation at Fort St George.* There being of late great complaints of many counterfeit falce Pagodas of the Same Stamp as ours but not half their finess or Vallue, a strange instance whereof appeard to us this day in a Summ of about 1000 Pagodas now brought by Mr Fraser and Mr Gray to be paid into the Right Honble. Companyes Cash upon Mr. Mose deceased his Accompt, whereof were found 86 of these base Pagodas, but cannot tell of whom they received them ; wherefore Tis orderd that Proclamation be made by beat of drum and affixt upon the Gate to cry down these counterfeit Pagodas and their payments upon Seveer penaltyes. *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

R. C. TEMPLE.

A NEW VIEW OF SHER SHAH SUR.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from p.* 184.)

Humâyûn on his part was as dilatory as ever, hesitating and quarrelling with his brother and nobles, and he allowed Sher Shâh to reach Allahabad and far up the Ganges. But despite his difficulties, the army and artillery he could still get together was larger and more formidable than Sher Shâh's. Desertions induced him to cross the Ganges north of Qanauj and there the two armies entrenched much as at Chaunsâ, opposite each other, across a small stream running into the Ganges, until the Mughals moved, on the 17th May 1520, to higher ground near Bilgrâm in the Hardoî district in front of Sher Shâh, and brought on a general battle in the open field.

The Mughal army was well deployed in the approved and successful plan of the day and was a truly formidable object for an inferior force to attack, but though this was the first time that Sher Shâh had met Humâyûn in pitched battle where surprise was impossible, he showed himself a good tactician, as well as strategist, by the way he took advantage of the fighting constitution of a Mughal army of the time. He kept about a third of his force in support and divided the rest into three positions, with his son, Jalâl Khân Sûr, and Khawâs Khân on the wings, and himself opposite Humâyûn's powerful centre. He did no more than keep Humâyûn in check, and sent his wings to attack the Mughal flanks. Jalâl Khân Sûr failed, but Khawâs Khân succeeded in driving back his opponent. Meanwhile, the Mughal centre not being seriously opposed, started to advance. This enabled Khawâs Khân to get behind the Mughal forces. It was here that Sher Shâh showed his judgment in tactics. Every Mughal commander of the time, great or small, was accompanied in the field everywhere in action by numerous unarmed slaves, who were an uncontrollable incumbrance in defeat. It was through these that Khawâs Khân's cavalry rode, with the result that they rushed in amongst the artillery and troops of Humâyûn's centre in a panic for protection, before either could deploy for action, and threw them into hopeless confusion. Sher Shâh was then able not only to retrieve his son's failure, but to attack Humâyûn's centre when in confusion. Humâyûn was completely routed and the battle of Bilgrâm cost him his throne.

Sher Shâh then sent some of his lieutenants to frighten Humâyûn out of Hindustan and pursue him to Lahor, while he followed more at leisure *viâ* Agra and Delhi, characteristically reprimanding unnecessary cruelty and punishing oppression of peasantry. Humâyûn always hesitating, always unable to unite his family or adherents, was powerless to present a real front to Sher Shâh, and retired in a vacillating way towards Tattâ and Bhakkar in Sind, accompanied by a general exodus of Mughals from Lahor, only a small portion of whom followed him beyond Khushâb on the Jhelam. Khawâs Khân pursued him as far as the old Panjab frontier, where the Five Rivers are merged in the Panjnad on their way to join the Indus beyond the Uch, and then left him. It was during his sixteen years of wanderings in exile that Humâyûn's son, the great Akbar, was born in 1542 at Amarkot, in the desert between Sind and Râjputânâ.

The mountainous countiy in the Northern Panjab in the upper courses of the Indus and Jhelam, occupied at that time by the warlike tribe of the Gakkhars, was always of great strategic value, from the days of Alexander onwards, for an invader from the North-west, and yet though no throne at Lahor or Delhi was safe while it remained independent, no previous Muhammadan Dynasty had thoroughly subdued it. Sher Shâh was not the man to

neglect such a precaution and he set to work to gain possession of the country, building incidentally a fortress which he named after his Bihâr stronghold of Rohtâs. But he could not complete his design, because Khizr Khan, his Governoı in Bengal, showed obvious signs of claiming independence, and had married the daughter of the dispossessed Mahmûd Shâh, whose influence was by no means dead there. So Sher Shâh made one of his rapid surprise journeys in force from the northern Panjab to Gaur, arriving in March after a journey of about two months, and dealt effectively with Khizr Khân.

Bengal, owing to its distance from the Mughal centre, had always been under practically independent Governors, and nothing beyond an occasional gift, extorted or given out of friendship, had ever reached Delhi from the outlying province by way of imperial revenue. But Sher Shâh in his own inimitable manner, in the words of Professor Qanungo, " changed the military chaıacter of the provincial administration and substituted a completely new mechanism, at once original in principle and efficient in working." He proceeded to reduce its unwieldy size by splitting it up into several smaller governorships, mutually independent and all appointed directly by him—hence the 19 *sarkârs* of the *Aîn-Akbarî*. And over them all he put an Amîn-i-Bengala, a sort of referee in all local difficulties, but without executive authority. The system stopped rebellion, secured uniformity of administration so far as that was possible, and prevented Bengal from troubling Sher Shâh thereafter.

After settling Bengal, Sher Shâh had, in 1542, to turn his attention to Mâlwâ in Central India, as an independent Mâlwâ meant a serious menace to any power ruling from Delhi or Agra. It had come under Musalmân rule in the days of the Mamlûk or " Slave " King, Altamish (1234 A.D.), and thence through the Tughlaqs. After the sack of Delhi by Tîmûr (1398 A.D.), it became independent under Turkî rulers of Ghorî and Khiljî origin until it reverted to Râjpût rule under Rânâ Sangâ of Mêwâr for a short time, till Bâbur overthrew him at the great battle of Kanwâ in 1527, only to place it under the dominance of Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât. On his death in 1537 most of it passed under the sway of Mallu Khân, a local noble, as Qâdiı Shâh, one part of it under a Râjpût chief, Pûran Mal Chauhân of Raisîn, and another portion across the Narmadâ under Mu'ayyin Khân of Hindiâ. All these chiefs had been hostile to Sher Shâh for a long while. The situation was therefore specially dangerous for him in view of Humâyûn's presence in their comparative neighbourhood.

Sher Shâh no doubt had old scores to settle with all the Mâlwâ chiefs, and probably was not sorry to take action against them. But we need not follow the chroniclers in laying stress on this aspect of the question, as the political conditions were obviously cause enough for so astute a man. This is shown in his despatch of Shuja'at Khân, his Governor in Bihâr, immediately after his victory at Bilgrâm in 1540, to take possession of Gwalior, so as to secure the southern frontiers of Delhi. This serious quest took Shuja'at Khân nearly two years to accomplish, just in time for Sher Shâh to start for Mâlwâ in 1542. Pûran Mal of Raisîn submitted without trouble and was left in subordinate possession of his territory. Qâdir Shâh also came in to submit, was well received and was offered the Sarkar of Gaur in exchange for Mâlwâ, a policy in treating dethroned sovereigns which was copied by Akbar with success. This caused Qâdir Shâh to fly to Gujarât. Mu'ayyin Khân of Hindiâ also submitted voluntarily, but was under suspicion nevertheless, and his territory was annexed. Thus Sher Shâh came into peaceful possession of Mâlwâ and returned to Agra, but his lieutenants had to fight to retain it, before Qâdir Shâh and his allies were finally defeated under Shuja'at Khân and Hâjî Khân, Jâgîrdâr of Dhâr, the latter being rewarded for his services by the Governorship of Mâlwâ from Mândû.

Soon after his return to Agra, Sher Shâh found himself seriously faced by Mâldev of Mârwâr, who had been intriguing with Humâyûn, then at Bhakkar in Sind, more or less under the protection of Shâh Hussain of Tattâ.

Mâldev Râthor, a man of great parts, had recently raised Mârwâr from an insignificant principality into the greatest centralised state in Râjputânâ. He had been a friend of Sher Shâh, but the latter's acquisition of Humâyûn's territories had so threatened his own State as to turn him into an implacable enemy. So he represented to Humâyûn his chance of recovering his throne. Humâyûn, as hesitating and inept as ever, did not, however, get further than quarrelling with his family and supporters as to the action to be taken. Finally he decided to try the aid of Mâldev, but far too late. This gave time to Sher Shâh to take active steps—very active steps—to protect himself from a combination of Mâldev and Humâyûn, and as it suited neither Sher Shâh nor Mâldev to join issue in actual war, the net result of Humâyûn's efforts was his retreat back to Amarkot in the desert, where, as formerly stated, his son, the great Akbar, was born.

Safe from Humâyûn, Sher Shâh set to work to organise Bihâr, where he did some notable things. He found Bihâr to consist of the old Magadha Kingdom, and he added to it the Rohtâs and Mungêr Districts, and also Tirhût to the North of the Ganges, creating the large province which afterwards was Akbar's Sûbah of Bihâr. He then rebuilt Patna, making it the capital of the new Province, in supersession of Bihâr town, and constructing a fort at the strategical point it possessed on the Ganges.

He next, in 1543, returned to Mâlwâ in order to oust Pûran Mal from Raisîn, where he had left him in the previous year. In the whirligig of the fortune of war between Muslim and Hindu, the great fortress of Raisîn had of comparatively recent years played so prominent a part, and had been the scene of so many conflicts, rousing the fiercest animosity, that Sher Shâh's desire to possess it has been put down to religious motives. The real reason, however, was political, *viz.*, to protect his frontiers by removing the Râjpût chiefs from power in so menacing a spot. Pûran Mal had never been in any doubt as to the temporary nature of Sher Shâh's clemency during his previous invasion of Mâlwâ.

Sher Shâh sat down to invest Raisîn for six months, casting cannon in his camp on so large a scale as to oblige him to seize all the copper and similar metal he could lay hands on, a proceeding adopted on the European Continent in the late Great War for the same reason. In the end Pûran Mal made overtures for leave to evacuate the fort with all his Hindu following and their belongings. Sher Shâh, always careful of the lives of his own troops, agreed to all the terms proposed, even to moving his forces out of the route of the evacuating population. But he reckoned without his people and their long ruffled feelings against the Râjpûts of Mâlwâ, and there was more than serious grumbling in his army, led by the great saint, Shekh Rafi'u'ddin Safavî. Matters were not in his hands, and the Afghâns by a forced march overtook the retiring Râjpûts, and then was carried out the awful *jauhar* (holocaust of wives and children) of Raisîn, and the last stand, without hope, of the Râjpûts was made. We need not attribute to Sher Shâh an incapacity for treachery in order to acquit him of voluntarily performing so stupid a slaughter as this, and one so certain to recoil adversely on himself in the future. There are many instances in history of strong and sagacious leaders of men being forced into action against their own better judgment. A parallel to this particular incident in Sher Shâh's career is Cromwell's action in the matter of the trial

and execution, or judicial murder, of Charles I. He was much too clear-headed not to appreciate the political folly of such a proceeding, but, strong as he was, he was helpless in the face of the fanaticism of his followers.

The next item in the career of Sher Shâh well exhibits the commanding capacity of the man and his strength of character. When he left the Northern Panjab for Bengal early in 1541, he made the serious mistake of leaving two able soldiers behind to carry on the reduction of the Gakkhar Chiefs, who held out well. The result was that they quarrelled hopelessly, and Sher Shâh had to decide between Haibat Khân Niâzî, the better born and more influential, and Khawâs Khân of the lesser influence but of the greater military capacity and also his own particular *protégé*. He had to recall one or the other. He acted strictly on the principle of the best service to the country and recalled Khawâs Khân, leaving Haibat Khân Niâzî as Governor of the Panjâb, who soon had his hands full with the question of Multân, which had become independent of Delhi after Tîmûr's invasion in 1398. Multân came subsequently under several local rulers—Langâs, Mughals, Baloches—but its general condition may be described as anarchical. The particular trouble before Haibat Khân was caused by the depredations of Fath Khân Jât of Kot Kabûlâ, a very troublesome robber chief. Haibat Khân Niâzî with much skill got rid of Fath Khân Jât and took possession of Multân for Sher Shâh, who dealt with the people with his usual sagacity. He caused Multân to be repopulated and treated with such benevolence that it soon flourished more than it had ever done.

Sher Shâh went further, and through some lieutenant, perhaps Haibat Khân Niâzî, took possession of Sind, issuing his coins from "Shergadh or Sakkar-Bakkar," the ancient ferry over the Indus. By this performance Sher Shâh secured a firm hold over the Râjputânâ desert, and as Humâyûn had by this time fled towards Kandahar *viâ* Sibî and the Bolân Pass, he closed that route by strengthening Bakkar under its new (and temporary) name of Shergadh, should that Mughal ruler be inclined to make another effort to recover his throne with Râjpût assistance. We owe the whole of this information to the researches of Professor Qanungo.

Sher Shâh now went to Delhi, in 1543, and began his buildings there, but he did not neglect his favourite occupation of revenue and administrative reforms in newly acquired territory. Multân revenue was to be collected in kind, and not partly in kind and partly in cash as elsewhere. But after all, his chief occupation was preparation for an expedition against his dangerous neighbour Mâldev of Mârwâr, now that he had separated from the Mughals and was partially surrounded by the lately conquered Imperial territories. Mâldev was quite aware of his danger and fortified the usual and most vulnerable gateways into his kingdom. But Sher Shâh was equal to the occasion. In 1544 he invaded Mârwâr by the Jodhpur route, *viâ* Nâgor and Mêrṭa, *i.e.*, by the desert route, with the largest army he had ever commanded, say 80,000 men—an immense force in contemporary estimation. He proceeded in his habitual manner, marching and entrenching—trenches in cultivated land, sandbags in the desert. He was checked near Ajmer by difficulties of food supply, and sat looking behind his trenches at Mâldev in his fortress, and on the whole Mâldev was master of the military situation. Surprise was not possible, so Sher Shâh resorted to a stratagem (afterwards performed with great success by Aurangzêb), relying on the simplicity and highly-strung nature of the true Râjpût. He caused letters, purporting to be written by Mâldev's nobles and containing offers to betray Mâldev into his hands, to be forged and dropped in a bundle where

they could be picked up and delivered to Mâldev. This was done by an agent and Mâldev could not be persuaded that there had been no treachery, and consequently fled to Jodhpur.

Sher Shâh entered Ajmer and overran Mârwâr to Mt. Abu (a fact discovered by Professor Qanungo), manœuvred Mâldev out of Jodhpur at last, and left him in peace safely at Siwânâ. He then returned to Agra for a short while for a peculiarly Indian reason, *viz.*, to show that he was alive, as owing to the incurable credulity of the Indian public, rumours as to his death in the Râjputânâ deserts had become current and were gaining too much ground. He then returned to Râjputânâ, took Chitor and overran Mewâr in the course of a sort of triumphant march. He upset no local chiefs and reduced none to real subjection, but satisfied himself with proving his irresistible might, and so kept them in order by holding all the strategical positions and the lines of communication, and thus incidentally isolating the chiefs and preventing combinations.

He next turned his attention to Bundelkhaṇḍ and the freebooting Bundelâ Râjpûts, commencing a siege of their great fortress of Kâlinjar. With his accustomed energy, Sher Shâh was taking a personal share in the investment, when he was severely burnt by an accident arising out of the throwing of hand-grenades (*huqqa*) and was carried to his camp mortally injured. The Afghâns stormed the fort the same day and Sher Shâh died in the evening of the 22nd May 1545, in the very hour of victory over the infidels, "the most coveted death of a good Musalmân," as Professor Qanungo puts it. He must have been then in his sixtieth year at least.

He left two surviving sons—neither worthy of their father—'Adil Khân Sûr, indolent and indifferent and a poor soldier, and Jalâl Khân Sûr, active, fierce and vindictive, but a good soldier. Jalâl Khân naturally succeeded and was soon in Kâlinjar. Sher Shâh was buried in the magnificent mausoleum he had built in his old home, Sâsarâm.

Such is an outline of the career of Sher Shâh Sûr according to the latest research. Now let us see what India owes to him as a monarch. His empire extended over all North India, on the West from the Afghân hills beyond the Indus south of the Himalayas to the hills of Assam on the East, and his main civil achievement was the creation of a definitely organised administration built up in recognised grades of authority from the bottom upwards, which kept even provincial governors—let alone all below them—directly subordinate to the central authority. It also effectually prevented any local personage from independently controlling the life of the villager—from being in fact his "Providence" (*mâ-bâp*)—a relation between peasant and official which has lasted so long in India that the feeling is still a great force in the countryside. Sher Shâh did not, of course, invent his system out of his inner consciousness. His merit lay in consolidating and making practical what was in embryo in the systems, or rather methods, of various previous rulers.

Sher Shâh started his civil administration with the smallest unit he could—the *pargana* (district). Each *pargana* consisted of *dihi* (villages, or perhaps more accurately, townships or parishes) and was a part of a *sarkâr* (division or minor government), which in its turn was under a titular governorship. Each of these units, great or small, was as small as it could be made. Thus he created in the area he ruled 8 titular governorships, 86 divisions and 2467 districts of about 15 townships each. A comparison with the modern administrative divisions and sub-divisions of the same area will show how comparatively small these were. The result was to connect the remotest village by a chain of regular links with the central authority.

The *pargana* officials were the ***shiqdâr***, a military police officer with limited powers, to support the ***amîn*** or civil head and arbitrator in revenue disputes between the State and the payer of taxes. The ***amîn*** had for civil subordinates the *fotadâr* or treasurer and two *kârkuns* or clerks, one each for Hindi and Persian correspondence. The civil officials were collectively and individually responsible to the Central Government. This requirement prevented corruption and embezzlement.

The Sarkâr was administered by a Chief *Shiqdâr* (the *Faujdâr* of later times) and a Chief *Munsif*. The Chief *Shiqdâr* was a local grandee with a large military following, whose duty was to keep order, but he was, nevertheless, essentially a superior officer of a civil police. The Chief *Munsif* looked after the subordinate civil offices and acted as a circuit judge to settle civil suits and redress local grievances. He had no revenue office, all revenue correspondence going direct from the *pargana* to the Imperial Secretariat.

Beyond the *Sarkâr*, Sher Shâh created no higher administrative unit. He would have no military governors, and as a matter of fact the familiar *sûbahs* and *sûbadârs* of history came later. The nearest he got to the provincial governor of later times was the Qâzî Fazîhat of Bengal, who was a general referee to weld the administration of the officials of the Bengal *sarkârs* into a homogeneous whole, without the possession of any military, and with the possession of but little administrative, authority. But like all other rulers, Sher Shâh could not always do as he pleased, and the local situation obliged him reluctantly to appoint Haibat Khân Niâzî, Shuja'at Khân and Khawâs Khân supreme military governors respectively of the Panjab and parts of Mâlwâ, with an obvious intention to make the appointments temporary.

The upshot of his system of government was the centralisation of all supreme authority in himself, even in details. His ministers were but secretaries, but he heard reports by departments and so laid the foundation of the British Secretariat Departments. He was also his own Finance Minister and superintended his treasury and its accounts himself. His general system was at the bottom of the whole Mughal administrative structure and to this day the District Magistrate and the ***tahsildâr*** are the lineal descendants of the Chief ***Shiqdâr*** and his *amîn*. The personal work he performed must have been enormous, but he made it run so smoothly and mechanically, that it did not interfere with his immense military and even architectural and engineering activities. Truly a wonderful man.

In his military administration the trend of Sher Shâh's mind and capacity came out clearly. He followed and improved on 'Alâ'u'ddîn Khiljî's system (1296-1316), though it had long been lost sight of under his successors, until it disappeared in the clan system of the Lodî Afghâns (1451–1526). 'Alâ'u'ddîn Khiljî recruited his army directly, paid them in cash through his own treasury, officered them himself and branded the horses. His army was an organised imperial force and not a mere collection of feudal units. Sher Shâh, too, was his own Commander-in-Chief and Paymaster General, and always aimed at putting the soldier into as close touch as possible with himself, keeping recruiting, promotion and salary in his own hands. His Army-Commander was a purely military official with no civil authority except on the frontier; and like all successful Muslim rulers in India, Sher Shâh from the beginning gave important military and civil posts to selected Hindus.

It will have been seen from Sher Shâh's management of his father's fief, that he had made himself an expert in the collection of revenue. The theory, still in vogue, of all land outside the towns being the property of the monarch had existed at the outset of Muslim rule in India, and it was 'Alâ'u'ddîn Khiljî that introduced the idea of survey and assessment, though his innovation did not remain long in effect and degenerated to guess work at the

caprice of the ruler under the Tughlaqs, until the beneficent Firôz Shâh Tughlaq (1351—1388) revived it. Nevertheless, the pernicious system of granting fiefs, as a reward, to the military following of the Muslim invaders, which lasted on to Humâyûn's day, prevented the efforts of Firôz Shâh Tughlaq from effectually protecting the peasantry against oppression.

Sher Shâh swept it away and reverted to the land measurements of 'Alâ'u'ddîn Khiljî and improved on them, and everywhere he took a fourth, instead of 'Alâ'u'ddîn's half, of the assessed produce, allowing the peasant the choice between paying in cash or kind. He also gave title-deeds stating the revenue demanded in each case, according to an agreement duly signed and sealed; and he fixed the collection fees himself. His assessments were light and his officials found favour by realising them in full. Finally, he abolished new grants of fiefs for good service by soldiers, rewarding them in cash. His system was rigorously carried out, and had his life been spared, the long-established plundering superior landlord would have disappeared. As it was, he succeeded in establishing a system which was the model for Akbar, through Todar Mal, and formed the basis of the modern British system of revenue settlement.

Sher Shâh's revenue management demanded the existence of regular coinage, and practically he had to create it. Sweeping away all the indefinite metal currencies he found, he introduced a new *dâm* or copper unit and divided it up into sixteenths for cash revenue purposes, and his gold and silver coins were good, having a fixed relation to each other and to the *dâm*. He further developed the plan of establishing mints at the more important centres of his ever-increasing empire, which have been since so important for tracing historical facts. Truly was he the father of the existing British Indian coinage.

Sher Shâh made another clean sweep of old established pernicious habits. Except perhaps as to corn under 'Alâ'u'ddîn Khiljî, there had never been freedom of trade between petty governments within the Muslim Empire. Sher Shâh abolished all customs, except on the frontier and an octroi at the markets. He thus encouraged trade in a manner unknown to Europe or elsewhere in his day.

He showed his administrative genius by his extensive road-building everywhere, and in all directions from Agra. His great roads, Agra to Burhânpur, Agra to Jodhpûr and Chitor, Lâhor to Multân, and the greatest of all, Dacca (Sunârgâon) to the Indus, were well shaded and extraordinarily well supplied with rest-houses. Improved by the work of generations, they are there to this day. The rest-houses were an old institution, but Sher Shâh's merit was that in his time they were deliberately designed to entertain Hindu and Muslim alike. His system of posts was inherited and so was his method of espionage.

Sher Shâh's police system was effective, though mediæval in its severity and methods, but his regulations as to responsibility of village officials for crime committed within their jurisdiction and for fugitive criminals traced to their villages remind one of the existing Track Law of the Panjâb, and are therefore interesting.

Within his opportunities, Sher Shâh was a noble builder. His splendid mausoleum at the family fief of Sâsarâm is the finest specimen as a matter of architecture, but he built much else, and was a past master in the art of the construction of strong forts in the right strategical positions—a great though minor point in his many outstanding capacities. He found Todar Mal Khatrî for the building of his Rohtâs Fort to overawe the Gakkhars—the Todar Mal, who was to do so much for Akbar later on.

I shall not attempt to write a ' character ' of Sher Shâh. His life shows him to have had all the qualities that go to make a great ruler of men—one who had the genius to be a great pioneer: a man ahead of his time, and therefore a man whose career deserves the closest st dy in its every aspect by all Indian administrators who would profit in their day by the doings and ideals of one of the very greatest of their predecessors.

MR. D. BANERJI'S DATE FOR KÂLIDÂSA.

BY K. G. SANKARA.

MR. D. BANERJI's article, in the *Journal* of the Mythic Society, Vol. X, pp. 75—96 and 364—71, in which he sets out to prove that Kâlidâsa lived in the first century B.C., has been brought to my notice. So many of his statements and arguments seem to me to be open to criticism that I propose to take them *seriatim* and point out where to my mind they are in error or untenable.

1. *Statement.*—Kâlidâsa's date settles that of his patron Vikrama also. *Remark.*—This involves the assumption that Vikrama was his patron.

2. *Statement.*—Śâlivâhana ruled from 78 A.D. *i.e.*, from the foundation of the Śâka era. *Remark.*—The Śâka era was probably founded by Kanishka in the next century and it was never used by the Andhras.

3. *Statement.*—If his second and third principal theories are refuted the first alone remains and there can be no others. *Remark.*—There are however others.

4. *Statement.*—There was not time for Kâlidâsa to become a classic in Bâṇa's day. *Remark.*—Kâlidâsa was very widely known and 100 years is time enough.

5. *Statement.*—Mr. Banerji speaks of Batsavatti and Dharma-vardhana. *Remark.*—Surely he means Vatsabhaṭṭi and Vishṇu-vardhana.

6. *Statement.*—Kâlidâsa does not directly refer to himself or his patron, and therefore lived before the first century A.D., when such references became a practice, and inscriptions of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. prove the existence of the practice. *Remark.*—Kâlidâsa does refer to himself in his dramas (see *Introd.*) Bhâravi, Viśâkhadatta and Bhavabhûti, who came after him, do not mention their patrons. And it may be argued that no analogy can properly be drawn between the practice of the poets and that of the hireling who composed the inscriptions.

7. *Argument.*—By describing the Avantî king in the *Raghuvaṁśa* as long-armed, broad-hested, narrow-waisted and comparable to the sun, Kâlidâsa is hinting that his name was Vikramâditya. *Remark.*—If the poet wanted to do so, why should he not have done so more clearly ? *E.g.*, by using *âditya* for *ushṇa-tejâh*, which by suitable change he could easily have managed without breach of metre.

8. *Argument.*—Indumatî rejects the Avantî king because she, as the water-lily, cannot bear him, as the sun. This relegates Aja to the position of a moon (*Ragh.* VI, 36). Also Raghu omits to conquer Mâlva. Therefore the Avantî king was Kâlidâsa's patron. *Remark.*—Both the Avantî king and Aja were but stars or planets before the moon, *i.e.*, the Magadha king, whom alone the Earth owned as her lord, though there were thousands of other kings (*Ragh.* VI, 22). Raghu also omits to conquer Magadha as well as Mâlva. Magadha was therefore the greatest of Kâlidâsa's possible patrons.

9. *Argument.*—On this last point Mr. Banerji contends that Magadha being on Raghu's route must be included in his conquests and that the fact was omitted out of respect to the Magadha king. *Remark.*—Avantî was also on Raghu's route from Trikûṭa to Pârasîka by the land-route (*Ragh.* VI, 59, 60) ; and if the Magadha king was not Kâlidâsa's patron, why should his defeat be omitted out of respect ? Even supposing the Avantî king was Kâlidâsa's patron, it does not follow that he was Vikramâditya, who was not the only king of Mâlva.

10. *Argument.*—In the words *Babandha sâ n-ottama—Saukumâryâ kumudvatî bhânumat-îva bhâvam* (*Ragh.* VI, 36) there is a reference to Vikrama's traditional queen Bhânumatî by construing the text as *kumudvatî sâ Bhânumatî iva*. *Remark.*—*Bhânumatî iva* would naturally mean that "Bhânumatî, like Indumatî, rejected the Avantî king" and not that "Indumatî, unlike Bhânumatî, rejected him." Also *Kumudvatî*, taken with *uttama-saukumâryâ* and applied to *sâ*, is redundant, and if *Kumudvatî* be applied to *Bhânumatî* it is meaningless. It may be remarked also that the commentators, who saw a reference in st. 14 of the *Meghadûta* to Dingnâga and Nicula, could not see any allusion to Bhânumatî in the text under discussion.

11. *Argument.*—The tradition as to Bhânumatî can be carried as far back as the *Gâthâ-sapta-śatî*. *Remark.*—There is no reference in the *Gâthâ-sapta-śatî* to Bhânumatî.

12. *Argument.*—Buddhist kings from Aśoka's time used to praise their own acts in pillar-inscriptions. Kâlidâsa condemns such self-praise in the words *ding-nâgânâm sthûla-hast-âvalepân*, the Buddhist missionaries being called Ding-nâgas. *Remark.*—In Apte's *Dictionary* "writing" is not found as a sense of *lêpa*. Excepting perhaps Aśoka himself, no Buddhist king is guilty of self-praise in inscriptions. Even Aśoka's inscriptions were cut to emphasize his teaching by personal example rather than in self-praise. If, too, *ding-nâgânâm* refers to Buddhist missionaries, *sthûla-hast-âvalepân* must refer to their acts and not to the Aśoka pillars, nor does Mr. Banerji say why the poet should ask the cloud to avoid the pillars.

13. *Argument.*—The Aśoka pillars being inscribed in the Four Quarters can be themselves termed *ding-nâgas*. *Remark.*—The Aśoka pillars were set up not in the Four Quarters only, but in every part of his Empire.

14. *Argument.*—The secondary meaning attributed by Mallinâtha to *Megha-dûtâ*, st. 14, cannot be credited for want of corroboration. If Kâlidâsa wanted to cast a slur on Dingnâga, he would not have used the honorific plural and would not have asked the cloud to avoid Dingnâga's writings. *Remark.*—The *Sabd-ârṇava* gives Nicula as a poet's name, and both Mallinâtha and Dakshiṇ-âvarta, whom Mallinâtha mentions as a previous commentator (*Ragh.* Introd.), quote a verse by Nicula. Dingnâga was a famous Buddhist Scholar, who, according to Mallinâtha criticised Kâlidâsa, and it was Nicula, a co-pupil of Kâlidâsa, who defended him. Dakshiṇâvarta confirms this and adds that Dingnâga accused Kâlidâsa of plagiarism. Kâlidâsa, in fact, had no desire to cast a slur on Dingnâga, but only defended himself against his criticism by citing Nicula's opinion. The plural form *Dingnâgânâm*, though respectful, was not necessarily used to express mere respect, as it would imply that the criticism of any number of such scholars as Dingnâga could not weigh against the taste of Nicula. In the allegorical sense of the words the poet addresses not the cloud (*megha*) but the poem with that title (*Megha*). All this goes to show that Kâlidâsa was a contemporary of Dingnâga, *c.* 500 A.D., thus upsetting the theory of his date as before the first century B.C.

15. *Argument.*—When Kâlidâsa speaks of the Magadha king pleasing his subjects and performing sacrifices, he has Pushyamitra in mind, and when he speaks of Raghu's forbearing to annex Kalinga he is referring to Aśoka of that country. *Remark.*—The references in the first case fit Âditya-varman of the seventh century A.D. equally well, and in the second case Kulottunga's conquest of Kalinga, in spite of Mr. Banerji's objection that their very

dates preclude them, and of his use of them to show that the Magadha king was not Kâlidâsa's patron. Incidentally he states that Bâṇa lived in the sixth century A.D., a clear error for the seventh century A.D.

16. *Argument.*—When Kâlidâsa refers to Raghu as a *dharma-vijayî*, mentions his forbearing to annex Kalinga, and lays stress on the Magadha king's sacrifices, he is thinking of Aśoka. *Remark.*—Kalidâsa's hero was Râma and Raghu was his ancestor. So the safest inference is that he says that Raghu was chivalrous, even to his fiercest enemy the Kalinga king, and lays stress on the Magadha king's sacrifices, because he is alluding to the emperor and his own patron of the sixth century A.D.

17. *Argument.*—The Magadha king's name *Paran-tapa* is significant in view of Aśoka's effeminate title of Priyadarśî. *Remark.*—Parantapa is a title properly applied to any Emperor.

18. *Statement.*—Guṇâḍhya lived in the first century A.D. *Remark.*—This is true, but he was not the author of the *Bṛhat-kathâ*. He was only its mythical spokesman, just as the Ṛshis were of *Smṛtis*. Somadeva says he has only summarised it. We can hence fix its date with the help of the *Kathâ-sarit-sâgara*. It relates miracles attributed to Sâtavâhana and Nâgârjuna (*c.* 200 A.D.) as having happened formerly (*purâ*), and mentions the Hûṇas (Huns) unknown to Hindus before *c.* 450 A.D. while Ganga Durvinîta translated it into Sanskrit in *c.* 550 A.D. (*Epigraphia Carnatica* XII, Tumkur, 23). This makes its date, 450—550 A.D. Bāṇa (*c.* 630 A.D., mentions in the following order Sâtavâhana, Pravarasena, Bhâsa, Kâlidâsa, and the Bṛhat-kathâ (*Harsha-carita*, Introd. st. 13-7). This order must be by date not merit, for then Bhâsa and Kâlidâsa would precede the others. This makes both Kâlidâsa and the *Bṛhat-kathâ* later than Sâtavâhana (first century A.D.) and Pravarasena. Râmadâsa says that Kâlidâsa composed the *Setu-bandha* for Pravarasena by order of Vikrama. This at any rate shows that they were contemporaries. The author Pravarasena was a Kuntala king (*Bharata-carita*). That is, he was Vâkâṭaka Pravarasena II, and Bhoja says that Vikrama sent Kâlidâsa to the Kuntala king (*Śṛngâra-prakâśa*). All this means that in reality Kâlidâsa lived *c.* 500 A.D., and that the *Bṛhat-kathâ* must be later still. Therefore Guṇâḍhya was not its author. Bâṇa and Daṇḍin confirm this by omitting the name of the author of the *Bṛhat-kathâ*, even when the former mentions the names of all the other poets he refers to except the unknown author of the *Âkhyâyikâ Vâsavadattâ* that Patanjali mentions (*Mahâbhâshya*, IV, iii, 87 ; IV, ii, 60).

19. *Statement.*—The Gâthâ-sapta-śatî distinguishes Vikrama's indiscriminate liberality from Śâlivâhana's discriminate charity (VI, 64, 67). *Remark.*—There is in fact no such distinction drawn, as the two rulers are mentioned in different contexts. Thus, the story about Vikrama is connected with a reward to a servant for services rendered which does not imply indiscriminate liberality. Śâlivâhana is referred to as the "living" refuge of declining families; and the statement does not attribute the limitation to his liberality to them alone or make his charity discriminate. Further, the *Gâthâ* only proves that there was a ruler named Vikrama before the first century A.D., and does not go to prove that this Vikrama was Kâlidâsa's patron.

20. *Statement.*—The pun on *âvaṇṇâyim* must have been suggested by Kâlidâsa's *aparṇâ*. *Remark.*—Mr. Banerji does not show that this was necessarily the case.

21. *Statement.*—The *Gâthâ* (I. 43) gives an exception to a generalisation of Kâlidâsa (*Megh.* 9) and casts ridicule (I, 11) on Kâlidâsa's picture of the meeting of Śakuntalâ and Dushyanta. *Remark.*—As a matter of fact the *Gâthâ* in the text quoted (I, 43) is not referring

to Kâlidâsa or his work. The only idea common to the two passages (*Gâthâ* I, 43 and *Megh.* 9) is the sustaining power of hope (*âśâbandha*), too commonplace to allow of analogy. In the second instance quoted the only common feature is that of a husband trying to pacify his wife; too common an idea to prove or infer anything. Moreover the *Gâthâ* does not mention Dushyanta or Śakuntalâ.

22. *Argument.*—Kâlidâsa refers to the old men of Avantî as versed in the Udayana legend, and therefore he must have lived before the *Bṛhat-kathâ* was composed. *Remark.*—The fact of Kâlidâsa's reference does not prove anything as regards his date. In the first place he does not say that the Udayana legend lived in the old men's mouths only, and even after the *Bṛhat-kathâ*, the legend might well have been still in old men's mouths.

23. *Statement.*—The Vikrama legend is to be relied on for fixing the date of Kâlidâsa. *Remark.*—The name of Vikrama and the fame of his charity were no doubt known in the first century A.D. but the legend of Vikrama is to be found only in late works, which so closely interweave fact and fiction that it is now impossible to separate the one from the other.

24. *Statement.*—Vikrama and Bhartṛ-hari were brothers. *Remark.*—Yet Mr. Banerji does not date Vikrama in the seventh century A.D., in spite of I-tsing's record, made in India between 673 and 695 A.D., that Bhatṛ-hari died in 650 A.D.

25. *Statement.*—Vikrama started an observatory and rebuilt Ayodhyâ. *Remark.*—No evidence of these facts is produced.

26. *Statement.*—Vikrama's valour and liberality find support in the life of Raghu. *Remark.*—This is to assume that the two heroes were identical.

27. *Statement.*—Kâlidâsa adopts a strange device in the *garbhâbhisheka* of Vikrama's queen. *Remark.*—It is mentioned by Kauṭilya (V, vi).

28. *Statement.*—Kâlidâsa wrote an astronomical work, the *Jyotir-vid-âbharaṇa*. *Remark.*—This is more than doubtful, as though the work in question claims to date from 34 B.C., it mentions the Śaka Era, commencing 111 years later and must therefore be a forgery.

29. *Statement.*—Kâlidâsa's astronomical references are important and reliable. *Remark.*—*Kumâra-sambhava* VII, 1 (not VI, 1, as quoted), relates to Umâ's marriage, not to her birth.

30. *Argument.*—Vikrama's sudden death, his queen's *garbhâbhisheka*, her regency for an unborn son, Vikrama's observatory and revival of astronomy, his rebuilding of Ayodhyâ, his claim to solar origin, his locating of the incidents in the Râmâyaṇa, his helping the weak and the oppressed in disguise and the conflicting feelings of the queen-mother on her son's anointment—all find support in (1) "Agnivarṇa's sudden death, his queen's *garbhâbhisheka*, and her regency for an unborn son ; in (2) Kâlidâsa's writing an astronomical work and his astronomical references; in (3) Kuśa's rebuilding of Ayodhyâ and his solar origin ; in (4) Kâlidâsa's references to the incidents in the *Râmâyaṇa* ; in (5) Dushyanta's helping the hermits in disguise ; in (6) Purûrava's rescue of Urvaśî from the Daityas ; in (7) Śiva's going to Pârvatî in disguise ; in (8) the conflicting feelings of Urvaśî on regaining her son. *Remark.*—Apart from the remarks on some of the above details already made, references to several personages that do not bear on the story of Vikrama are here mixed up.

31. *Argument.*—Tradition cannot be invented in a day and that relating to Vikrama could have imitated the best of Kâlidâsa's writings. *Remark.*—Traditions might, however, grow up in time in imitation of them, each adding a detail or two, and had they been

reasonable, they would not, as now, abound in miracles. Besides, they would not imitate the best of Kâlidâsa's work, but only such portions as would finish off the story.

32. *Argument.*—Why should we disbelieve Todd's and Dayânanda's genealogies? *Remark.*—When modern writers do not indicate the sources of their genealogies the burden of proof lies on them.

33. *Argument.*—If Kâlidâsa had borrowed from Aśvaghosha, he would not have repeated the same description twice. *Remark.*—Why not? Suppose we hold that Kâlidâsa did borrow them, developed them and made them his own.

34. *Argument.*—The damsels' glances at Aja (a mistake for Śiva, see *Kum.* VII, 55) were immoral, and that is why Aśvaghosha says that the hearts of his own damsels were pure (*Buddha-carita,* III, 23). *Remark.*—Aśvaghosha nowhere refers to the damsels who looked at Śiva.

35. *Statement.*—Moral as he was, Aśvaghosha in one instance at any rate is obscene, why then did he lay such stress on his damsels' purity of heart? *Remark.*—This is an argument against his alleged morality, as a man really pure in thought, word and deed, would not use obscene expressions. Apart from this, Mr. H. A. Shâh points out that the use of *na* to modify his ideas is a peculiarity of Aśvaghosha (*cf. Buddha* V, 23; I, 23; VI, 31, 67, etc.), and that hence we should not see a reference to a person or a book when he thus qualifies a statement.

36. *Argument.*—When Aśvaghosha mentions Mâra's wonder at Buddha's resistance, he is really having a fling at Kâlidâsa's reference to Śiva's yielding to Madana's influences, and Bhâravi in revenge makes Arjuna tempt the very tempters. These facts settle finally the order of these poets, although, in the original stories, Buddha and Arjuna were not overcome by temptation. The points to bear in mind are Mâra's wonder and the tempting of Arjuna's tempters. *Remark.*—Mâra, however, might well have wondered that his wiles, irresistible to gods and sages, should have failed with Buddha without thinking of Śiva. And Bhâravi might, without thinking of Aśvaghosha, well have remarked that the sensual *apsaras* were charmed with Arjuna's beauty, but that strong-minded Arjuna did not yield to their temptation.

37. *Argument.*—Buddhist writers from Aśvaghosha's time in dropping the old Pâli language and taking to Samskrt, did so under the influence of Kâlidâsa. *Remark.*—This means that Aśvaghosha followed Hindu models. If so, why not the *Râmâyaṇa* or the *Mahâbhârata*? And why Kâlidâsa especially? But the fact is that the aim of the Buddhist writers was to reach the people and so they first adopted Pâli which was the people's language, and when about 100 B.C. it ceased to be generally spoken, and the language of poetry could only be Sanskrit, the common tongue of scholarly Hindus, they dropped Pâli and adopted Samskrt. Further, by that time Buddhism itself had ceased to be popular and was becoming assimilated to Hinduism in philosophy, ritual and language. This is confirmed by the fact that all inscriptions from that period, Buddhist and Hindu, were composed in Samskrt in place of Prâkrt.

38. *Argument.*—It is absurd to assert that the great Kâlidâsa borrowed from Aśvaghosha. *Remarks.*—Great poets however have borrowed from predecessors: *e.g.*, Shakespeare, Goethe.

39. *Argument.*—Kâlidâsa mentions Pushyamitra's *aśvamedha*, and depicts Agnivarṇa as a sensualist. *Remark.*—The mention of Pushyamitra's *aśvamedha* proves nothing more than that Kâlidâsa was later than Pushyamitra. Sensual kings are not uncommon, and Kâlidâsa's statement as to Agnivarṇa proves nothing.

40. *Argument.*—The dignity of Dhâriṇî's character proves that Kâlidâsa lived while she was still remembered. *Remark.*—Dhâriṇî might well have been remembered long after her death, even supposing that Kâlidâsa had no model in mind in conceiving such a character.

41. *Argument.*—The present *Smṛtis* make out Śakuntalâ to be a *varṇa-saṅkara,* and Kâlidâsa goes against the *Smṛtis* and makes her marry Dushyanta. He therefore lived before their compilation. *Remark.*—Kâlidâsa did not invent the story. He took it from the *Mahâbhârata.* Again no *Smṛti* fixes the caste of a Kshatriya father and an *apsara.* Also, if the *Smṛtis* prohibit *Asavarṇa-vivâha,* how is it they mention mixed castes ?

42. *Statement.*—Kâlidâsa, like Kauṭilya, denies a widow's right to inherit. *Remark.*—Is there any proof that such a rule was not still prevalent up to *c.* 500 A.D. ?

43. *Argument.*—Style, metre, *yamaka, alaṁkâra,* grammar, double-meanings and apparent contradictions all go to prove the limits of Kâlidâsa's date. *Remark.*—Such arguments can never fix definite limits.

44. *Statement.*—Kâlidâsa does not mention the Buddhists nor Râdhâ. *Remark.*—Buddhism dates from at least *c.* 520 B.C. and the *Gâthâ* (I, 89) speaks of Râdhikâ. There is no context in his poems where Râdhâ should have been brought in and is not.

45. *Argument.*—Kâlidâsa did not know of the *Kâmaśâstra.* *Remark.*—He quotes (*Śak.* IV, 18 : *Ragh.*, XIX, 31) Vâtsyâyana of the first century A.D., or later (IV, i, 39-40 : VI, 3, 34).

46. *Statement.*—Kâlidâsa influenced Śûdraka, Bhaṭṭi, Bhartṛhari, Subandhu and Daṇḍin. *Remark.*—He adduces no evidence for the statement, and assuming there is evidence, their known dates are consistent with placing Kâlidâsa's date as *c.* 500 A.D., except perhaps as to Śûdraka.

47. *Argument.*—If it is true that Kâlidâsa was at Yaśodharman's Court, why was Vâsula chosen for the text of his inscription ? *Remark.*—The Court poets Kamba and Oṭṭakkûtta did not compose Kulottunga's inscriptions.

48. *Statement.*—All the Samskrt poets have imitated Kâlidâsa's *Ṛtu-saṁhâra.* *Remark.*—No evidence of so strong a statement is adduced.

49. *Statement.*—The *Ṛtu-saṁhâra* and the *Śṛṅgâra-tilaka* are the principal works of Kâlidâsa. *Remark.*—No evidence is adduced in support.

50. *Argument.*—Vatsabhaṭṭi's Mandasor Inscription of 473 A.D. goes to show that Kâlidâsa lived before that date. *Remark.*—This raises a number of points of detail to be taken separately.

51. *Argument.*—Vatsabhaṭṭi, like Kâlidâsa, is fond of *subhaga,* used *prâsâda-mâlâ* (*cf.* Fleet, *G.I.*, No. 18, line 7; and *Kum.* VII, 56), and plays on personal names (*cf.* Fleet, *G.I.* No. 18, ll. 14, 15, and *Ragh.*, XVIII). *Remark.*—This argument does not of itself prove anything.

52. *Argument.*—Vatsabhaṭṭi admits that he wrote *prayatnena* (Fleet, *G. I.*, No. 18, l. 23). *Remark.*—*Prayatnena,* however, can mean "with great care" as well as "with difficulty." It does not indicate any borrowing on Vatsabhaṭṭi's part, much less does it prove that he imitated Kâlidâsa.

53. *Argument.*—Compare Vatsabhaṭṭi's ll. 6, 7, and 17, 18, and 18, 19, with *Megh.* (*Pâṭhak :* st. 66) and *Ṛtu.* (V, 2, 3, 9). *Remark.*—Comparison does not support any borrowing by Vatsabhaṭṭi from Kâlidâsa or *vice versâ.* Thus, the only words common to Vatsabhaṭṭi's ll. 6, 7 and *Megh.*, 66, are *citra, abhra, tulya, yatra* and *tunga :* the only ideas common to both

are that houses had women, music and pictures, and were high. The only words common to Vatsabhaṭṭi's ll. 17, 18, and *Ṛtu.* V, 2, 3, are *udara, candra, harmya* and *candana* : and the only common ideas are that the inside of a house, the fireside, sunshine, women's company, but not *sandal*, the moon's rays, terraces, or breezes are agreeable in winter. And there are differences : *e.g.*, Vatsabhaṭṭi adds that in the winter fans and garlands are unpleasant, that lotuses are nipped by the frost and fish lie low in the water, while the *Ṛtu* adds that at the same season barred windows, thick clothes and young women are agreeable, and also that terraces are clear in the autumn moon (an inept idea) and that breezes are cold in the snow. Not a word is common to Vatsabhaṭṭi's ll. 18, 19 and *Ṛtu.* V, 9, and the only common idea is that young men and women defy the cold by close embrace. Such analogies as these cannot go to prove that Kâlidâsa must have lived before 473 A.D.

54. *Statement.*—The Yavanas of the *Ragh.* are the Greeks. *Remark.*—The Yavanas of the *Ragh.* are identical with the Pâścâtyas and Pârasîkas (*Journal*, Mythic Society IX, 46, 47).

55. *Statement.*—The Hûṇas (Huns) destroyed the Roman Empire in the first century A.D. *Remark.*—For first, read close of the fourth.

56. *Statement.*—The Huns attacked India on the decline of the Mauryas and Pushyamitra checked their invasion. *Remark.*—For Huns, read Greeks.

57. *Statement.*—Vikrama defeated the Huns. *Remark.*—For Huns, read Śakas.

58. *Statement.*—In Indian Literature Śakas (Scythians), Hûṇas (Huns) and Yavanas (Greeks) are mixed up. *Remark.*—As a matter of fact they are always clearly distinguished.

59. *Argument.*—The location of the Huns in the *Ragh.* on the banks of the Sindhu *i.e.*, of the Caspian Sea, is consistent with its date. *Remark.*—The Sindhu is the Indus and not the Caspian Sea, and the variant term Vankshû gives the same location, *viz.*, Bactria, to which the Huns first came in *c.* 420 A.D. They became known, however, to the Hindus only after their invasion of India and defeat by Skandagupta in 455 A.D. Hence the *Ragh.* is later than 455 A.D.

60. *Statement.*—*Akshobhya* means untarnished. *Remark.*—It means immovable, but never untarnished in the sense of unblemished.

61. *Argument.*—The Coḷas and Pâṇḍyas fought each other from the earliest times, and because the Coḷas were prominent in the second century A.D., Kâlidâsa lived before that. *Remark.*—The Coḷas were prominent long after the second century A.D., and the Sangham Age in South India is now placed in *c.* 600 A.D. not in 200 A.D.

62. *Statement.*—Bhâravi borrowed from the *Kumâra-sambhava*. *Remark.*—No proof is adduced.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIẒÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from p.* 131.)

XCIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE FRESH SIEGE OF NALDRUG AND OF THE MATTERS WHICH CAME TO LIGHT IN THE COURSE THEREOF.[260]

The fortress of Naldrug is famed as one of the strongest fortresses in Hind or Sind. It is built on the slopes of a lofty mountain, rising from a well watered valley, and is reputed to be impregnable. The fortress is encircled on three sides by the valley, which is wide and

[260] Firishta does not mention the third siege of Naldrug formed after the retirement of the armies of Aḥmadnagar and Golconda from before Bîjâpûr in A.D. 1581. Sayyid 'Alî says that he was himself present at it, but, as he does not explain how Muḥammad Qulî Qutb Shâh, who had retired to Golconda, came to be with the besieging force, he seems to be serving up a *rechauffe's* of the second siege.

deep, and on the fourth side on which it is approached, by a ditch 40 *ẓar'* wide, and 40 *ẓar'* long, cut out of the hard and solid rock. The slope between the wall and the edge of the ditch measures about 100 *ẓar'* but has been so steeply scarped that a bird or an ant, much less a man, could hardly scale it.

Towards the end of the month of Ramẓân A.H. 989 (October A.D. 1581) the allies encamped before the fortress. On the following day the *amîr-ul-umarâ* [261] in person reconnoitred the fortress and inspected it with a view to ascertaining on which side it could be best attacked. He ordered the batteries to be thrown up on that side of the fort which was not surrounded by water. The armies then encamped over against that face of the fort, and straitly blockaded it. In the meantime the heavy Niẓâm Shâhî guns, such as the *Nuh-gazî Tûp*, the *Lailâ va Majnûn Tûp*, the *Havâî Tûp* and others, which had been sent to the army in the field by Asad Khân, arrived and were set up in the position selected by Sayyid Murtaẓâ. The Quṭb Shâhî guns, such as the *Tûp-i-Ḥaidarî* and others also arrived and were set up in the same place, and the gunners, having ascertained the range, opened fire on the fortress and maintained it daily doing much execution on the walls.

Vazîr-ul-Mulk, [262] who was the commandant of the fortress, had great confidence in its strength, in his treasures, and in the garrison, and therefore prepared to stand a siege and to attack and harass the besiegers whenever possible, being assiduous, day and night, in the pursuit of military glory. The ground around the fortress was apportioned to the several *amîrs* and the trenches were pushed forward ; mines were sunk and the sap was carried to the edge of the ditch, and the infantry, elephants, camels, and bullocks of the army were employed in transporting stones, wood and rubbish to the ditch, in order to fill it, while the gunners brought the guns up to the counterscarp and from that point opened fire against the fortress.

The armies lay in the trenches for nearly two months, during the whole of which time there was constant fighting and the troops had hardly a moment's rest. Sometimes the defenders would make a sortie and attack the troops in the trenches, slaying many, and fierce conflicts took place. Whenever the wall was breached the defenders would make another wall, stronger than the first, behind the breach.

At this time it occurred to the *amîr-ul-umarâ* that it would be well to write a letter to Vazîr-ul-Mulk, the *kotwâl* of the fortress, setting before him the advantages of submitting and entering the service of Aḥmadnagar, and the ill results of persisting in his resistance, so that haply he might be induced to make peace and to avoid further strife, which could only lead to bloodshed and to the destruction of the honour of the servants of God. He therefore wrote to him a letter to this effect, adding that the powerful king Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, aided by the army of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, was resolved on taking the fortress and would not abandon the task.

When Vazîr-ul-Mulk had read this letter he sent an answer to the *amîr-ul-umarâ* saying that he had read the letter from beginning to end and was surprised that the *amîr-ul-umarâ* should advise him to commit an act so base. Forts were as the houses of kings, and when a king entrusted his house to a servant that servant would indeed be vile who should surrender it to an enemy at his summons. He pointed out that so far as any blame for the outbreak of war went the *amîr-ul-umarâ* was the aggressor, and that he should remember, in the midst of his threats, that strife had long arms and that a stick had two ends, and that it was possible that fate might play him a trick, while even if the fort were taken its defender would

[261] Sayyid Murtaẓa Sabzavârî.

[262] Muḥammad Âqâ the Turkman had probably received this title.

still be praiseworthy in so far as he had made every effort on behalf of his master and benefactor, and for not having been dismayed even by a king so great and an army so powerful as those which had against him.

When the *amîr-ul-umarâ* and the rest of the *amîrs* had read Vazîr-ul-Mulk's reproachful letter they gave up all idea of a peaceful termination to the siege and determined to reduce the place by force. The artillery maintained a steady fire against the place, rolling large masses of the wall down on to the berm and into the ditch, while the whole army was employed day and night in filling up the ditch and thus making an approach to the fortress. In a short time a breach 40 *ẓar'* in length had been made in the wall, and the ditch opposite to the breach had been filled in.

At this time a force of nearly 1,500 horse and 1,000 foot which had come from Bîjâpûr to reinforce the garrison boldly attacked one flank of the besieging army in the last third of the night and large numbers of them were killed and 300 were made prisoners. Others of them fought so bravely that they succeeded in making their way into the fortress the defenders of which were so much cheered and strengthened by their arrival that they presented a bolder front than ever to the besiegers.

XCIV.—An account of the battle fought by Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh against the garrison, and of the king's lack of success.

On the following day, before sunrise, the allied armies armed themselves and prepared for battle waiting for the dawn to attack. Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh in person led his army while the army of Aḥmadnagar with its elephants was led by the *amîr-ul-umarâ* and both armies advanced as far as the counterscarp with trumpets sounding and drums beating. The commandant and the garrison of the fortress, on hearing the peparations for the attack and seeing the allied armies drawn up, lined the walls and then, advancing, repulsed the allies from the edge of the ditch. The allies replied with flights of arrows, volleys of musketry, and a hot artillery fire, which drove the enemy back, and so the fight continued, with much slaughter on both sides.

The writer had then but recently come from 'Irâq and was in the Quṭb Shâhî service, being on that day in attendance on Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh on some rising ground close to the fight, and witnessed this dreadful battle with his own eyes. The garrison of Naldrug displayed the greatest bravery but as the sloping berm from the edge of the ditch to the foot of the wall was nearly 100 yards wide and high and was very steep, and the artillery fire had brought the greater part of the wall down on it, its ascent was very difficult, and although the attacking force climbed with great determination to the foot of the wall using their fingers and even their nails, the defenders threw hand grenades among them, which hurled them back into the ditch and when they would have fled from the ditch they had the greatest difficulty in climbing the counterscarp and when one slipped he would clutch at the others and thus bring them headlong back into the ditch with him. In this way many were killed, many were scorched and burnt by the hand grenades and many were slain by musketry fire and arrows so that a hundred picked-foreigners were slain, and of the Dakanîs and others the same proportion. The battle lasted from before sunrise until the afternoon and was still in progress when some spies brought news that a force of Hindûs had halted in the neighbourhood of the besiegers' camp and had prepared for battle with the object of plundering the camp. Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh therefore drew off his army, without having gained any advantage and returned to camp, and the *amîr-ul-umarâ* followed his example. After this a council of war was held, at which it was agreed by all the *amîrs* that it would be best

for the army to march to Bîjâpûr and besiege that city. The armies therefore marched from before Naldrug and encamped on the Beora where they remained for nearly twenty days. Here Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh grew weary of campaigning and, prompted by some of the older officers of the army sent to the *amîr-ul-umarâ* to say that he was tired of the field. The *amîr-ul-umarâ,* with the example of Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh before him, was also weary of the long campaign and the two agreed to return. Of the Niẓâm Shâhî army Sayyid Mîrzâ Yâdgâr, Shîr Khân, and other *amîrs* and of the Quṭb Shâhî army Sayyid Mîr Zainal and other officers, with the troops under their command, were left to guard the frontier of the territory which had been taken from Bîjâpûr, and in the middle of Muharram, A.H. 991 (Feb. A.D. 1583) the two armies separated, each marching towards its own country.

When Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh arrived in Golconda he took his ease and married the daughter of Sayyid Shâh Mîr, who had been betrothed to his elder brother, giving a great feast and shewing boundless hospitality to all comers.

The *amîr-ul-umarâ,* owing to the quarrel which he had with Ṣalâbat Khân, would not return to court, but marched straight to Berar.

The *amîrs* of the 'Âdil Shâhî army, on hearing of the departure of Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh and of the Niẓâm Shâhî *amîrs,* collected their forces for the purpose of reconquering those districts which had been annexed by Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh. Mîr Zainal then sent a messenger to Golconda to represent to the king how great was the force which was advancing against him and how small was his own force. Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh sent to support Mîr Zainal a picked force which marched to join him with all speed.

Meanwhile some of Mîr Shâh Mîr's enemies at Golconda, taking advantage of this opportunity to injure him, produced a forged letter, purporting to have been written by him to the 'Âdil Shâhî *amîrs,* instigating them to fight with determination and promising them the support of the Foreigners of Golconda, and showed it to the king. This device did not fail of success and Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, on seeing the letter, was at once estranged from Mîr Shâh Mîr, the principal pillar of his kingdom, and ordered his immediate arrest without any enquiry into the rights and wrongs of the matter. This action led to the greatest confusion in his kingdom and especially in the army, which was so disorganized by it that most of the elephants and cavalry horses of the army in the field were captured by the 'Âdil Shâhî *amîrs.*

When the news of Shâh Mîr's arrest became known to the army the Foreigners who were the flower of the Quṭb Shâhî troops, became utterly disorganized and lost heart altogether, so that the 'Âdil Shâhî army, on hearing of their condition, were greatly encouraged and attacked the Quṭb Shâhî army with great valour. As most of the bravest of the Quṭb Shâhî army were foreigners who were utterly confounded by Shâh Mîr's arrest, they made no effort to repulse the enemy, and, when the forces met, fled without striking a blow. The 'Âdil Shâhî army thus utterly defeated the Quṭb Shâhî army and, slaying large numbers of them, dispersed them, capturing most of the elephants and baggage. They took 215 elephants, and from this statement the amount of the rest of the plunder can be estimated.

The whole of the Quṭb Shâhî army having thus taken to flight with no regard either for honour or for shame, Mîrzâ Yâdgâr and the other Niẓâm Shâhî *amîrs,* in spite of their utmost efforts, could do nothing and were compelled to flee.

XCV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH OF SAYYID MURTAZÂ, AMÎR-UL-UMARÂ FROM BERAR TO AHMADNAGAR WITH HIS ARMY, FOR THE PURPOSE OF HUMBLING THE POWER OF SALÂBAT KHÂN, AND OF THE RENEWAL OF PEACE BY THE EFFORTS OF ASAD KHÂN.

It has already been mentioned that Sayyid Murtazâ, when he returned with his army from the expedition to Bîjâpûr, would not enter the capital, owing to his quarrel with Salâbat Khân, which was sedulously promoted by the ill-wishers of both, but turned aside and entered Berar by way of the town of Ausa. Meanwhile the power and influence of Salâbat Khân had been constantly growing greater until he began to decide all affairs of state without in any way consulting Asad Khân, and used not even to submit Asad Khân's petitions on affairs to the king, and even when a *farmân* issued to Asad Khân by name it was not, for fear of Salâbat Khân, carried to him. Asad Khân therefore proposed to summon Sayyid Murtazâ, with the army of Berar, to Ahmadnagar, in order to overthrow Salâbat Khân. The *amîr-ul-umarâ* Sayyid Murtazâ and his officers, such as Jamshîd Khân, Khudâvand Khân Bahrî Khân, Chandâ Khân, Tîr Andâz Khân, Rustam Khân, Shîr Khân Dastûr Khân and others, having renewed their compact to support Asad Khân, marched with their troops from the capital of Berar towards Ahmadnagar. When they reached the capital they encamped without the city, and Salâbat Khân, who feared the strength of the army of Berar and was, moreover, suspicious of the fidelity of the greater part of the troops under his own command, began to make overtures to Asad Khân and so succeeded in pacifying him that Asad Khân went to the *Amîr-ul-umarâ* and used his utmost endeavours to persuade him to refrain from any act of warfare, which could not fail to lead to the ruin and desolation of the great part of the kingdom. Asad Khân succeeded in making peace between the *amîrs* of Berar and Salâbat Khân, and the *amîr-ul-umarâ* with all his *amîrs* returned with great pomp and honour to the capital of Berar.[263]

At this time Khvâjagî Fathullâh Khâshî[264] arrived at the royal court as ambassador from Jalâl-ud-dîn Muhammad Akbar Shâh, and, after having been honourably received by the *amîrs* and the principal officers of the army, was honoured with an audience of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh. According to the royal command a suitable palace was placed at his disposal and many of the courtiers, *amîrs*, and officers of state entertained him at choice banquets in pavilions erected for the purpose.

The *Bâgh-i-Farah Bakhsh*, laid out by the command of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, had at this time just been completed, and was one of the most beautiful gardens that the world has seen. The king now held his court in this garden and gave a great banquet there. Here

263 According to Firishta it was in 1584 that the quarrel between Sayyid Murtazâ and Salâbat Khân developed into open hostility. In that year Salâbat Khân sent Qâsim Beg and Mîrzâ Muhammad Taqî Shîrâzî on a mission to Bîjâpûr to arrange a marriage between the sister of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shah II and the young prince Husain of Ahmadnagar. He ordered Jamshîd Khân Shîrâzî, one of the *amîrs* of Berar, to accompany the mission with his contingent as an escort. Jamshîd Khân replied that he was subordinate to Sayyid Murtazâ, and would take orders from him only. He sent the order to Sayyid Murtazâ, who informed him that he had been instructed to obey no orders but those bearing the king's own signature and that as this order had not been signed by the king it should not be obeyed. Jamshîd Khân passed on this reply to Salâbat Khân, and the ill-feeling between Sayyid Murtazâ and Salâbat Khân became so acute that the former marched on Ahmadnagar, as described—F. ii, 281, 282.

264 Khvâjagî Fathullâh, son of Hâjî Habîbullâh of Kâshân, not to be confounded with Mîr Fathullâh of Shîrâz, was serving under the Khân i-A'zam in Mâlwa in the 30th year of Akbar's reign (1585) and was sent as an envoy to Ahmadnagar when his namesake, the Shîrâzî Sayyid, was sent to the court of Râja 'Alî Khân of Khândesh. Sayyid 'Alî seems to be a year out in the date of Khvâjagî Fathullâh's mission, unless Fathullâh had been sent from Agra and joined Khân-i-A'zam in Mâlwa after returning from Ahmadnagar.

the court poets attended and sang the praises of the building and its builder. Among these was Maulânâ Malik Qumî, some of whose verses on this occasion are here recorded.

It is said that some dispute arose in this assembly among the poets who were present regarding the order of precedence in which they should recite their poems and that Maulânâ Ṣairafî Sâwajî, who was one of the poets present would not recite his poem, although he had a copy of it with him. This matter was reported to Ṣalâbat Khân, who called Ṣairafî to him and asked him about his poem. The Maulânâ related to Ṣalâbat Khân the story of the dispute regarding precedence. Ṣalâbat Khân said to Ṣairafî, who was a wild looking man, 'Wash your face, for it is best that this matter be washed out.'

XCVI.—Shâh Ṣâlih obtains access to the king, and is handed over to Ṣalâbat Khân.

When Ṣalâbat Khân had got all power in the state into his own hands, and was acting as though he were in truth the king, he took greater care than ever to keep the king well guarded and had the garden and all the approaches to it so closely watched by sentries and confidential officers that it might almost be said that neither the birds nor the air could obtain access to the garden. Nobody had access from without to the king save a young eunuch who was in Ṣalâbat Khân's confidence.

But Shâh Ṣâliḥ, son of Maulânâ Shâh Muḥammad Nîshâbûrî, who had been one of the closest attendants on the king and was much annoyed by his inability to attend, as heretofore, on the king's person, determined at all costs to see his master and in his anger regarded not at all what was likely to be his fate. On the first of the month when, in accordance with the practice in the Dakan, all the army assembled to congratulate the king and to wish him good fortune, Shâh Ṣâliḥ, putting his trust in heaven alone, succeeded in approaching the wall of the garden, scaled it, and dropped down into the garden. He knew not where the king's lodging was, and the darkness of the night prevented him from distinguishing it. The king, however, was walking in the garden and Shâh Ṣâliḥ happened to meet him. It was a long time since any stranger had had access to the garden, and the king, perceiving that somebody had now gained access, advanced with his sword drawn to find out who it was and why he had come. Shâh Ṣâliḥ, when he saw the king, threw himself at his feet and began to pray for his long life and prosperity. The king recognized him and spoke kindly to him, bidding him have no fear and encouraging him to make his petition. Shâh Ṣâliḥ explained his grievances and told the king how hardly Ṣalâbat dealt with his subjects and how he quarrelled with Sayyid Murtaẓâ. The king did not go to bed that night but spent the whole night in inquiring into the condition of his kingdom and his subjects. When the day broke the king issued an order summoning Ṣalâbat Khân to him and Ṣalâbat Khân entered the garden in fear and terror and, having made his obeisance afar off, stood before the king. The king called him up and asked about Shâh Ṣâliḥ. Salâbat Khân replied that Shâh Ṣâliḥ had left the country some time ago. The king then called up Shâh Ṣâliḥ and showed him to Ṣalâbat Khân. Ṣalâbat Khân was overcome with shame and confusion and prostrated himself to ask for forgiveness. The king in his clemency pardoned him and ordered Shâh Ṣâliḥ to embrace him. He then confided Shâh Ṣâliḥ to Ṣalâbat Khân's care and gave him strict injunctions to treat him with all kindness and consideration. Ṣalâbat Khân took Shâh Ṣâliḥ by the hand and led him out of the garden. He then had a tent pitched for him in the neighbourhood of the garden and set a guard over him. He then put to death, as an example to others, the sentries through whose negligence Shâh Ṣâliḥ had been enabled to obtain access to the garden.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE HINDUS, by S. B. MOOKERJEE, BAR.-AT-LAW. "The Book on India's Regeneration", Foreword by SIR P. C. RAY, D.Sc. Price Re. 1 nett.

This is a publication of the Indian Rationalistic Society : a non-political body "for the propagation of knowledge on the basis of science and truth." In the foreword, the book has been called by Sir P. C. Ray as "the book on India's Regeneration" and he further commends "this thesis" to the mature consideration of his countrymen. The author tries to trace the history of India from the Vedic times downwards, which, according to him, is but the history of its gradual decay and stagnation. He tries to analyse its possible causes and suggests remedies. He makes a passionate and touching appeal for social reform, and advocates the education and uplift of the womanhood and the depressed classes of India. He speaks rather warmly against the custom of early marriage, which the author characterises as "love-less lust".

Obviously, this is a book written by a layman, but he is a layman who has tried to acquaint himself intimately with the ancient history and culture of India. On the whole, it is very interesting and edifying reading, though here and there it is interspersed with bold conclusions. Of course, when he says that there was no *pardâ* system in the Mahâbhârata times (p. 46) and that a general persecution of the Buddhists took place with the rise of the Śuṅga power (p. 71), he may perhaps find some scholars agreeing with him. But when he says that Châṇakya was thoroughly pro-Buddhistic even though he was a Brâhmaṇa by caste (p. 69) or that 200 B.C. to 600 A.D. was a record of chaos in India (p. 70), I am afraid he will not find any scholar agreeing with him. There are, again, some statements which are evidently wrong. Thus he makes Bimbisâra, a son of Ajâtaśatru who murdered him (p. 53). The truth is the other way round. Such mistakes will, it is hoped, be corrected when a second edition of the book is published.

D. R. B.

REPORT ON THE TERMINOLOGY AND CLASSIFICATIONS OF GRAMMAR. Oriental Advisory Committee, Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1920.

The origin of the *Report* and of the Committee that framed it is set out in the first paragraph of the Introduction: "Encouraged by the success of the movement in favour of uniformity of Grammatical terminology as applied to English, Latin. Greek, French and German, and the recent (1918) endorsement of the principle by the Government Committee on Modern Languages, the Standing Committee on Grammatical Reform decided in 1919 to extend the field of its operation and to invite the co-operation of Orientalists in the work of applying the scheme to Sanskrit and the modern vernaculars of Sanskritic origin. The present Advisory Committee came into being in November 1918, and it has held fifteen meetings since that date." The Chairman was Emeritus-Professor E. A. Sonnenschein of Birmingham University. The members were, in alphabetical order of names : J. D. Anderson, L. D. Barnett, W. Doderet, George A. Grierson, A. A. Macdonnell, J. W. Neill, D. C. Phillott, E. Denison Ross, R. C. Temple, F. W. Thomas and M. de Z. Wickeremasinghe.

The object of the Committee was to devise a terminology which should as far as possible be common to all the languages to which it could be applied, and thus to greatly facilitate the teaching of them. In carrying out their task the Committee selected six typical Indian Languages: Vedic, Sanskrit, Hindostani, Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali, And they illustrated by example the common grammatical terminology they recommended.

The experiment is well worth a practical trial on a large scale by those who would teach these and the allied languages in Indian Schools and Colleges.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

39. Pewter Table Plate.

15 *June* 1691. *Consultation at Fort St. George.* A sort of Metall plates [is] made in China of Tin and Tutenague [*tutenaga*, spelter], very hard and like Silver, which will be very handsome and usefull for the Honble. Companyes table here &ca. factorys and save the use and loss of plates. Its therefore orderd that Six peices of Ordinary Perpetuanos [durable woollen fabric] be sent thither for a quantity of plates and dishes by Mr. John Biggs on the *Curtana* now bound for Canton. (*Records of Fort St. George.— Diary and Consultation Book*, 1691, p. 27.)

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE ADVENT OF ISLAM INTO SOUTHERN INDIA.

(A Recent Investigation.)

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BT.

THE appearance of another of Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's valuable and welcome historical works has induced me to construct an article out of what I had intended to be a review, in order to draw general attention to the importance of investigating the history of South India, which has only to be better and more widely known to prove it to be as interesting and notable as that of the North. Indeed, the modern investigator is, I observe, beginning to grasp that it is not possible to understand India as a whole, in any aspect of its history, without an adequate knowledge of the part played in it by the South. This particular book deals with South India and her Muhammadan invaders[1]—a period and a subject about which too much authentic detail cannot for the present be forthcoming, as so much is still required before anything like a reliable general history can be written. The volume consists of the reprint of six lectures, together with what are really five appendices on certain details, all valuable.

The first two lectures deal with the conditions of Hindu South India in and before the thirteenth century A.D., from original sources, and the last four with the Muhammadan incursions of the Dakhan and further South under the Khiljis (Prof. Krishnaswami writes both Khaljis and Khiljis) and the Tughlaks, and also with the fourteenth century Muhammadan Kingdoms in the Dakhan and South India. These are followed by a series of geographical notes of extraordinary importance, as they concern identifications of the very obscure place-names used by contemporary or early Musalmân writers and are the product of a widely-read general scholar, possessing an intimate knowledge of the archaic forms of his own language and of the geography of his own country acquired by personal travel. These notes can never be neglected by anyone examining the historical geography of the Extreme South of the Indian Peninsula. Of the Appendices, that which deals with the Travels of Ibn Batuta is a translation by Miss Ida Gunther, B.A., Lecturer in Queen Mary's College for Women, Madras, from vol. IV of the French edition of Ibn Batuta by Messrs. C. Defrémery and B. L. Sanguinetti. It is a useful appendix to such a volume as this, but it is marred by an irregular transliteration or transcription of the Arabic names of men and places. There is also an "additional special note" on the nationality of the Khiljis, who, it has been claimed, were more Afghâns than Turks. I am glad to see that Professor Krishnaswami comes practically to the conclusion that they were of Turkî origin from people settled in Afghanistan. I have always personally held them to be Turkî.

Having thus generally described the book, I propose to look into the principal part of it—the Muhammadan invasions. The first point to notice is that the earliest were of the peaceful variety, owing to an enlightened policy pursued by the Hindu Rulers of both coasts to the Southward, which gave special protection to overseas traders and settlers, so that by the end of the thirteenth century A.D. flourishing Arab and Musulmân communities arose on the East Coromandel Coast from Motupalli at the mouth of the Krishna to Kâyal at the mouth of Tâmraparni, whence the name of Ma'abar, 'the Passage' for that Coast. Kâyal became the chief port for the great trade in horses established by the celebrated Arab chief Jamâlu'ddîn of Kish, farmer-general of Fârs (Persia proper), known to fame as the Maliku'l-Islâm, working through his brother Takîu'ddîn 'Abdu'r Rahmân, bin Muhammadu'th-Thaibî, generally known as the Marzabân. But Ma'abar extended as an appellation as

[1] *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, by Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., University of Madras. Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1921.

far round to the West (Malabar) as Kûlam (Quilon). Ma'abar was to these early Muhammadan sailors and settlers 'the Key of Hind,' from which they extended their communications further to the Eastward, sending thence an ambassador to China as early as 1297, in the person of the Fakhru'ddîn Ahmad, bin Ibrâhîmu'th-Thaibî, and so a relative of the Marzabân. When not long afterwards the notorious Malik Kâfûr swept down on Ma'abar, he found there Muhammadan settlers "half Hindus," just as were, in a sense, the Navâyats of the N.-W. Indian Coast, and the Mâpillas (Moplahs) of Malabar. Is it possible that here we have the origin of the Labbais (Lubbays) of to-day in modern Ma'abar and Ceylon? But the interesting point here, as brought out by Professor Krishnaswami, is that Malik Kâfûr found a Musalmân settlement at Kandur = Kannanûr near Śrîrangam, who were not of North Indian origin, in the army of Vîra Ballâla ("the yellow-faced Bîr" of the Muslim chroniclers), his opponent. Taking these as the bare historical facts, it would be well worth while to explore in detail the history of the mixed Arab-Tamil inhabitants, or shall we say Musalmân families and even castes, of the Coast, from say Calicut to say Nellore, and try and ascertain how far they owe their origin to direct overseas trade settlements. However, so much were these people foreigners to the followers of Malik Kâfûr and the like from the North, that there was not much to choose between the sufferings inflicted on them and those that the "infidel" Hindus themselves had to endure.

It is necessary to bear the above facts in mind in considering the Muhammadan warlike incursions into the South. In the course of one of the frequent Court revolutions in the days of the Slave-Kings of Delhi, whom I am very pleased to find Professor Krishnaswami is not afraid to call by their right name of Mamlûk (I should like to see Slave-King disappear from Indian History), Jalâlu'ddîn Khiljî, a Turkî *mamlûk* of Afghanistan, succeeded to the throne at Delhi occupied by the feeble successor of the *mamlûk* Ghiyâsu'ddîn Balban. He had as nephew and son-in-law 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî, who, according to Professor Krishnaswami, was goaded into seeking independence, owing to the irritation caused by the lofty and contemptuous ways of his wife, who never let him forget that she was Sultân Jalâlu'ddîn's daughter. In order to find ways and means for undermining the position of the Sultân, his uncle and father-in-law, he sought them in the wealth offered him in the sack of the Hindu States of the Dakhan, which adjoined the Government of Allahabad conferred on him by his trusting uncle. Gratitude towards the man who had made him fell, as the Professor remarks, before the anxiety to be even with his wife. Thus it was that the original invasion of the South from the North was more the result of accidental circumstances than of mere lust of conquest, the whole object being plunder of the safest type of victim in Muslim eyes, *i.e.*, a Hindu kingdom.

The first objective across the mountains was Deogiri, then a wealthy Hindu State, the army of which had gone southwards under Sankar Deo, the son of the ruler, Râmachandra or Râm Deo. By dint of real military capacity combined with a series of ruses and deceptive proclamations, at which a man of 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî's training would be an adept, he managed to surround Deogiri and defeat Sankar Deo on his return to the rescue of his father, and finally to secure what he went for, an immense ransom from the unfortunate Râmachandra.

'Alâu'ddîn was true to his racial origin and his training in the adopted country of his family, and no atrocity was too great to stand in the way of his now high ambitions. His uncle, in spite of reasonable suspicion, trusted him and was induced to visit him at the seat of his Government at Karrâ. There he was murdered. The gold acquired from Deogiri now stood 'Alâu'ddîn in good stead, and he was soon on the throne of Delhi. He was a

munificent prince, and that pleased the people and also helped to keep the burghers of the day, the Mughals of the North-West frontiers, at bay. But the real checks on them were his great personal capacity, strength of character, and energy. The situation meant also the maintenance of a great army in addition to his calculated civil munificence, and that in its turn meant a great expenditure and the necessity for a large revenue. 'Alâu'ddîn always wanted money. Incidentally, this made his reign of the highest importance to Indian History, as it obliged him to be a great administrator, both civil and military, to the benefit of India, in some respects, to the present day.

His success at Deogiri showed him what could be done in the way of acquiring wealth from the South, and his next proceedings in that direction showed that he had the political foresight to see that exacting tribute was a safer method of securing it than conquest. Râmachandra of Deogiri took advantage of 'Alâu'ddîn's early troubles with the Mughals and rebel vassal States, such as Gujarât, to cease paying his tribute. This brought the notorious renegade eunuch and military commander, Malik Kâfûr, on the scene in 'Alâu'ddîn's behalf. Malik Kâfûr soon made Râmachandra sue for terms, sent him to Delhi and secured tribute for the future. This was between 1306—1308 A.D.

'Alâu'ddîn's object being money for his civil and military establishments, he treated Râmachandra with much leniency, and the success of this policy guided him for the future. His next objective was Wârangal, now in the Nizâm's Dominions, but then the capital of Telingâna, and his instructions to Malik Kâfûr were in effect to defeat the ruler, Rudra or Laddar Deo, frighten him thoroughly, let him remain on as a ruler and fleece him of everything possible. In 1309 Malik Kâfûr commenced a march from Delhi, *viâ* Agra to Chanderî and Hoshangâbâd, and thence over the Vindhyas to Elichpûr, which, if we could get at the details, could not but prove a considerable military achievement, and after perpetrating at least one massacre *en route*, at Sarbar, he arrived before Wârangal.

It was there that Malik Kâfûr further showed himself to be a really capable commander, for he "entrenched" each of the ten divisions of his besieging army by means of a strong stockade, with the result that a night attack from the fortress failed altogether and brought Rudra Deo to terms. The "terms" were practically his entire accumulated wealth and an annual tribute.

In 1310 Malik Kâfûr returned in triumph to Delhi. His method of "entrenching" was the forerunner of Sher Shâh Sûr's entrenchments two centuries later.

Emboldened by his own and Malik Kâfûr's successes at Deogiri and Wârangal, 'Alâu'ddîn started on a further plundering expedition, aimed ultimately against Ma'abar, *i.e.*, the extreme South, with the Malik as his general, at the end of 1310. Again he executed a march showing consummate leadership, *viâ* the right bank of the Jumna to Tânkal, Kanhun, Gurgâon, to Deogiri, where he enlisted the good offices of that now "faithful" State. This enabled Malik Kâfûr to frighten Vîra Ballâla III, Hoysala of Dwârasamudra into "coming to terms," involving practically all his property, which he had to accompany to Delhi, being himself allowed by 'Alâu'ddîn to return to his capital.

Thence an expedition was planned for Ma'abar or the extreme South itself, which had been recently under the powerful Pândya ruler from Madura, Mâravarman Kulasekhara I. He had two sons, Vîra Pâṇḍya, illegitimate, and Sundara Pâṇḍya, legitimate. Vîra Pâṇḍya was much the better man of the two, but in the fratricidal struggle which took place for supremacy during the old king's lifetime, Sundara Pâṇḍya murdered their joint father,

about 1311 A.D. Soon afterwards Vîra Paṇḍya drove him out of Madura, and he is said to have sought refuge with the Delhi monarch, 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî. More probably he joined the advancing Muslim army. Anyhow, this civil war was Malik Kâfûr's opportunity.

Still in 1310, Malik Kâfûr started for Ma'abar with his usual skill in conducting a march, Vîra Pâṇḍya fleeing before him. Malik Kâfûr committed all kinds of atrocities *en route* to Madura and devastated the country in a manner still remembered after 600 years, making his *rendezvous* for a time at Kaṇṇanûr, near Śrîrangam, whence he sought and utterly destroyed the rich temple of Brahmastpuri, which Professor Krishnaswami cleverly shows to have been Chidambaram. Śrîrangam and other temples naturally suffered. At Kaṇṇanûr Malik Kâfûr found some of the local mixed Musulmâns already alluded to, whom he spared because they could repeat the *Kalima*. Madura was found empty and sacked, and the raid continued as far as Râmeśvaram itself. In 1311, or early in 1312, Malik Kâfûr returned with all his booty to Delhi. From that time till 1316, when 'Alâu'ddîn died, the land had peace.

In this great raid Malik Kâfûr's route is not easy to follow, owing to the almost unlimited corruption of Dravidian place-names by Muhammadan authors, but Professor Krishnaswami's identifications, actual or probable, are scholarly and admirably thorough and painstaking.

On his return to Delhi, Malik Kâfûr became all powerful under 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî for the short and disastrous remainder of that monarch's reign, and at his death in 1316, he became so atrocious a tyrant that he was assassinated in less than two months. Then followed an unstable government in Delhi, and the Southern provinces acquired by Malik Kâfûr's generalship naturally fell away. Deogiri and Wârangal ceased to send tribute; the Keralas of Travancore and the Pâṇdyas of Madura struggled for supremacy in Ma'abar, regardless of any garrison Malik Kâfûr may have left behind him in Madura, while Dwârasamudra was actually rebuilt by the Hoysalas. Apparently all that Malik Kâfûr had achieved was only a raid of no political effect.

The real successor of 'Alâu'ddîn Khiljî was Kutbu'ddîn Mubârak Shâh, who began well but soon neglected his administration and, just as 'Alâu'ddîn had done before him, put himself into the hands of another renegade eunuch slave, this time from Gujarât, to whom he gave the title of Khusrû Khân and raised him to the office of *wazîr* with, in the confusing Muhammadan fashion, the title of Malik Naib Kâfûr. This new Imperial favourite largely repeated the acts of Malik Kâfûr till his own assassination in 1320, and so it will be convenient to distinguish him, as I have done before, by the title of Malik Khusrû.

In the circumstances, it became necessary to reconquer the South. In 1318 Mubârak Shâh marched on Deogiri, defeated Harapâla Deo, then ruler, and flayed him alive. This was the first real conquest in the Dakhan, ending in the appointment of Musalmân feudatories in Mahârâshtra. It seems that the real fighting commander of this expedition was Malik Khusrû, and after it he was sent to invest Rudra Deo in Wârangal. Here he faithfully repeated the proceedings of Malik Kâfûr, plundered the Chief of everything, and left him to rule as a vassal of Delhi. He had then to return to Delhi to help to put down rebellion, which he did with such savagery and so much for his own advancement that one Muhammadan chronicler dubbed him "a low designing schemer."

Returning to the South, he repeated Malik Kâfûr's raid in Ma'abar without much opposition, showing his want of scruple in one instance by robbing Takî Khân, a rich Sunnî (? Labbâi) and putting him to death. Returning once more to Delhi, he requited his master's infatuation for him by assassinating him, with the help of his own countrymen from Gujarât, and proclaiming himself Sultân with the title of Nâsiru'ddîn Shâh. Malik Khusrû's next

policy was to destroy the hereditary nobles and replace them by promoted slaves and renegade Hindus, which has led some Musalmân historians to say that he was aiming at a movement to restore Hindus to power. As this has also been said of a movement later on in the days of Muhammad Tughlak (and no wonder), the proceedings of Malik Khusrû need examination in greater detail than they have yet received.

All this led naturally to rebellion, and it found a leader in Ghâzî Malik, Governor of Deobalpûr, whose son, Muhammad Fakhru'ddîn Jûnâ (afterwards known as Ulugh Khân and later as the notorious Muhammad Tughlak), Malik Khusrû had tried in vain to conciliate by high office. The end of Malik Khusrû came in two months, and in 1320 Ghâzi Malik became Sultân Ghyasu'ddîn Tughlak Shâh by general acclamation, and thus founded yet another Dynasty at Delhi.

Ghyâsu'ddîn Tughlak was a wise and generous ruler, but all that we are at present concerned with is that Deogiri remained loyal to Delhi, while at Wârangal Rudra Deo again became restive, and Ulugh Khân (*i.e.*, the later Muhammad Tughlak) was sent to reduce him to obedience. This was achieved with difficulty, owing probably to dissension in the Muslim camp, and Rudra Deo and his family found their way to Delhi. The fall of Wârangal naturally led to the overrunning of Telingâna.

The rest of Ghyâsu'ddîn's short reign was occupied by repelling Mughal inroads and an invasion of Bengal, which was overrun and handed over to a representative of the Balban Dynasty of Bengal (1282—1388). On his victorious return, Ghyâsu'ddîn Tughlak was killed outside Delhi by the fall of a specially constructed pavilion during a feast. The catastrophe may or may not have been accidental. Anyhow, Ulugh Khân, who had been left behind as administrator at Delhi during the expedition, profited by it, and in 1325 ascended the Delhi throne as Sultân Abû'l-Mujâhid Muhammad Shâh, usually known as Muhammad Tughlak.

Professor Krishnaswami is gentle in his description of this great monarch, but I have not yet read anything to upset a brief summary of him which I had occasion to write some years ago: "A remarkably capable but unbalanced ruler, who reigned for 26 years (1325—1351) and has been described as 'learned, merciless, religious and mad.' He certainly tried some wonderful schemes. Without any adequate cause and for a time only, he moved the capital 700 miles from Delhi to Deogiri in the Dakhan, to which he gave the name of Daulatâbâd, forcing the people of Delhi to migrate first there and then back again. He grossly misapplied his armies on vainglorious expeditions, where they suffered unspeakable hardships and accomplished nothing. He tried to oblige his people to accept copper and brass tokens as silver coins, and issued a stamped leather note currency without any bullion support behind it—schemes which not even his vengeance when opposed could make to succeed. He committed wholesale massacre on altogether insufficient provocation, and finally he ruined his kingdom. All the while his own opinion of himself was that he was a perfectly just ruler and that 'to obey him was to obey God.' But the most remarkable thing about him is that he died undisturbed in his bed, from natural disease, thus proving the awe in which his mad abilities kept those about him. This man of contradictions was eloquent of speech, sober and moral in his life, an accomplished scholar in Arabic, Persian and Greek philosophy, and learning of all kinds, and conspicuously brave." *Inter alia* he created within India the largest Empire, nominally at least, ever achieved by a Muhammadan ruler dividing it into twenty-three provinces stretching from Sunârgâon (Dacca) to Gujarât and from Lahor to Ma'abar. It was, however, an Empire always in rebellion, and the life of people of mark must under him have often been a nightmare.

Muhammad Tughlak had the enterprise and spirit to create this huge Empire, but owing to faults of character he could not maintain it. As regards the South, his efforts to do so entailed expeditions to Wârangal and Dwârasamudra in 1327–1328, the campaign involving a *jauhar*, or holocaust of women, at Kampti on the Tungabhadra. Like other provinces, Ma'abar rebelled, but as had happened already in Bengal, the army did not return, and its commander, Jalâlu'ddîn Aḥsan Khân set up there independently about 1335. Then, in 1328, came successively the cruel move from Delhi to Deogiri, an abortive attempt to reduce Ma'abar to obedience, and the move back from Deogiri to Delhi. Revolts, Hindu and Musalmân, were chronic, including Hindu at Wârangal and Musalmân at Kulbarga in 1343, which were put down. Having stirred up rebellion in Gujarât by an " enquiry into arrears of revenue " and having put it down savagely, Muhammad Tughlak proceeded, about 1346, to do the same thing in Deogiri, and while there yet another revolt was raised in Gujarât by a *mamlûk* named Taghi, who was however easily defeated, though only scotched and able to give yet more trouble. The consequent absence of Muhammad Tughlak in Gujarât, practically to the remainder of his astonishing career, meant another rebellion, this time under Hasan Khangû, which was successful, Hasan Khangû becoming Sultan in Deogiri about 1348. Three years of wanderings in Gujarât and the western frontier brought Muhammad Tughlak's strenuous career to an end in 1351 from " fever ", the account of which reads like fish-poisoning.

His ill-conduct of Imperial affairs had reduced his Empire practically to India north of the Vindhyas, *minus* Bengal. Deogiri, that is the Dakhan, had defied him for at least three years ; Wârangal's allegiance was only in name ; the Hoysalas of Devârasamudra could hardly be called his vassals, and Ma'abar had been actually independent for at least fifteen years. A careful chronology of this last fact is to be found at pp. 152—4 of Professor Krishnaswami's book.

In this way, from the days of 'Alâu'ddîn Khilji to those of Muhammad Tughlak, the first half of the fourteenth century A.D. was a time of continuous strife between Muslim and Hindu in the South of India. There was invasion after invasion, rebellion after rebellion, conquest and reconquest at times of practically the whole South, and at times of unfortunate portions of it. In the end all the obivious signs that remained of the struggle was the establishment of locally independent Muslim rule in Ma'abar for a while (till 1378) ; and thus the Muhammadan incursions took the form apparently of mere raids. But in the conditions of mediæval life it was not possible for large armies to march to and fro through all the South, year after year, for something like half a century, without leaving pockets of themselves about the country, and the descendants of these must have remained on here and there, just as in the case of the Huns, Greeks, Parthians, Baktrians, and a host of other immigrant invaders of far earlier date in the North-West, and of the Shans, Môns and other Indo-Chinese races in the North-East. It would be of interest, by dint of examination into local family histories, to ascertain how far the Khiljî and Tughlak incursions still affect the population in places, for we have thus in the true South three sources of Muslim population : Firstly, the peaceful penetration of Arab and quasi-Arab mercantile invaders producing an old mixed trading population—Mâpillas, Navâyats, Labbâis, and the like ; secondly, the remnants of the military raiders of the fourteenth century ; lastly, the followers of the Dakhani Muhammadan rulers who constantly raided to the southward, and finally overthrew the Vijayanagar Empire, a Hindu Empire that rose out of the chaos ensuing on the death of Muhammad Tughlak, in the middle of the seventeenth century. Even an enquiry into the history of the Dakhanî idiom of Urdû might throw light on the influence of Islâm on the Southern Dravidian population and *vice versâ*.

The rulers of Ma'abar from Madura carried on a precarious and sanguinary struggle with the surrounding Hindus, cut off from the Dakhan by the power of Vijayanagar ; but the Southern Dakhan itself fell first under the rule of the Bâhmanis of Kulbarga, and then under the Five Shâhî Dynasties of Berâr, Ahmadnagar, Bîjâpur, Bidar and Golkoṇḍâ. There was always a quarrel between these States and their Hindu neighbours further South.

The story, briefly told, reads like one horrible tale of war, rapine, murder and atrocious cruelty. This is, however, a misleading view, and I will repeat here what I have had occasion to say of another part of India during the same centuries : "Though, on the whole, the years of the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries make up a period of perpetual war with indiscriminate merciless fighting, it does not follow that individual towns and villages saw a great deal of it. What happened from the personal point of view of the ordinary citizen who lived under it was much this. He and his were left alone to do largely as they pleased socially, with recurring intervals, not necessarily close together, of sheer nightmare, times of overwhelming horror, which they regarded much in the light of the epidemics and famines to which they were also always liable. As each bad period passed by, life recovered its ordinary routine more or less completely. Sometimes, of course, there was no recovery, and what was left of the villages and towns departed miserably elsewhere, but this was by no means commonly the case." In the South, as elsewhere, Hindu and Muhammadan have had to find a *modus vivendi* in respect of each other. How the admixture originally came about, Professor Krishnaswami's researches admirably illustrate, and show the way to a more complete investigation.

THE VELVI-KUDI PLATES AND THE SANGHAM AGE.

BY K. G. SANKARA.

IN 1893 Mr. Vênkayya intended to publish these plates (*I.A.*, XXII, 64), but produced only a summary in 1908 (*A.R.E.*, Madras, 1908, pp. 62--9). As this is in places misleading, I here give a full and correct account, from a photo-copy that I got for study.

The ten plates have 155 lines, *ll.* 1—30 and 142—150 being in Sanskrit verses, and *ll.* 30—141 and 151—155 in Tamil prose and verse, and not. as Mr. Vênkayya says, in ornate prose with frequent alliteration. The Sanskrit words are in Grantha, and the Tamil ones in Vaṭṭêḷuttu script, older than that of the Madras Museum plates of the same king's seventeenth year.

The plates invoke Śiva (*ll.* 1, 2). and then mention the *Pâṇḍyavaṁśa* with its priest Agastya. who stopped the growing Vindhya and drank up the ocean (*ll.* 3—5). Pâṇḍya, the sole survivor of the close of the Kalpa. was born as Budha to protect the world (*ll.* 5—7). This refers to the Pâṇḍya claim to lunar origin. His son was Purûravâs who destroyed the *daityas* (*l.* 8).

Of his family came Mâravarman, who ruled *long*, performed *tulâ-bhâra* (weighing against gold), and *amṛta-garbha* (passing through a golden cow), and favoured learned men (*ll.* 12—15). His son was famed (*pratîtah*) as firm in battle (*raṇa-dhîra*) (*l.* 16). His son was named (*abhidhah*) Mâravarman, the lord of Bhû-sundarî. *Sundarî* indicates that this was the queen's name, and not the earth (*ll.* 17—19). Râjasiṁha (lion of kings) forced Pallava-malla to retreat (*ll.* 19—22), performed *kanaka-garbha* and *tulâbhâra* (*l.* 23), and married the daughter of the Malava king. The Maḷavas=Mazhavas were a South Indian tribe defeated by Siṁhavishṇu (*S.I.I.*, II, 356) and Vinayâditya (*I.A.*, *VII*, 303). From her was born the king named Jaṭila (*Tam.* Saḍaiyan) (*ll.* 24—26). He is also called Parântaka, the son of Râjasiṁha, and was ruling when this *praśasti* was composed by Varodaya Bhaṭṭa (*ll.* 29—31).

Then comes the Tamil passage. The Pâṇḍya ***adhirâja pal-yâga*** **(of many sacrifices)**-*mudu* (old)-Kuḍumi-***pêru-vazhudi*** (the great king) granted Veḷvikuḍi (sacrificial village) in Pâhanûr-*kûṯṯram* to Narr-kôṯran of Kôrrkai to complete his sacrifice (*ll.* 32—38). This king is mentioned in the Sangham works. The *Maduraik-kâñcî* (*ll.* 759—760) refers to his many sacrifices, makes him an ancestor of its hero Talai-âlankânam Nêḍun-cêzhiyan, and calls him *pal-śâlai* (sacrificial halls)-*mudu*-Kuḍumi. *Purra-nânûrru* dedicates to him 5 lyrics. Kâri-kizhâr mentions him as a Śaiva (*P.N.*, 6). Nêṭṭimaiyâr refers to his many halls (*ib.*, 9, 12 and 15), and to the Pahrruḷi river (Parraḷi in Nânjinâḍ) dug by his ancestor Nêḍiyon, *i.e.*, *vaḍimb-alamba ninrra* (of feet washed by the sea)-Pâṇḍya (*ib.*, and comm.). Nêḍum-palliyattanâr mentions him as king Kuḍumi (*ib.*, 64). The foot-notes to these lyrics, by their original editor, call him *pal-yâga-śâlai-mudu*-Kuḍumi-*pêru-vazhudi*.

Then the village was in *long* (*nîḍu*) enjoyment. Since a gift is completed by handing over the deed, length of possession is not needed, only acceptance. So the mention of long enjoyment is a statement of fact, not a proof of possession. Then the Pâṇḍyas were displaced by the Kaḷabhra, who was later expelled by *adhirâja* Kaḍunkon (*ll.* 39—41, 45). The Kaḷabhra occupation was thus only short-lived.

The Kaḷabhras were so prominent from *c.* 600 to *c.* 750 A.D., that Siṁhavishṇu (*S.I.I.*, II, 356), Narasiṁha I (*ib.* I, 152), Vikramâdityas I and II (*I.A.*, IX, 129; *E.I.*, V, 204), and Vinayâditya (*I.A.*, VII, 303) claim victories over them. But Varâha-mihira (*c.* 500 A.D.) omits them among South Indian tribes. So they were prominent only after *c.* 500 A.D.

The Sangham works nowhere refer to the Kaḷabhras or their Pâṇḍya occupation. So they date before *c.* 600 or after 750 A.D. But the larger Cinnamanûr plates make the hero of Talai-âlan-kânam, (a later Pâṇḍya of the Sangham age), and the founder of the Madura Sangham, *ancestors* of the hero of Nêlveli (*ll.* 101–106). The present plates make the latter the 3rd ancestor of its donor (*acc.* 767 A.D.); and none of *his* 3 ancestors, the earliest of whom was Kaḍunkon, is called the hero of Talai-âlankânam, though their exploits are related in detail. Neither was the battle petty, as it is proudly mentioned in Sangham works and the Cinnamanûr plates. The Sangham age must hence date not after 750, but before $767—27\times(3+3)=c.\ 600$ A.D.

The average for a generation is here assumed to be 27 years, as it is the interval between successive generations of fathers and sons, *i.e.*, the age when the eldest son is born to an Indian king; unless the known dates indicate a different average for any group of kings.

The passage relating to the Kaḷabhra occupation runs thus :—*nîḍu bhukti tu(y)tta pin, aḷav-ariya adhi-râjarai ahala nîkki ahal-iḍattai* | *Kaḷabhran ênnum kali araiśan kaikkôṇḍadanai irrakkiya pin, paḍu-kaḍan=muḷaitta* | *parudi pol Pâṇḍyâdhi-râjan vêḷirrpaṭṭu,.... viṭri-rundu......kovum kurrumbum pâv-uḍan murukki....* | *Kaḍunkon* (39—45).

We can split up *kaikkôṇḍadanai* into *kaikkôṇḍu* referring to the Kaḷabhra's act, and *adanai* referring to the grant. But a relative pronoun must be construed with the next previous noun, here *ahaliḍattai*. Thus construed, the passage becomes meaningless. If *adanai irrakkiyapin* means 'after the grant was resumed', we have no word to express the recovery of the kingdom, before Kaḍunkon can rule. So *irrakkiya* must mean such recovery.

Thus, if we split up *kaikkôṇḍadanai*, we must construe *kaikkôṇḍu* with Kaḷabhran, and *adanai irrakkiyapin* with Kaḍunkon, when both should, by grammar, have a common subject. So *kaikkôṇḍadanai* must be one word. It then refers to the Kaḷabhra occupation and Kaḍunkon's recovery, as *irrakkiya* means 'to lower,' *i.e.*, undo another's act.

If the kingdom was recovered by an ancestor of Kaḍunkon, he must have been the next one, as nothing indicates other kings in the interval. But then we have no subject for *irrakiya* and nothing hints at an implied one. The context also indicates that Kaḍunkon himself recovered the kingdom, as, before his accession, he appeared like the sun springing from the ocean. The Pâṇḍyas seem to have been submerged by a disaster, from which Kaḍunkon was the first to spring up. The phrase 'appearing like the sun' is used later on (*l.* 52) in prefacing Mârravarman's exploits. The analogy shows that Kaḍunkon also *became prominent* by recovering the kingdom. *Vêḷirrpaṭṭu* is used in the same sense later on (*ll.* 49, 52, 88—9). So Kaḍunkon himself recovered the kingdom; and the Kaḷabhra occupation was the act only of a single Kaḷabhra, himself expelled by Kaḍunkon (*ll.* 40, 111—2).

Then *ahaliḍattai*, literally, means 'wide space'. The Kaḷabhra first annexed it; then it was recovered by Kaḍunkon. Only after accession, the latter subdued other kings and chiefs. So the *ahaliḍam*, that he recovered *before* accession, can only be the Pâṇḍya country.

Adhirâjarai can mean that the Kaḷabhra deprived others, besides the Pâṇḍya, of their lands. But *ahaliḍam* means only the Pâṇḍya kingdom. So, why should the victories of an alien over other aliens be mentioned in a Pâṇḍya grant? *Adhirâjarai* cannot hence include other kings. Neither can we construe both *nîkki* and *irrakkiyapin* with Kaḍunkon, as he defeated other kings only after accession. Also, such conquest must come *after* the recovery of his own kingdom. *Adhirâjarai* thus applies only to Pâṇḍyas. Elsewhere also (*ll.* 32, 41, 47), it applies only to Pâṇḍyas.

But, in the latter lines, it is in the singular, here in the plural. So the plural means at least 2 Pâṇḍyas. But, since there was only one Kaḷabhra, they must all be referred to his time, if they were all displaced. But there was no need to displace them all, unless the kingdom had been recovered by a succeeding king, of which there is no indication. So only the last of them was displaced; but, as he came of a long line of *adhirâjas*, they may all be said to have been displaced through him.

Lastly, *aḷavariya* means 'countless', not 'incomparable', as nothing in it expresses comparison, or greatness. *Aḷavariya adhirâjarai*, hence, means 'countless Pâṇḍyas through their last representative.' But there may have been many *adhirâjas* both before and after Kuḍumi. These plates thus fix the close of the Sangham age as not later than *c.* 600 A.C.

Mr. Vênkayya equates the Kaḷabhra with the Karṇâṭa of the *Mûrtinâyanâr-purâṇam*, who occupied Madura. But the Kaḷabhra was himself expelled, while the Karṇâṭa died in possession and issueless. The Kaḷabhra was succeeded by the Pâṇḍya, but the Karṇâṭa by Mûrti for want of a Pâṇḍya, and the Kaḷabhras and Karṇâṭas were distinct tribes. Mr. Vênkayya says Nêdun-cêzhiyan expelled the Kaḷabhras; but the plates ascribe the feat to Kaḍunkon.

His son was the earth's crest-gem (*avanî-cûḷâ-maṇi*) Mârravarman (*ll.* 46—48). His son was the Cera (perhaps through his mother) Śendan (*ll.* 48—51). Mr. Vênkayya, not seeing that Śendan is parted from Śêzhiyan by Vânavan and *śênkol*, takes Śêzhiyan Śendan as the king's name.

Then comes a king, whom Mr. Vênkayya calls Śendan's son. But the plates, which always state the relationships, have here only *avarrku pazhipp-inrri, vazhil-tonrri* (*l.* 51). So he was only a descendant of Śendan. As other kings are not indicated between them, he directly followed Śendan. He was not Śendan's son's son, as it is nowhere so stated, the Velûrpâḷaiyam plates saying that Narasimha II was the *putra-sûnu* of Paramesvara I (*JRAS.*, 1911, p. 522), and the larger Cinnamanûr plates saying that Râjasimha I was the *pautra* of Parânkuśa (*l.* 107). So Śendan's successor was his daughter's son, as the terms *without*

discredit indicate birth in another family. He is called Arikesarî (lion to foes), Asamasama (condescending), Mârravarman (*l.* 62). Mr. Vênkayya says that he appeared on the Udayagiri. But the plates say only that he came out like the sun that rests on the middle of the Udayagiri (*ll.* 51-52).

He won at Pâzhi and Nêlveli (*ll.* 53-54). In the latter. Mr. Vênkayya says he fought with Vilveli. Mr. K. V. Subrahmaṇya Ayyar thinks that the Pallavas from Vilveli (Villivalam in Chingleput district) over-ran the Pâṇḍyas (*Hist. Sketches, Anc. Dekh.*, pp. 123—5). But why should the plates, which claim victories over Coḷas, Ceras and even Kurrunâḍas, mention the Pallavas only through a village ? The passage only means "the army fenced in (*veli*) by bowmen (*vil*)" (*l.* 53), and all guesses as to whether Vilveli was a person or place are needless.

Then Mârra destroyed the Kurrunâḍas, won Śênnilam, many times defeated the Keraḷa "who ruled the whole earth unrivalled" and thus was then most powerful in S. India, captured the capital Kozhi (Urraiyûr) of the Coḷas, and performed many *hiraṇya-garbhas* and *tulâbhâras* (*ll.* 55—60).

His son was king (*ko*) Śaḍaiyan, who won at Marudûr, destroyed the Ây-veḷ, and at the *great city* Mangala-pura (Mangalore), the Mahâratha, and—was called Cera, Coḷa was Karṇâṭa and Kôngas' king (*ll.* 62—70).

The Ây-veḷ are the Ây kings of Nânjinâḍ in S. Travancore, whose inscriptions were published in *Trav. Arch. Ser.* Mr. Vênkayya read the name as Âya-Vel, but, riming with *ey* (*ll.* 63-4) and *tivây* (*ll.* 94-5), it must be Ây-veḷ, and even the dot is seen in the latter lines, though its use is not uniform in these plates. The Sangham works also have only Ây-Anḍiran and Ây-Êyinan, and we have a place Âykkuḍi, even to-day.

Mahâratha indicates a Câḷukya, but Dr. Dubreuil's equation with Vikramâditya I (*Pallavas*, p. 68) is untenable, as the latter fought at Pêruvaḷanallûr, not Mangalapura. His guesses as to the relations of the Pallava and Pâṇḍya Râjasimhas are based *only* on their identical titles.

Śaḍaiyan's son was Mârran (*ll.* 71, 88). Mr. Vênkayya, mistaking *mânter Mârran* (Mârran of the horse-chariot), thought the name was Ter-Mârran. But this ignores *mân*. He also construes *mânter Varodayan* (Irraiyanâr : *Ahappôruḷ*—st. 31, 42, 59, 169, 298, 325) to hint at a king Ter-Varodayan, when Varodayan was only a title of Nêḍu-mârran.

This Mârran fought at Nêḍuvayal, Kurrumaḍai, Manni-kuricci, Tiru-mangai, Pûvalûr, Kôḍum-pâḷûr, the Pallava at Kuzhumbûr, and at Pêriyalûr, crossed the Kâveri and subdued Kôngu of the Mazhavas (Mazha-kôngam) (*ll.* 72—81). At Pâṇḍik-Kôḍumuḍi, he worshipped Paśupati (*l.* 82) with gold-heaps and gems (*l.* 83). He then allied himself by marriage (*sambandham*) with Gangâ-râja of the Kôngas (Kôngaravan) (*ll.* 83—4). This refers to his marrying the Mazhava princess. So she was the daughter of Ganga-râja, the Mazhava king of the Kôngas. Then he performed countless *gosahasras* (1000 cows), *hiraṇyagarbhas* and *tulâbhâras*, and renewed the walls named (*ênnum*) Kûḍal, Vanci, and Kozhi (*ll.* 84—7).

Mr. Vênkayya, ignoring *ênnum*, mistook the walls for those of the Pâṇḍya, Coḷa and Cera capitals. But all the walls might have been in Madura and only *named* after the other capitals in memory of a previous conquest of the Coḷas and Ceras. But *renewed* indicates the conquest as this Mârran's grandfather's. It is more natural for a king to have renewed his own and not other's walls.

His son Nêdun-jadaiyan defeated the Pallava at Pennâhadam, south of the Kâveri, and the Ây-vel and the Kurrumbas at Nâttukurrumbu (*ll.* 88, 92—96). His titles were Tênnavânava (Pândya and Cera), Śrîvara (lord of fortune), Śrîmanohara (charming with fortune), Śinaccozha (angry Cola), Punap-pûzhiya (of dry-land Ceras), Vîtakalmasha (rid of impurities), Vinaya-viśruta (famed for humility), Vikrama-pâraga (of unbounded valour), Vîra-puroga (first of heroes), Marut-bala (strong as wind), Mânya-śâsana (of honoured commands), Manûpama (like to Manu), Mardita-vîra (of trampled heroes), Giri-sthira (mountain-firm), Gîti-kinnara (a centaur in song), Krp-âlaya (home of mercy), Krt-âpadâna (of finished works), Kalip-pahai (foe of Kali), Kantaka-nishthura (merciless to the evil-minded), Kârya-dakshina (skilled in works), Kârmuka-Pârtha (Arjuna-like bowman), Parântaka (destroyer of foes), Pandita-vatsala (patron of learned men), Pari-pûrna (contented), Pâpabhîru (fearing sin), Guna-grâhya (appreciating merit), Gûdh-anirnaya (secret in counsel) (*ll.* 97—102).

In his 3rd year, a citizen, fallen in fortune (*pâdu-nîttavar*), and not, as Mr. Vênkayya says, the palace-singer, of Madura complained to the king that Velvikudi, granted to his family by the king's ancestor Parameśvara Kudumi, had been resumed by the Kalabhras. The king smiled unbelieving (*nanrru-nanrr-ênrru*), and asked him to prove the old grant by evidence (*nâttâl*). When it was so proved, the king renewed the grant to Kâmak-kâni Iśvaran Śingan of Kôrrkai (*ll.* 103—118, 134).

Mr. L. D. Svâmikannu Pillai is puzzled that the king agreed to accept as evidence of the grant the *oral* testimony of the villagers, though more than 7 generations had passed, since possession was lost. But the plates only say that the king wanted the grant to be proved by *evidence*, as *nâttal* is from *nâttu*, 'to establish', and that it was so proved. So the gift must have been proved by producing the deed, which remained, even after possession was lost.

The Âjnapti, *i.e.*, the executor, who is usually the grantor himself, or, if it is a king's grant, the *yuvarâja*, *uttara-mantri* (premier), or district officer, is here Mârran's son Kâri, of Vaidya caste, and title *Mûvenda-mangalap-per-araiyan*, a descendant of the Karavandapura (Kalakkâd in Tinnevelli District) family (*Karavanda-purattavar-kulat-tonrral*), settled there by the previous king (*pûrva-râja*) Mârran for services in defeating Gangarâja of the Kôngas and, at Vênbai, the Vallabha, and negotiating Mârran's marriage with Gangarâja's daughter (*ll.* 126—9, 132—3). The title Vallabha is normal to the Câlukyas, and, as this battle was fought about the time of Vikramâditya II's invasion in *c.* 740 A.D., and he claims conquest of the Pândyas also in that invasion [*E.I.*, IX, 205], this Vallabha must be Vikramâditya II. The Kôngas' king here mentioned as having married Gangarâja's daughter must be Mârran, who won that title by conquest.

Then a donee Mûrti Éyinan (*l.* 136), and Sâttan Śâttan, or, Senâpati Enâdi, who wrote this Tamil eulogy are mentioned (*ll.* 139—40). Next follow Sanskrit verses, which mention the Âjnapti as Mangala-râja (the auspicious chief), Madhura-tara (of sweet manners), Śâstravit (versed in sciences), Kavi (poet), Vâgmî (eloquent), a Vaidya, resident of Karavandapura, and the usual imprecatory stanzas about the making, protecting, and violating of grants, cited from *Vaishnava-dharma* (perhaps the *Vishnu dharmottara-purâna*, (*ll.* 141—50). The engraver was Yuddha Kesari (lion in battle) Pêrum-panai-kâran (the great drummer). (*l.* 155.)

I now fix the date of these plates. The last kings of the Sanskrit and Tamil parts are identical, as they were both sons of the Mârran, who married the Malava princess, named Jatila and Parântaka, and ruling at the time of the grant. The Âjnapti was the builder

of the Ânaimalai temple [*E.I.*, VIII, 317—21], as both were Kârîs, sons of Mârran, Vaidyas, residents of Karavandapura or Kaḷakkuḍi, Madhurataras, Kavis, and Mûvenda-mangalap-per-araiyans. So they served the same king Mârranjaḍaiyan (*Ânaimalai Insc.*, Tam. part), *named* Jaṭila (*Veḷvikuḍi plates*, Skt. part), and Parântaka (*Ânaimalai Insc.* Skt. part). So the king's name was Jaṭila Parântaka, and *neḍum* in Nêḍunjaḍaiyan is only an epithet.

The Sanskrit part of the Ânaimalai inscription says that Mârran-Kâri built the rock-temple to Vishṇu (Narasimha) as the man-lion, and consecrated the image (*krta-pratishṭhah*) on a Pûshan day (Sunday and Revati) of Kârttika in Kali 3871 expired=4th Nov. 770 A.D., and gave grants to Brâhmaṇs, as usual on such occasions. But, says the Tamiḻ part, he died before he could perform *nîrttaḷittal*, and so his younger brother Mârran Éyinan, who succeeded him as *uttara-mantri*, built the outer hall and performed the ceremony. This Éyinan had the title Pâṇḍi-mangala-viśai-araiyan. Mr. G. Vênkoba Rao thought *nîrttaḷittal* was the consecration ceremony. But it had been performed by Kâri himself. Mr. T. A. Gopînâtha Rao read the word as *nirattaḷittu* to mean "completed the outworks and gifted them." But then we should have *nirappi*, not *nirattu*, as *nirattu* can only mean 'levelled,' never 'completed.' Even *nirappi* means 'filled,' not 'completed'. The vowel also in *nî* is long. So we must read *nîrttaḷittal*, *i.e.*, *samprokshaṇa* (Skt.)='sprinkling'. The omission of the dot is not unusual. Mr. Rao objects that we should then have *têḷittal*, not *taḷittal*. But *taḷitta* is used for 'sprinkling' in *Ainkurru-nûrru* (*l.* 328). So the ceremony was again performed to consecrate the outworks, which took time to complete.

Mârran-Kâri, thus, died in a month or two of the image-consecration and before the outworks were completed, *i.e.*, about the close of 770 A.D. The Veḷvikuḍi plates, of which he was Âjnapti, must date before this event. In Parântaka's third year, Mârran-Kâri was *uttaramantri*, as he was chosen Âjnapti. Early in 771 A.D., he was succeeded by his brother Mârran Éyinan. But, in the sixth year, the *mahâ-sâmanta* (great feudatory) was the Vaidya Śâttan Gaṇapati Pâṇḍi-amṛta-mangala-araiyan of Karavandapura (*I.A.*, XXII, 67). As the title *mahâ-sâmanta* was applied only to the premier (*cf.* its application to Amśuvarman) (*I.A.*, IX, 163—94. Nos. 5 and 6; S. Levi: *Nepâl*, III, Nos. 9, 12—5), Śâttan Gaṇapati seems to have displaced Mârran Éyinan. Allowing the latter at least 2 years, the close of the third year falls in 770 A.D., and the king's accession dates 767 A.D.

I now discuss the sixth year inscription referred to. Mr. Vênkayya took the *Nakkan-kôṭri*, builder of the temples to Durgâ and Jyeshṭhâ, for the wife of Śâttan Gaṇapati. Mr. Gopinâtha Rao objects that the plural *avarrku* makes her the queen. Here, he confuses the plural *avarkku* (*avar+ku*) with the singular *avarrku* (*avan+ku*), and the king also is mentioned only in the singular (*cf.* *Śaḍaiyarrku* and *avarrku*). So Nakkan-kôṭri was the wife, not of the king, mentioned early, but of Śâttan Gaṇapati, mentioned just before. If she were a queen, her usual titles should have been mentioned. It is also more natural for a wife than the queen to add her gifts to the temple and tank that Gaṇapati had repaired; and if the queen were the donor, she should have been mentioned before the *mahâ-sâmanta*. So Nakkan-kôṭri was the wife of Śâttan Gaṇapati.

Mr. Vênkayya equates Mârran-Kâri and Madhura-kavi *âḻvâr*. But the latter was a Brâhmaṇ of Tiruk-koḷûr, while the former was a Vaidya and descendant of a family *settled* in Karavandapura by the previous king. So it cannot be argued that the *âḻvâr*, though born at Tiruk-koḷûr, lived at Karavandapura, after entering the Pâṇḍya service. Besides, he toured in N. India till he first met Nammâḻvâr after the latter's sixteenth year. So Nammâḻvâr was not named after Madhurakavi's son; and Nammâḻvâr had been named long

before he met Madhurakavi. Mr. Gopînâtha Rao makes Mârran-Kâri the father of Nammâḷvâr=Kâri-Mârran. But Mârran-Kâri's father was Mârran, while Nammâḷvâr's father's father was Pôrrkâri; and Nammâḷvâr was a Veḷâḷa of Kuruhûr, not a Vaidya of Kaḷakkâḍ. As the Ânaimalai temple had to be completed by Mârran-Kâri's younger brother, perhaps he had no son. If Nammâḷvâr had been Mârran-Kâri's son, he would not have omitted to sing his father's Ânaimalai temple, when he sings the Tiru-Mohûr temple hard by (*Tiru-vây-môzhi*, X. i).

Mr. Vênkayya says that Tirumangai-âḷvâr came a decade or two *after* Nammâḷvâr. But Tirumangai, who mentions Vairamegha (a title of Râshtrakûṭa Dantidurga, who defeated the captor of Kâncî before 754 A.D.) (*E.C.*, Gb. 61, XI, Tk.: *E.I.*, IX, No. 4) as *being* bowed down to (*vaṇangum*) by the Tôndai king of Kâncî, and as having besieged (*tan vali śûzhnda*) Kâncî (*Pêriya-tiru-môzhi*, II. viii, 10), wrote *before* 754 A.D., as Dantidurga was followed soon after by his uncle Kṛshṇa I; while Nammâḷvâr sings about Śrî-vara-mangalam (*Tiru-vây-môzhi*, V, vii), the name given to Velankuḍi by Jaṭila Parântaka, when granting it to Sujjaṭa-bhaṭṭa in his seventeenth year=783 A.D. (*I.A.*, XXII, 71), and so wrote at least thirty years *after* Tirumangai.

THE MÂHISHMATÎ OF KÂRTAVÎRYA.

BY KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI, B.A., LL.B.

DIFFERENT scholars have claimed different places as being the site of the ancient capital of the Haihaya king Arjuna, Kârtavîrya, but no final and incontrovertible conclusion has been reached yet. It will therefore be useful to suggest a few considerations in support of the view which has been put forward by Śirîsha Chandra Vidyârṇava in his appendix to the English translation of the *Matsya Purâṇa* published by the Panini Office.[1] According to that view the Mâhishmatî of Kârtavîrya was situate at the place where now stands the town of Broach (Bhṛigu-Kachha) in Gujarat.

It is easy to ascertain the characteristics of this Mâhishmatî, originally a capital of Nâga, son of Karkotaka. Kârtavîrya captured it and founded Mâhishmatî.[2] It is admitted by all authorities that this city stood on the Narmadâ. In referring to it all authorities further agree in indicating its proximity to the sea: and in distinctly mentioning that the tidal waves of the sea came right up to the city and that it was a base for naval power.[3] "When he (Kârtavîrya) agitated the waters of the river in his gambols, the Narmadâ trembling with fear at his sight and becoming highly astonished surrendered herself to him. He alone with his thousand arms swelled it by putting the water of the sea into it; and increased it as it increases in the monsoon. And the ocean being thus agitated by his thousand arms became subdued by him, and he extended his seapower so that the residents in the Pâtâla became inoffensive and quiet."

Somehow this peculiarity appears to have been lost sight of by those who have tried to locate this city; but it is so clearly given in the *Purâṇas* that it admits of no doubt on this point.

1 Published by Sudhindra Nath Vasu, Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad.

2 *Matsya P.*, XLIII, 29-30; *Vâyu P.*, XXXII, 26; *Harivaṁśa I*, XXXIII, 28.

3 *Ibid.*, XLIII, 31; *ibid.*, XXXII, 28; *ibid.*, XXXII, 28.

None of the cities on the Narmadâ which have been heretofore identified as Mâhishmatî stands where the tidal waves could conceivably have reached. The only place on the Narmadâ which could have been possibly described in this manner must have stood somewhere near the site of the present city of Broach, which according to Hieun-Thsang stood very near the sea in his time.[4]

Being the capital of Kârtavîrya's kingdom it must have occupied an important position in the portion of the country over which he held sway. Kârtavîrya is called the lord of Anûpa.[5]

Anûpa literally means a place near the sea or a marshy place, and was applied to various tracts near the sea.[6] In the *Mahâbhârata* times the word Anûpa was applied to a kingdom apparently insignificant, on the west coast.[7] It also appears that Surâshṭra, Anûpa and Ânarta were contiguous countries and that Anûpa lay to the south of Surâshtra.[8]

These references show that the only portion which could be called Anûpa and which could have a capital situate on the Narmadâ must be the portion of Gujarât between the Mahî and the Taptî.

The extent of Kârtavîrya's dominions can also be ascertained by the names of his immediate descendants, which are in reality either the names of the provinces which formed part of his empire, or the names of the different tribes which went to make up the Haihaya and Tâlajanga races of which he was the chief. These names are given as Śûrasena, Śûra, Tâlajanga, Avanti, Vîtihotra, Shâryâta, Bhoja, Tundikera, and Ânarta.[9] Śûrasena is Mathurâ. Śûra appears to be the tribe which gave its name to the peninsula of Kâṭhiâwâr the name of Surâshṭra. Avantî is Mâlwâ. Ânarta is old Gujarât with its old capital Kuśasthalî (Dwârkâ). Vîtihotra or Vîtihavya is a country to the west of the Vindhyas[10]. Kundikera or better Tuṇḍikera is also a name of a tribe near the Vindhyas.[11] Bhojas appear to have settled to the east of Arravali and their kingdom was known as Shâlva in the *Mahâbhârata* times.[12] The dominions of Kârtavîrya therefore appear to be bounded by Yamunâ on the north-east; Vetravatî or Betwa on the east; Narmadâ on the south and the sea and the desert of Rajputana on the west. The extent of this empire clearly shows that its most important portion was Anûpa, *i.e.*, Gujarat and Kathiawar. And neither Mandala[13] nor Maheśwar[14] nor Mândhâtâ[15] occupies a central position with regard to this country. It would therefore be more natural to expect the capital of this empire somewhere nearer the sea and being on the Narmadâ, it must be somewhere near Broach.

During the *Mahâbhârata* times Kârtavirya's country and its capital Mâhishmatî appear to have ceased to exist except as a mere tradition. In those times Âryâvarta except for the kingdom of Vidarbha was bounded on the south by Narmadâ for all practical purposes and

4 Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*.
5 *Mbh.*, Vana p., cxvii, 19.
6 *Mbh.*, Udyoga p., xix, 9; *Vâyu P.*, xxvi, 86; *Hari II*, xxxvii, 29.
7 *Mbh.*, Sabhâ, p. iv, 24-35; Udyoga, p. iv, 13-24.
8 *Hari II*, xxxvii, 29-40.
9 *Matsya P.*, xliii, 46—49; *Hari I*, xxxiv, 49.
10 *Matsya P.*, cxiv, 52—55.
11 Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, 344.
12 *Mbh.* Vana p., xiv, xx, xvi, ccliii; *Hari I*, xxxviii.
13 (1837) *JASB.*, 622; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, 488.
14 (1807) 9 *As. Res.*, 105; *Imp. Gaz.*, sub-nom. Mahheswar.
15 (1910) *JRAS.*, 425; Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, 333 *n.*

consisted of well defined kingdoms. Except for stray references to some insignificant Anûparâja, the kingdom of Anûpa had disappeared.[16] None of Kârtavîrya's line ever appears to have reigned in Mâhishmatî after him. The only king of Mâhishmatî spoken of being Nila, who is referred to hereafter. Jayadhvaja, a descendant of Kârtavîrya, is a king of Avantî.[17]

Kâlidâsa in the Raghuvaṁśa mentions a king Pratîpa in Kârtavîrya's line holding sway at Mâhishmatî.[18] But neither the epics nor the *Purâṇas* mention any such name in his line and the poet seems to have given a local habitation, name and a traditional lineage to an imaginary king with a view merely to heighten the literary effect of the situation by a recital of the glorious deeds of Kârtavîrya.

On the contrary, it is quite clear that in Kâlidâsa's time no city of the name of Mâhishmatî with the memories of Kârtavîrya attached to it was known to exist on the Northern bank of Narmadâ. Because had there been any such city, Meghadûta on his way from Amarakaṇṭaka to Vidiśâ and Ujjain would not have failed to halt over the town where once the thousand armed Haihaya ruled and thus to give to the poet an opportunity for an eulogistic outburst.

The Mâhishmati of the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purâṇas* is the city where lived a tribe designated as Mahisha, Mâhishaka, Mahishîka or Mâhishmaka.[19] There is also a river Mahishikâ near this city.[20]

The position of this city could easily be ascertained on a reference to the Epics and the *Purâṇas*, all of which agree in considering it a country of the Dakhśinâpatha. Sahadeva comes to it not only after crossing the Narmadâ, but after conquering Avantî, Bhojakaṭa, Kośala and Prâkkośala—perhaps the same as Mahâkośala of Hieun Thsang,[21] the kings on the banks of the Venya (Vainganga) the Pulindas (Pulmadai of Ptolemy) and Kishkindha.[22] The Aśvamedha Parva puts Mâhishaka between Ândhra and Kollagiri,[23] the Bhîshma Parva with the southern countries like Karnâtaka.[24] In the *Râmâyaṇa*, Kish. K., it is placed between Vidarbha and Rśṭaki[25] on the one hand, and Kalinga and Daṇḍakâraṇya on the other.[26]

In the *Matsya Purâṇa* it is placed between Pâṇḍya, Kerala, Chola on the one hand and Kalinga, Vidarbha, Daṇḍakâ and countries on the Narmadâ on the other.[27] Further it is not mentioned as one of the countries on the western extremity (as a matter of fact, surrounding) the Vindhyas though Kishkindhaka which is to the north of Mâhishaka is placed there.[28] The *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa* places it between Mahârâshṭra and Kalinga.[29]

From a careful perusal of these lists the following conclusions can be deduced :—

(1) That Kishkindhaka was near the Vindhya but Mâhishaka, which was to the south of it, was not.

(2) That Mâhashika was to the south of Narmadâ and not quite on its southern bank.

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16 *Mbh.*, Sabhâ, iv, 24-35; Udyoga, iv. 13-24.

17 *Matsya P.*, xliii, 46. *Vâyu P.*, xxxii, 50.

18 Canto. vi, 43.

19 *Bṛihat Saṁhita*, 9—10, 17—26; *Mbh*, Bhishma, ix, 366; *Vishnu P.*, iv, 24; *Mârkaṇḍeya*, lvii, 46.

20 *Râm.*, Kishk., xli, 16.

21 Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*.

22 *Mbh.*, Sabhâ, xxxiv.

23 Chap. xxciii, 11.

24 Chap. ix.

25 Mahârâshṭra, according to Bhândârkar's *Bom. Gaz.*, V, ii, 143.

26 *Râm.*, Kishk. xci, 10.

27 *Matsya P.*, cxiv, 46—51.

28 *Ibid.*, cxiv, 52—55.

29 *Markand. P.*, lvii, 46.

(3) That it was further to the south of Vidarbha and between Kalinga, Ândhra, Kollagiri and Daṇḍakâ. These countries are now identified beyond controversy.

(4) That at that time the town known as Mâhishmati was neither on the north bank of the Narmadâ, nor anywhere near the sea, nor within that portion of the country which could be identified with Anûpadeśa.

These conclusions leave no doubt whatsoever that the Mâhishmatî of king Nila was not the Mâhishmatî of king Kârtavirya.

But if anything more was required the description of Mâhishmatî of Nila, as given in the *Mahâbhârata*, Sabhâ P., would be sufficient to make its identification with the city of the Great Haihaya king impossible.

King Nila though at one place called king of Anûpa (a clear case of transfer of traditional epithet) is neither a Haihaya nor a Yâdava nor one reputed to have descended from some eminent founder of the families of Âryan kings. His people are not Âryans of any well known stock but Nilâyudha's or Lilâyudha's.[30] They are a degraded people who have given up the sacred rites,[31] and whose easy morals have nothing in common with the high standard imposed by Âryan civilization.[32] And therefore Mâhishmatî of Nîla was a city of a non-Aryan people and could not be the city of the king whose righteous deeds and famous sacrifices were the admiration of posterity.

There was also a third city by name Mâhishmatî founded by Muchkunda, the son of Mândhâtâ, at a place where the Vindhyâ and the Ṛksha mountains meet.[33] That city appears to have disappeared altogether.

There is also no doubt that during the post-Mahâbhârata and Buddhistic times there was a town somewhere to the south of the Vindhya which was called by the name of Mâhishmatî or Mahêshmatî. It also appears that on account of the identity of names those who have sought to locate Mâhishmati have naturally found great difficulty in finding out a suitable place which can answer the description of the Mâhishmatî of Kârtavîrya, of Nila and the one mentioned in *Mahâvanso*. Whether the two cities last mentioned were situated on the site of Mandla or of Chauli-Maheshwar or of Mandhâtâ does not affect the question as to where Kârtavirya's capital lay.

A close examination of the events which followed the destruction of Kârtavirya's power discloses the reason why Mâhishmati and Anûpadeśa of that king disappeared. Jâmadagnya Râma appears to have destroyed the power of Haihaya king, and under his lead the Bhṛigus appear to have taken possession of the most important part of the dominions vanquished. The Śûrpâraka which Paraśurâma called into existence was the country which stretched from the north of Narmadâ to Sopara near Bombay.[34] There appears to be no doubt that the banks of the Narmadâ from Broach up to the very mouth of the river were considered sacred to Bhṛigu and Jâmadagnya.[35] Of course we do not find the name of Bhṛigukachha applied to any tract on the banks of the Narmadâ in the *Mahâbhârata* times; but looking to the extent of Sûrpâraka it is quite clear that the tract which was

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30 *Mbh.*, Udyoga P., xix, 24; *Bhishma* P., lvi. 13.

31 *Ibid.*, Anushâsan. xxxiii, 22.

32 *Ibid.*, Sabha P., xxxiv.

33 *Hari II*, xxxviii, 19.

34 *Mbh.*, Sabha P., xxx; Vana P., lxxxviii, cxviii; Śânti P., xlix; Anushasan P., xxv, 50; *Hari II*, xxxix, 28. *Arch. Survey of W. India*, No. 10, p. 31.

35 *Matsya P.*, xciii, 33–34.

subsequently known as Bhṛigukachha was included in Śûrpâraka. A part of Anûpadeśa therefore appears to have been included in Sûrpâraka and only a small kingdom on the west coast known as Anûpa survived in the times of the Pâṇḍavas.

All these facts leave no doubt in my mind that the wrath of Râma was not only carried to the extent of destroying Kârtavîrya's capital but even of obliterating its very existence by including it in Sûrpâraka ; and that it was at some place near Broach.

MISCELLANEA.

MULTIPLE ORIGIN OF TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL TERMS.

The question of the origin of Anglo-Indian terms has frequently been raised in this *Journal* and in discussing those used in the days of the Scattergoods, Vol. L, Supplement, pp. 7, 11, it was shown that such words as "dimity," "taffeta," and the like had at least a double and sometimes a multiple origin. That is to say, the Oriental term *dimyâtî* was applied to a certain fabric of European origin, which was known in Europe as "dimity," though *dimyâtî* really meant a fabric exported to the East through Dimyât (Damietta in Egypt) and had no etymological connection with "dimity." Later on English merchants in India bought and sent to England a fabric, called *dimyâtî*, or "dimity," because of its general resemblance to the familiar "dimity" of Europe. "Dimity" as a term has thus come to have a double origin, European and Asiatic. The history of "taffeta" as a commercial and technical term is much the same, as it came to be used for fabrics of both European (*taffeta*) and Asiatic (*tâfta*) origin.

The object of the present note is to show that the origin of technical commercial terms generally may have a twofold source in folk-etymology and commercial custom respectively. This by way of warning to the searcher.

In former days an Inn in England was known solely by its sign, say a bull, a gate, a goose, a gridiron, a rose, a crown, a shoulder of mutton, a cucumber, and so on. The name of the sign was commercially far more important than that of the proprietor of the Inn. Travellers went to stay at the Bull, or the Gate, or the Goose, or the Gridiron, or the Elephant, or the Castle, without troubling to know who the owner was. When, however, it became necessary or convenient to a proprietor to transfer his premises to, say, the Bull from the Gate, or to the Goose from the Gridiron, he sought to entice both his old customers and those of the former proprietor of his new premises to the new combined Inn, which he therefore named the Bull and Gate, the Goose and Gridiron, the Elephant and Castle, without reference to the incongruity of the names they coupled. Messrs. Larwood and Hotten, *History of Signboards*, quote an advertisement in the *Postboy*, Jan. 2-4, 1711 : "Peter Duncombe and Saunders Dancer, who lived at the Naked Boy in Great Russell-street, Covent-garden [London] removed to the Naked Boy and Mitre near Somerset House, Strand [London]."

Such incongruous double names became common and familiar, and led to interesting instances of folk-etymology. Boulogne Mouth, *i.e.*, Boulogne Harbour in France, was a very familiar name in England in the eighteenth century and became a common Inn sign as the Bull and Mouth. Here we can see the effect of commercial custom on folk-etymology very clearly. Quite as good an example is the turning of Catherine Wheel into Cat and Wheel (Cat being a familiar shortening of Catherine). And so Goat and Compasses arose out of God encompasseth [us], a familiar expression of the English Puritan times. Bag o' Nails out of Bacchanals is due to the same influence. But perhaps the best of all is Pig and Whistle out of Piga Wassail, Anglo-Saxon for "Virgin, Hail !" an ancient pious ejaculation, which may however be rendered more humanly by "a lass and a glass !"

We are here, however, in the presence of a general tendency of the human mind in commerce, which urges it to maintain the continuity of familiar things during a change of circumstances. Thus, the early Muslim Pathân Kings in India found it necessary to preserve the appearance of the coins of their Hindu predecessors in their own, and to use Devanagiri characters for a while instead of Arabic in describing their titles and names. Just as the Kushâns had had to use Greek characters on theirs before them, and after them the East India Company the form and Persian characters of Shâh 'Alam of Delhi on theirs. A minute difference between the Australian and English sovereign long acted to the detriment of the former, though the intrinsic value of the two sovereigns was identical, and the Maria Theresa dollar was the only coin recognised in parts of Africa very long after that Austrian monarch's death, who, indeed, never reigned there. Many other instances could be given.

A very familiar example of the same tendency is in the names of commercial firms: Messrs. Smith, Jones and Robinson will remain an important

firm after there has been no Smith or Jones or Robinson in it for more than a generation. In India we have the instance of Śri Jamsetjee Jijibhoy, Bart, *in perpetuo* as a personal name, let alone old established firms.

That the mental tendency above indicated is universal is shown in the fact that in a Swiss town in which this note is written, I find such Hotel names as follows: Palace et du Cygne (Palace and Swan); Grand et des Alpes (Grand and the Alpes) not Grand Hotel des Alpes which has a different sense altogether: Parc et Lac (Park and Lake); Belmont et Chateau (Belmont and Castle); Excelsior et Bon Port, and so on. In a French Provincial town I came across a delightful incongruous Inn sign, Du soleil et de L'Ecosse (the Sun and Scotland); and there is the well-known Hotel at Marseilles, Du Louvre et de la Paix (the Louvre and Rest). In each of these cases there has been an amalgamation of the old proprietaries into one concern.

The moral of all this is that searchers in tracing the history of international terms must be on the lookout for folk-etymology arising out of custom.

R. C. Temple.

BOOK-NOTICE.

Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas, being studies in the grammar of Fifteen Himalayan Dialects. By the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey, Asiatic Society's Monographs. Vol. XVII, pp. xv, 275. London R. A. S., 1920.

This is another of Mr. Grahame Bailey's invaluable records of Himalayan speech, bearing date 1920 on the cover and 1915 on the title page. The War no doubt is responsible for what looks like a long delay in publishing. It is in fact a supplement or continuation of his *Languages of the Northern Himalayas,* Vol. XII of the same series, and between the two books Mr. Bailey has now given us an account of 41 of the Hill Dialects. Indeed, so closely are the two accounts connected and interwoven that the student must use them together.

The dialects examined in this volume belong to the Tibeto-Burman, 2: Lahindâ, 2; Western Pahâṛi, 9; Panjâbî 2. In addition are notes on the secret vocabulary of the Qalandars, Qasâis and the Panjâbî gamblers. A notable collection.

Mr. Bailey goes into his subject with a thoroughness and a detail that is delightful to the student, but at the same time rather alarming to the helpers he would so like to encourage. Transliteration, or rather transcription, and the attempt to reproduce sounds with exactitude on paper can be so complicated as to defeat their own end to a greater extent than scholars perhaps realise. One reason is that hardly two people speak quite alike. The pronunciation of words and sounds varies in a remarkable degree even amongst the recognised educated masters of a language. Witness the efforts of the compilers of the *Oxford English Dictionary* to get at the "true" pronunciation of many English words. Then again any form of writing must be at bottom a question of conventional signs (like speech itself for that matter), which, as long as they are understood, answer their purpose. Just as any approach to the conventional sound and use of words answers so long as it is understood. So does any conventional method of reproducing them on paper also answer—so long as it is understood, whether it be a recognised alphabet, syllabary or ideogram, or combination of signs that can be so explained as to be intelligible. But to any except very special students, there is a limit to the number of these signs which is quite quickly reached in practice. Philologists and phonologists are apt to forget this and to put so many special signs on paper to express their meaning that they do not actually succeed in doing so. Witness the official monographs on the North American languages.

Mr. Bailey makes an appeal at p. vii of his Preface: "Here I could turn to those whose business or pleasure takes them to places where unknown or little-known languages are spoken and appeal to them to make an attempt to elicit from the people facts of grammar and pronunciation, and to add to the sum of human knowledge by giving these facts to the public." I hope he may be successful in his appeal. I made a similar appeal as to the collection of legends and stories nearly 30 years ago in my *Legends of the Panjab.* It has borne some fruit; but not a satisfactory crop. Perhaps the cause has been that I asked for the *ipsissima verba* of the native tellers of tales as well as a translation, and that may have frightened would-be helpers. So the danger I perceive in getting people to follow Mr. Bailey and those like him is that the detail of the approved method of record may frighten them. It is not every one that has the ear to follow the niceties of the sounds produced by speakers of vernaculars, or the special knowledge of the conventions by which they are recorded with pen and ink. Then again, years ago I put on paper my efforts to record dialects and languages spoken in Burma and the neighbouring countries, and still more years ago I tried to do the same for the Panjab and for the speech of some of the very people exploited by Mr. Bailey, only to find as time went on that the approved method of record had become changed in both cases. So my records, though given to the public, cannot apparently be used by it. I do not make these remarks to detract from the great value of Mr. Bailey's work to advanced scholars and students, but to show the

unlikelihood of many following in his steps unless there is a fair prospect of their efforts becoming useful to others.

Having dwelt for years among peoples who used tones as a principal element in speech, I could not help observing the importance of being able to distinguish them on paper, and also the difficulty thereof. I also observed the immense difficulty that strangers, with whom the use of tones was a minor matter (for speakers of all languages use them colloquially), had in both learning and using them. Englishmen in Burma have to get along without any or at best a limited use of them, and yet their use of the language is understood by the educated and more intelligent people they have to deal with. Speaking to a yokel is another matter. The Chinese have got over the difficulty in a fashion by expressing them on paper under a system of undisguised ideograms, and the Burmese, Talaings and so on by a system of "accents," and then we have Sir George Grierson's idea of diacritical strokes. Other methods have been tried: *e.g.*, special spelling, as in Panjâbi. But whatever the method, it has to be specially learnt on paper, and when learnt, the difficulty of the student recorder still remains in the accuracy of his own ear. So great is this difficulty and the consequent uncertainty of accurate, and therefore scientific, record, that it is quite a moot point whether, except in cases where tone is an essential feature in a language, it is advisable to ask any but a specially qualified observer to note tones on paper at all.

In such hands as Mr. Bailey's the record of tones is of the greatest importance in explaining linguistic changes in the history of words. On p. xi. of his Preface occurs the following important passage :—" The average Panjabi appears quite unable to say a pure *h* (other than a *kh*, etc.), and will always substitute for it either the deep or the high tone, yet in daily conversation he frequently uses a pure *h* instead of *s* after a vowel. Thus for the sentence *maĩ tĕnū̃ dăsnā̃ dăs paisĕ ditte sāsū*, I thee-to telling-am-ten pice given were-by-him, *i.e.*, I tell you he gave ten pice, he will say *maĩ tĕnū̃ dahnā̃ dăh paihe dĭtte hāhŭ*, where all the aspirates are pure and non-sonant." Here we have it seems to me an acceptable explanation of the well-known change of *s* to *h* in the Indian languages, and even of the use of *h* in other languages to express the *s* of borrowed Indian words

Mr. Bailey's remarks (p. xii) on the glottal stop, so very observable in German and common in much other speech, are worth reading, but I greatly doubt whether it is best represented by (‘) as in the sentence: " what ‘on ‘earth ‘is the matter ?" The late Mr. A. J. Ellis (now long dead, alas !) had a fertile brain in devising means to express such things, and his ideas might well be studied even by the latest scholars. He used an inverted stop to express an accentuated syllable, thus : (·) " pronounced by many Englishmen and Educated Scotchmen." I feel that this device is not only better but easier to print than (‘) to express the glottal stop : thus, " what ·on ·earth ·is the matter?", and " wha· you want is no· wha· we want." I fancy Sir George Grierson's strokes to represent tones have come to stay, as in *pa*, *pa*, *pa*, *pa*, but nevertheless I am not sure whether *pa*, *pa*, *pȧ*, *pȧ*, would not be as easy to grasp and give the printer less trouble.

Putting Mr. Bailey's actual method of representation to the test, I would note his remarks on the pronunciation (governing his transcription) of Pūrik (a Tibetan dialect). On p. 2 he talks of "sounds not represented in the [R. A.] Society's alphabet." One of these is unvoiced (*i.e.*, surd or hard) *l*, like the *ll* in Welsh, which " is not a *khl* or *lh* or *hl* ; it is simply *l* unvoiced." He says : " it is heard in *lltsăpcăs*." I cannot help wondering how his readers will pronounce this word to themselves as a result of the explanation. It also makes one wonder if one has a right appreciation of such Welsh words as *llañ*, and of such names as Lloyd, Llanelly, or Llwchwz (anglicised as Loughor) : also of such sounds in the allied (to Pûrik) Burmese language as that of the common word which the English usually spell *hlâ* and the Burmese by the ligature representing *l̥hâ*.

Let us take another instance which Mr. Bailey gives on p. 3. He writes :—" If one asks a native to say the word very deliberately in two syllables he will say *llyaq-mo*, but if he says it quickly he will say *llyag-mo* or possibly *llyag-mo*, where the *g* or *g* are pronounced in the same part of the throat as *q*. The numerals give other examples ; thus, we have *soqnyis* or *sognyis* or *sognyis*, thirty-two. This holds for any *q* which is immediately followed by a sonant consonant. In fact, we may state generally that any surd (unvoiced) letter is liable to be changed to the corresponding sonant if a sonant consonant follows, and *s* may become *z*, as in *nyis* or *nyiz*, two, *t* may become *d*, and so on."

To my mind this kind of change from surd to sonant is inevitable, and is it worth while to distinguish it on paper ? Does it help etymology to do so ? Take the English sentences : " I missed seeing him" and " A mist arose." Is there any difference in sound in these sentences as spoken between 'missed' and 'mist' ? Should we gain anything by writing both as *mist* ? So do I ask : is anything gained by writing *llyagmo* for *llyaqmo* ? Or by distinguishing between *soqnyis*, *sognyis* and *sognyis* on paper ?

Take an expression, such as one may find, as written, in an American book on science ; " Ther wer six words." Does the spelling here

indicate anything more than that educated Americans do not pronounce the English language as do educated Englishmen ? Is anything else really gained by it ? Take again an analogous case of reproducing vowel sounds on paper. There is a distinct difference to the ear between the English *boot* and *brood*, *white* and *wide*, *mate* and *made*. corresponding to what I think Sir George Grierson has somewhere defined as 'long' and 'short long' vowels. But ought the distinction to be made on paper ? Are not the above quoted precisely the same vowels as sounded respectively before surds and sonants ? Are not the distinctions inevitable and therefore not worth recording ? Would it be worth while to teach that there is in English a plural in *s* and a plural in *z*, and then to write *huts* and *budz*, or *jumps* and *crumlz* ?

What I am driving at in these remarks is that there seems to me to be a tendency nowadays towards over-refinement in linguistic representation liable to defeat its own end. Speaking is one method of communicating a language with its own conventions; writing is another with its special conventions. It is not possible to *exactly* represent the one by the other, especially in view of the fact that the conventions in speaking are always inconstant, not only among living speakers, but also among successive generations of speakers; and I am not at all sure that the same is not true of writing. Is it really worth while going further in representing sounds on paper than the accuracy essential to correct reasoning in philology and etymology ? No two things in Nature are ever quite alike. So no two observers ever hear exactly in the same way and no two people can ever convey exactly the same sound te each other on paper. That is why I am pleading against over-refinement, and for not going beyond the point that leads to a fair mutual understanding between scholars.

These observations are true of other senses. No two persons see exactly alike. I know a colour other people call 'red,' and so I call it 'red.' We then understand each other, but whether the shades of colour called 'red' that all our eyes see are the same is another matter. Those who know Upper India are aware that there is a wide range of shades or even colours which the natives call *nîlá*, but when a man tells us that the colour of indigo is *nîlá*, and then proceeds to talk of his *nîlá ghôrá*, we know that he does not mean that he has a dark blue horse. Scientific observers have tried to get over the difficulty by creating books of shades and talking of Broca's No. 63 or of Somebody-else's Red 15. This involves the possession of certain books of printed colours and referring to them each time a colour is described, and I am not sure that in order to really grasp a phonologist's reversed *e* and so on one ought not to have a dictophone. The fair sex, to which descriptions of colour are so important, has faced the difficulty in its own practical and to it satisfactory way by describing shades by adjectives of reference and have produced the glorious uncertainties of 'olive green,' 'grass green,' 'peacock blue' and so on. The moral which I would plead is attached to this is: Don't go so far as to frighten away those who have the opportunity of recording the speech of the dwellers in remote places difficult of access.

Having made my little grumble, I wish to express a whole-hearted gratitude to Mr. Bailey for the care and conscientiousness, obviously involving long and very great labour, with which he has introduced us to a most difficult and philologically important series of dialects, and for the hints he has given as to the directions in which further study will be useful, though any one following his footsteps worthily will have to be very well equipped for the purpose.

In addition, he has given us some most useful notes on the argot of the Qalandars, and the secret words of the Qasâî and the Panjâbi gamblers. I agree with Mr. Bailey in believing secret words and slang to be of linguistic value, even though they be merely disguised forms of the speakers' vernacular, and have acted on the belief when opportunity has occurred. When such words are borrowed from other languages not ordinarily in the way of the speakers, they may well be of ethnological value also.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

40. Commission as Captain of Chuliars.

9 July 1691. *Consultation at Fort St. George*. Maucudum [? Mukkadam] Nina (an Eminent Chuliar [Chûliā, East Coast Muhammadan] Merchant, late of Porto Novo, haveing now brought his family and Shipping to Settle at Cuddaloor [Cuddalore, Kûdalûr], and haveing been very industruous and Serviceable in promoteing the Right Honble. Company's Interest there in drawing many rich Merchants and others to inhabit there to the encrease of the Customes and revenues of the place, as alsoe the fortifying the town with severall bastians and now about walling it, and much at his own charge ; Soe to encourage his proceedings, Tis orderd that He be a Commissioned Captaine of the Chuliars, Moors and Gentues, and that a present of a Scarlett [English broadcloth] coat, Sword blade, Gunn and rundell [official umbrella] be sent him in respect of his good Services and to oblige their continuance. (*Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book of* 1691, p. 30.)

R. C. TEMPLE.

ABOUT BUDDHIST NUNS.

BY KALIPADA MITRA, M.A.

IN the March issue of the *Indian Antiquary* (1921) Mr. K. V. Lakshman Rao, M.A., has written (p. 83): "It is Buddha who first founded the system of *saṃnyâsa* for women and consequently references to *bhikkhunîs, samanîs, pabbajitâs* and nunneries are found in Buddhistic literature........It is no wonder then that these young female ascetics were called *kumâra-śramaṇâs* which necessitated a separate rule in Pâṇini", and later on (p. 84) "I therefore consider the *śramaṇâ* and *pravrajita* mentioned in the *Sûtra* and *Gaṇapâṭha* of Pâṇini as referring to the Buddhist *samanîs* and *pabbajitâs*."

It appears therefore from the above that Mr. Lakshman Rao holds that (1) Pâṇini knew the Buddhist Nuns and that (2) it is Buddha who first founded the Order of the sisters (nuns) by ordaining them *sanyâsinîs.*

Since the Order of the female ascetics, in some cases girls of seven years of age and therefore very young (called *kumâra-śramaṇâs*) was founded by Buddha, it could not exist earlier than when Buddha flourished. To have been acquainted with it Pâṇini must either be the contemporary of Buddha or must succeed him—in any case, he could not have preceded him in point of time. Pâṇini's knowledge or non-knowledge of the nuns therefore primarily depends upon his date. I believe many authorities hold Pâṇini to have belonged to the middle of the eighth century or simply the eighth century B.C. Vincent Smith believes his date to have been the seventh century B.C. The date of Buddha's death was formerly supposed by him to have been 487 B.C., but after the new reading of the Khâravela inscription he is disposed to take it to be 544 B.C., if of course it has been correctly interpreted. The Buddhist order of *bhikkhunîs* could not have been founded earlier than the sixth century B.C. If these findings of the dates be correct, Pâṇini preceded Buddha and could not therefore have known the Order of nuns founded by him. The solution of the first question depends on how the respective dates are ascertained. If Pâṇini preceded Buddha the word *śramaṇâ* would imply the existence of Hindu female ascetics before Buddha's appearance.

The second point that it is Buddha who first founded the system of *saṃnyâsa* for women is open to contention. Pandit Vidhuśekhara Śâstrî of Śântiniketana has examined this point at some length in the introduction of his work, *Pâtimokkhaṃ* (written in Bengali). I here give a summary of his arguments for supposing that female ascetics existed even before the time of Buddha.

In the Vedic times there were some women poets, such as Viśvavârâ, Ghoshâ, Lopâmudrâ, who composed hymns. They were called *brahmavâdinîs*. In the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* Maitreyi, wife of Yâjñavalkya, was a *brahmavâdinî*. But *brahmavâdinî* does not necessarily signify 'one who has renounced the world and become a *sanyâsinî*'. There is no proof of the existence of *saṃnyâsa* in the period of the *Saṃhitâ*. But it might be that some of the *brahmavâdinîs* were, like Maitreyî, married and of the world, others were celibate and were *brahmacâriṇîs* even from youth. The instance of the *brahmavâdinî* Vâcaknavî Gârgî may be taken. She disputed boldly in an assembly of the *brahmavids*—an unusual thing for a girl to do so, for even in the Vedic times, a daughter-in-law would be ashamed to appear before her father-in-law (*śnushâ śvaśurâ lajjamânâ nilîyamânâ*—*Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, 3-12-11). This is suggestive of her being unmarried and a *brahmacâriṇî*. Śaṃkarâcârya says (*Vedânta*, 3. 4. 36 *et seq*) that she was unmarried and was not in the *gârhasthyâśrama*; she was *anâśraminî*.

From the *Dharmaśâstras* and *Gṛhyasûtras* it appears that *brahmavâdinî* was understood in the sense of *kumâra-brahmacâriṇî*. Hârita says (21, 23): "Women are of two kinds—*brahmavâdinî* and *sadyobadhû*. For the former (are enjoined) *upanayanaṃ*, *agnîndhanaṃ* (keeping the sacred fire alive), the reading of the Vedas, and *bhikshâcaryyâ* (begging) in one's own home. The latter are to be invested with sacrificial thread (*upanayanaṃ*) at the time of marriage."

The *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata* abound in instances of women who remained unmarried, and without entering the world took a life-long vow of *brahmacarya* and begging. Take the instance of the Śramaṇi Śavarî. Pandit V. Śâstrî has pointed out that *she did not belong to the caste of the Śavaras* (as Mr. Rao holds), *her name only was Śavarî* (*Sramaṇî Śavarî nâma—Araṇya kâṇḍam sarga*, 73, 26). The daughter of Śâṇdilya was *kaumâra-brahmacârinî* (*Mbh.*, *Śalya*, 55—6, 7); so also was the daughter of Maharshi Gârgya (*Mbh.*, *Śalya*, 56—7, 9). Then is cited the conversation of the *bhikshukî* Sulabhâ with king Janaka (*Mbh.*, *Śânti*, 325). She was a Kshatriyâ and wandered about the world singly (*mahîṃ anucacâraikâ Sulabhâ nâma bhikshukî*).

It is clear from what has been said of the cases at least of Gârgi of the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* and Sulabhâ of the *Mahâbhârata*, that certainly amongst the Vedapanthîs, females became ascetics from early youth (*kumâra-brahmacâriṇî*) and wandered about from country to country. This point has been very clearly put forth in the *Hârîta Dharmaśâstra*.

The words *bhikkhu* and *bhikkhunî* have been expressly reserved for Buddhist monks and nuns. *Parivrâjaka* and *parivrâjika* signify monks and nuns of other Orders (*aññatitthiyâ*). That *bhikkhus* and *parivrâjakas* were not the same, but were distinguished appears from the *Cullavagga* (5. 23. 2) where a Buddhist lay *Upâsaka* says, "Sir, these are not *bhikkhus* but *paribbâjakas*", and from the *Bhikkhupâtimokkhaṃ* (*Pâcittiya*, 41). The *Sutta Vibhanga* lays down—*Paribbâjika nâma bhikkhunim ca sikkhamânaṃ ca sâmaneriṃ ca thapetvâ yâ kâci paribbâjika samâpannâ*, *i.e.*, *paribbâjikâ* means any female who has taken *pabbajjâ* excepting *bhikkhunîs*, *sikkhamânâs* and *sâmanerîs*.

Pandit Vidhuśekhara Śâstri has moreover shown that at the time when Buddhism was preached and when the *Suttas* and *Vinaya* were composed, the existing religious sects, such as *âjîvakas*, *acelakas*, *niganṭhas*, *jaṭilas*, etc., were so named (*satta ca jaṭilâ*, *satta ca nigaṇṭhâ*, *satta ca acelâ*, *satta ca ekasâṭakâ*, *satta ca paribbâjakâ—Saṃyutta* 3. 2. 13, vol. I, p. 74). The word *bhikkhu* was applied solely to Buddhist monks. The *Mahâvagga* (2. 1. 1) says, *añña titthiyâ paribbâjakâ*. Thus the *paribbâjakas* were monks other than Buddhist, and, according to Pandit V. Śastri, were none but the Vedapanthi Sanyâsîs.

From the above it is evident that there were *sanyasinîs* of other orders even before the *Śâkya-bhikkhuṇî* order was founded. This is suggested from the *Bhikkhuṇîpâtimokkhaṃ Saṃghâdisesa*, 10:—*kiṃnu bhâca samaṇiyo yâ samaṇiyo sakyadhîtaro santaññâ pi samaṇiyo*. Thus Buddha was not the first to create *bhikkhunîs*, nor does it appear that the order of the female ascetics was altogether a new thing. It further appears from *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Bhikkhupâtimokkhaṃ* that the *paribbâjikâs* dined together. So they had an order of a sort, though perhaps not properly organised. There were *sanyâsinîs* amongst the Jains. Candanâ, daughter of Râjâ Cetaka was a disciple of Mahâvîra. She was unmarried and took *saṃnyâsa*. She was *gaṇinî* (head) of 36 thousand *âryâs* (*S.B.E.*, *Kalpasûtra*).

Very reluctantly did Buddha accord permission to ordain females, saying in that case *brahmacarya* would not last long. Perhaps he expressed himself thus after considering the evil effects of the many existing orders of *sanyâsinîs* at the time.

From all these considerations the Pandit concludes that neither the *bhikkunîs* nor their Order were new creations of Buddha.

It has been said that Buddha was very much averse to the creation of the Order. But when he had ultimately to accede to the request of Ânanda (*Cullavagga*, 10. 10. 6) very sadly did he say that it was like a blight and would jeopardise the existence of *brahmacarya* in the *Saṃgha*. To prevent possible harm he laid down eight *garudhammas* for discipline. But they were unavailing. The *Pâtimokkham*, *Suttavibhaṅga* and *Cullavagga* record instances of abuse. He had to ordain special rules in the *Bhikkunîpâtimokkham* to check these abuses, in some cases running to the length of wilful miscarriage in latrines, killing of foetus, etc., and to prevent a free mingling with the *bhikkhus*. So he was not wrong in saying that if the order would otherwise have lasted for a thousand years, with the creation of the order of *bhikkhunîs* it would not last for five hundred.

The later Sanskrit literature bears testimony to the depth of immorality to which the *bhikkunîs* had descended. In the *Sâhityadarpaṇa* (3, 157, *dûtyah Sakhî natî....pravrajitâ*), and *Kâmasûtra* (*Sakhî-bhikshukî-kshapaṇikâ-tâpasî-bhavaneshu sukhopâya*), they are represented to act as go-betweens between the hero and heroine. In the *Mâlatî-Mâdhava Saugata-jarat-pravrâjikâ* Kâmandakî, her *antevâsinî* Avalokitâ, and *priya-sakhî* Buddharakshitâ were engaged in effecting a clandestine union between the lovers. This shows that Buddha was only too true a prophet. Such *paribbâjikâs* were subsequently engaged as spies. In such circumstances how could they command respect ? It is but natural that they should be contemptuously regarded. I think that the Hindus began to hate these Buddhist nuns, not because "the institution was unknown to them" as Mr. Rao holds, "but because these nuns, at least some of them, must have led a life of doubtful morality." Hindu or non-Hindu, Buddhist or non-Buddhist, such characters would in any circumstances be contemptuously treated. The contempt was hurled not at the Buddhist Order so much as at the immoral persons. Perhaps it would not be a difficult matter to detect corruption in nunneries of mediæval Europe, or for the matter of that in any ordinary nunnery of a by-gone age.

SOME BURMESE PROVERBS.

COLLECTED BY RAO BAHADUR B. A. GUPTE,
AND EDITED BY A. L. HOUGH.

1. *Kyet hmā ayō : lū hmā amyō :*—With fowls it is the hereditary strain, with men it is lineage.

2. *Ein shé pu : ein nauk mă chan : thā.*—Should the front of the house be hot, the back part will not be comfortable. The meaning applicable is :—' If the head of a family is in trouble the other members will also suffer.'

3. *Let-thè : hesaik : ka | let-hteik nā.*—If you pinch at the nail the finger tips will also feel the pain. The meaning is :—' If you try to injure a person, be careful of his relations who will try to do the same to you.'

4. *Bū :—bin-hmā hpă-yon mă thī : bū :*—A pumpkin will not bear fruit on a gourd-tree. It means : ' A good man will have a good son ; ' or, put in another way, ' A good man begets good progeny.'

5. *Hpongyī : yū : hnin hlē lē :*—A mad priest and an unstable boat. Meaning :— ' When two persons of bad character meet they are apt to do evil deeds.'

6. *O : ywè go sa-laung : ywè hnin hpon :* —or— *O : ywè sa-laung : ywè hnin peik ya myī.* A crooked mouthed cooking-pot should be covered with a crooked lid ; or, one should close a crooked mouthed cooking-pot with a crooked lid. The meaning may be given in the following ways :—' Pay him out in his own coin : ' or ' Treat him as he treats you : ' or ' A vicious person cannot be friendly with a good man : ' or ' One should adapt one's self to circumstances.'

7. *Mō : kon hma htun cha.*—To use the plough when the rains are over. The meaning is :—' It is not much use doing a thing when it is too late.' It may suggest the English proverbs : ' To hoist the sail while the gale lasts ; ' and ' Time and tide wait for no man.'

8. *Pyin lun : hpin chun* :—If anything is repaired too much its shape will be spoilt. The meaning is :—' Don't try to improve on the shape of a pot that is perfect or it will be made useless ; ' or ' If too great care is bestowed on a thing it will be spoilt.'

9. *Myet-si-gan : tă-hse mă kyauk* :—A blind-man is not afraid of ghosts.

10. *Taw mī :—laung taw-gyaung let-hkă-maung-hkat.*—When the jungle is on fire a wild-cat will show fight. Meaning :—' When there is no escape a wild-cat will attack in self-defence ; ' or ' When a man is in a tight place he will show fight, docile though he may be.'

11. Text not legible. A tiger rushed headlong at a stone in his fury and split up his head : *i.e.*, ' If you want to fight with a man who is stronger than yourself you will be the sufferer.'

12. Text not legible. When the thin crust of a hill falls Nga Myat Min's pepper garden will be destroyed. That is, ' When a hill-side slips down, Myat Min's pepper cultivation, if it is there, is sure to be destroyed.' Otherwise, ' When great things fall the little ones will follow.'

13. *Kyū-bin hkok kyū-ngot hmya mă kyan ze hnin.*—When cutting down the Kyu-reed do not let so much as a stump remain. Meaning : ' When you come into power remove your enemies entirely, or they will get you into trouble.'

14. Text not legible. Pearls from one and the same bed will be similar, *i.e.*, ' A chip of the old block ; ' or, ' One knows the character of a man from his family : ' or, ' A man is known by the company he keeps.'

15. *Taung-deik kyā yauk anauk ka ne dwet, Myin : mō pyō-et, shi-lo-ya shi ze.*—' Lilies grow on the tops of mountains ; the sun rises from the west ; Mount Meru has split up ; let it be whatever you wish ! ' In other words, ' Do not contradict those in authority nor offend them as there is nothing to be gained thereby. Listen to them and acquiesce in everything they say, and, when your turn comes to obtain some advantage make the best of the opportunity.'

I give here the note made by Rao Bahadur B. A. Gupte in his own words as follows :— This proverb records a tradition. " Once upon a time a Burmese king said to his *amaccho* (page) ' Look here, *amaccho* ! By my glory and power, does the sun not rise in the west ? Do not lilies grow on top of the hill instead of in the lake ? Did not the great Mount Meru (centre of the universe) split up when I ascended the throne ?' In answer to such questions, the page replied : ' Yes Sire ! Sire ! the sun rose from the west ; lilies grew on the hill top, and Mount Meru split up. It is moreover about to fall into pieces.' He was obliged to say so, as if he did not, he would have been punished. From this story comes the proverb, which is interpreted to mean : ' I shall not go against any person in power nor shall I contradict him for fear of offending him.' It is a custom in Burma for the Burmese not to contradict the man in power, but, as a rule, silently, to pay attention to him."

THE ORIGIN, GROWTH AND DECLINE OF THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE.[1]

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A.

THIS empire, justly called 'A Forgotten Empire' by Mr. Sewell, on account of the neglect it has suffered in the historic literature of India till recently, and equally justly called 'A Never-to-be-forgotten Empire' by Mr. Suryanarayana Row, because of its political greatness and its vastness in extent and influence on the shaping of South India, in its later politics, economics, religion and society is one of the greatest Hindu empires that India has witnessed. Its origin was about the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and its end came about the end of the seventeenth century A.D. Though the fatal battle of Talikota gave a blow to the earlier magnificence of this empire, its effects were damaging mainly to the glory and position of the capital town Vijayanagara. The dominion of the empire lasted in South India for nearly a century after this battle. For the first two-hundred-and-fifty years of its existence the history of the empire is one of steady growth and expansion. On the one hand it consolidated the whole of Southern India into one *Hindu State* and on the other it checked the influx of Muhammadan conquests and civilisation into the south.

The importance of the history of the Vijayanagara Empire for the student of history lies in the fact that it was the first all-South-India Hindu dominion with a strong link of relationship established between the ruler and the ruled, and felt in the every-day life of the people. The names of no rulers of mediæval South India have become such household words as those of the rulers of this line: *e.g.*, that of Krishnarâya. His name has gathered no less an amount of heroic and romantic tradition in the south than the names of Vikramâditya and Bhôja have done in the north and south as well.

The old Aryan saying: *Râjâ kâlasya kâraṇam i.e.*, 'the king is the cause, that is, the maker of time' holds true with rulers and ruling dynasties of every grade and duration. And that ruler or dynasty that figures as the greatest 'past' cause of the condition of the country commands the most earnest and regardful study and treatment in the hands of scholars. More than that, their lives live in that unwearying stream of folk-history *viz.*, tradition. The domination of this house over the destinies of South India postponed its Islamization for three centuries. But for the opposition presented by this ruling family to the advance of Muhammadan invasion Dravidian India should have begun to yield to Islamic ways of life and institutions much earlier than it actually did, if at all it did so fully as the north. During the period of its rule the south retained all its ancient national life, of which the north was then being robbed and deprived, through the advent and expansion of an alien rule and civilisation. The south was then not only enjoying its political and religious liberty but was also making adjustments and improvements in these respects.

The ancient dynasties of South India had gradually disappeared as the result of time. At the dawn of the sixth century A.D. we find it parcelled out into a number of principalities some dominating over others. The Western Châḷukyas, whose capital was at Vâtâpi (the modern Bâdâmi in the Bombay Presidency) came into prominence about this time and constantly measured swords with the rulers of the south, and mostly with the Pallavas of Kâñchî, who were no less war-like and no less successful. The successes of each were signalised by the capture, though temporary, of the capital of the other. The Pallavas were settled in the country between the Krishṇâ and Kâñchî, nay even the Kâvêrî. The latter town was their stronghold even from about A.D. 320 when Samudragupta extended his marches thereto from the north.

[1] This paper was prepared in the year 1915 at the request of some students appearing for the B.A. Degree examination of the Madras University and was subsequently sent to the press at their suggestion. Discussions, therefore, of all controversial points have been avoided in it.

At the end of the sixth century A.D. a branch of the Châḷukyan house established itself independently in the east as the house of Vengi, having ousted from its sovereignty the Pallava line ruling about there. For nearly five centuries thereafter the Eastern Châlukyan house ruled over the Andhra country almost uninterruptedly. But the Western Châḷukyas began to wane in glory about the middle of the eighth century A.D., when the Râshṭrakûṭas entered into competition with them. The power of these began to assert itself strongly, and for nearly two centuries there existed a state of continued warfare for the Râshṭrakûtas with the Western Châḷukyas on the one side and the Eastern Châḷukyas on the other. And about the beginning of the ninth century, the Râshtrakûta conquests spread as far down as the lands of the Pallava king Dantivarman of Kâ chî. Gôvinda III, of this family defeated a coalition of 12 princes of the south and even reduced the Western Châlukya sovereign of the time to the position of a feudatory. With the passing away of the tenth century, the Râshṭrakûṭa power faded away and the Yâdavas of Devagiri stepped into their place in the north. Originally followers and relations of the Râshṭrakûṭas, they gradually grew in power and assumed independence about the beginning of the twelfth century, with the Mauryas of the Konkan, the Nikumbhas of Khandesh and the Guttas of Ujjaini as their vassals, till they came to be one of the foremost royal houses in the south about the beginning of the fourteenth century,—so rich in prosperity as to make the greedy hands of 'Alâu'd-din and his general itch for a plundering conquest.

In the farther south, after the Pallava decline, which came about in the ninth century A.D., the Chôḷas rose and expanded in their dominion. For three centuries, *i.e.*, from the tenth to the thirteenth, they remained masters of this part of the country. Râjarâja I had conquered almost the whole of the west of South India, establishing Chôḷa suzerainty over the Gangas of Mysore, the Nolambas of Anantapur, Bellary and Mysore, the southern part of the Vengi country, the Kollam country (the modern Travancore), Kudamalai (Coorg) and Îḷam (Ceylon). His son, Râjêndra-Chôḷa I, reduced to Chôḷa supremacy all the eastern country up to Ganjam. In the generation next to Râjêndra Chôḷa I, who ruled from A.D. 1012 to about 1043 A.D., and Râjâdhirâja I whose reign ended somewhere about 1053 A.D., the Chôḷa house ran short of a legitimate successor. The Chôḷas and the Vengi Châḷukyas had become relations by marriage and Râjêndra Chôḷa, the son of the Eastern Châḷukya Râjarâja I, the *kritibharta* (patron) of Nannaya's *Andhra-Mahâbhâratam*, was chosen for the Chôḷa throne with the title of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I. This combination of sovereignties brought and kept the most part of South India under one crown, like England and Scotland uniting under James I who came from the north. This Chôḷa-Châḷukya sovereignty continued in prosperity till about the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it broke down and gave occasion and opportunities for the growth of the minor kingdoms into prominence and power. The Kâkatîyas of Anumkonda and Orangal, who were originally feudatories of the Western Châlukyas of Kalyan, had asserted independence about the middle of the eleventh century and gradually grew to be a powerful Andhra kingdom about 1230 A.D.

About 1235 A.D. Kalinga was lost to the Chôlas. In the south-west the Hoysaḷas had consolidated themselves into a strong power with two branches ruling at two capitals, *viz.*, Dvârasamudra in the north, and Vikramapuram near Srîraṅgam in the Trichinopoly district in the south. They had established their dominion in this district and engraved their inscriptions in the Raṅganâtha temple at Srîraṅgam. These kings were on hostile terms with the Chôḷas about the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was about then that they founded their second capital at Kannanûr near Srîraṅgam, calling it Vikramapura, their

conquest being signalised by the foundation of a temple, called Hoysaleśvara, there. The Chôḷa sovereignty had lost by this time its integrity and suffered disruption. Its chief seats were two, Tanjore and Kâñchî. The first was under the weak king Râjarâja III. The second was under the rule of that family of the Chôḷas who called themselves Siddhis, under one of whom, Manmasiddhi, Tikkana the Telugu poet was a minister. Sometime between A.D. 1230 and 1250 Sundara Pâṇḍya II of Madura had invaded the Chôḷa capital Tanjore and burnt it. Râjarâja III subsequently prostrated at his feet and at the cost of his independence regained the capital. In the neighbourhood of this disintegrating Chôḷa dominion, the Sengeni chiefs, calling themselves Śambuvarâyas throughout their political career as the feudatories of the Chôḷas, gradually rose into independence, which they achieved in about 1339 A.D. just about the time of the dawn of the Vijayanagara House.

The years 1253 and 1254 A.D. were very eventful for the history of South India. The weak Chôḷa was yielding before the advancing Pâṇḍya. Sundara Pâṇḍya established his superiority over the Hoysaḷas of Dvârasamudra and over the Chôḷas both of Tanjore and Kâñchî. He had taken Śrîrangam from the Hoysaḷa. In the hostilities between the Hoysaḷa and the Pâṇḍya, the Chôḷa king Râjarâja III managed to recoup and get the upper hand, and eventually ousted the Hoysaḷa from his ancestral dominion by defeating Someśvara about 1254 A.D. 1253 A.D. saw the Paṇḍya rise, and 1254 A.D. saw the Chôḷa rise. The ascendencies of both were temporary only. The balance of ascendency was now very unsteady and easily and quickly tilting. Though in the south the Hoysaḷa was now defeated by the Pâṇḍya and now by the Chôḷa, he had the most substantial dominion and power of the three; for when the torrent of Muhammadan invasion from the north rush down in 1306 A.D. and later, the Hoysaḷa was in a condition to contribute much to the check of the stream. At this period there were other potent kingdoms in Peninsular India. The Yâdavas and the Kâkatîyas were in no less prosperous and powerful condition than the Hoysaḷas. In the latter half of the thirteenth century the extreme south was a whirlpool of discords, fights and captures; the Chôḷa house divided into many branches and passing through the last convulsive stages of a shattered and lingering sovereignty; the Pâṇḍya house trying to absorb it, but corroded inwardly by the cancer of domestic dissension; the Hoysaḷa strong, but yet weak here owing to remoteness from the northern branch and capital.

While this was the political condition of the south, a small rocket of discord flies up from Madura and falls as a signal at Delhi. Mr. Sewell informs us, on the authority of the Muhammadan historian Wasaf, that 'Sundara the son and murderer of Kalês Devar (*i.e.*, Kulaśêkhara) gained the throne of the Pâṇḍya in 1310 A.D. by defeating his brother Vîra, and being defeated by him later, fled to Delhi, to bring in Muhammadan intercession on his behalf'. It is to be noted that none of the other powerful kings of the south undertook to fight for this discontented Pâṇḍya prince. The capture and sack of Madura in 1311 A.D. was thus but the outcome of family dissensions in the Pâṇḍya house, a phenomenon similar to the intervention of Baber in the affairs of the Lodis of Delhi.

The Pâṇḍyas and the Hoysaḷas succumbed to the ravages of the Muhammadans. The Chôḷa dominion was but lingering. The Kâkatiyas had also bent under these same waves of alien conquest. As Mahmud of Ghazni's conquests of 'infidel' India were only series of plunders in the name of Islam and the Prophet, the southern invasions of Malik Kafur too were but sallies of greedy militaryism. It was not the legitimate and natural outcome of the expansion of a people into foreign lands through the pressure of population at home or of adventures in quest of settlement, as was the expansion of the English into America, India

and Australia. The conqueror was only a wayward and self-willed accomplice of an unscrupulous offspring of the Imperial family of Delhi, who was casting his wistful eyes on the Imperial throne, and for it was even aiming his ungrateful and treacherous sword at the neck of his old, loving, benevolent and unsuspecting uncle the Emperor Jalalu'd-din. The results of a conquest pressed on under such auspices to such distant parts were bound not to be permanent or far-reaching. The cyclone comes, sweeps over the earth's bosom, but does not stay on. Trees fall. Buildings shake and crumble. And villages perish. The cyclone is off before the next hour ends. But the dire effects of its rude play last for a long period. Such also were the effects of this Muhammadan conquest on the peninsular portion of India. Out of the conqueror's vanity an attempt at setting up a viceroyalty in the Pâṇḍyan country was actually made. The lifeless *bija* for an abortive dominion was thus sown vainly. For nearly a quarter of a century from A.D. 1310 this alien viceroyalty lived on with a great deal of strain on itself and not a little discontent of the subjected native-dynasties and people. The contact with Delhi at its great distance was for some years a difficult thing to maintain. Without the imperial patronage and reinforcement so small a military settlement at such a distant place could not live for a longer time. The fact that this viceroyalty, consistently with the spirit of the original conquest, persisted even after becoming a local government in a religious policy very offensive to the people which hastened its doom. In 1327 A.D., that is within two decades of the establishment of the Pâṇḍyan viceroyalty, the viceroy revolted against Delhi and sought refuge with the Hoysaḷa king. To squeeze more tribute from the South-Indian royal houses an expedition was organised against these. But this time the Hindu dynasties of the south formed themselves into a national military confederacy and effectively resisted the expedition. Though it was carried out almost under the very nose of the Taghlak emperor who had just then held his fickle capital at Devagiri (Daulatâbâd) in preference to Delhi, it failed in the face of such an opposition. This was in A.D. 1344. In A.D. 1347 the Bahmani viceroyalty of the Dekhan declared its independence of Delhi. Though the Pâṇḍyan viceroyalty had failed, the Bahmani viceroyalty lived long enough to measure swords with the opposing south. The ambitious, premature and more distant viceroyalty had failed, while the more opportune and less distant viceroyalty lived on.

Till now the ascendency of a particular ruling house in Dravidian India was but the manifestation of the martial superiority of one over the rest of the Hindu kingdoms. History, like agriculture, presents to us the truth of the law of 'rotatory fertility.' As new lands give profuse crops, new communities give powerful heroes and rulers. So far as Dravidian India could yield, it had yielded powerful dynasties with magnificent capitals in all its parts, except where Vijayanagara was now to rise. The Eastern Châḷukyas had run out their glorious career in the north of the eastern country. The Pallavas had shone and set still earlier in the mid-east districts. The Chôḷas had held their supremacy over most of the Peninsula with Kâñchî and Tanjore as their later centres. The Pâṇḍyas had by their brilliant history raised Madura into the star-like cluster of the classic capitals of the south. The Hoysaḷas had grown, ripened and withered. The Cheras being only a cornered dynasty could never naturally become a representative and strong military power in the south. Thus it seems as though the turn came to a feudatory family, as has almost always been the case in the history of the south, to rise to prominence, on the ground of natural causes and historic relevancy, *viz.*, (1) its connection with the part of the country which was rich and civilised and hence exposed to the greedy expeditions of the Muhammadans then in the ascendant in

almost all parts of Upper India, and (2) the natural law in history that the strongest feudatory of the last ruling family must step into its place when that family retires from power, much like the retiring man in advanced age.

The Hoysâḷa power gave place to the Uḍayar rule in the south of Mysore and in the country round about Śrîraṅgam: Uḍayar being the title of the chiefs of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, taken after the Chôḷa kings, under which they rose into military prominence at Penugonda (modern Ananthapur district), in the South Arcot, Chingleput, Cuddapah and Nellore Districts. We find the earliest of their inscriptions even so far north as Badami (the historic Vâtâpi, Bombay Presidency), which after the downfall of the Western Châḷukyan dynasty in course of time became part of the northern dominions of the Hoysaḷas, (directly under the Vijayanagara Uḍayars who were their local governors).

The five sons of Sangama I of this family ruled over almost the whole of the Peninsula between the Krishna and Kaveri rivers. About A.D. 1336, the traditionary date given for the foundation of this house, Harihara I, the first of the five sons, held the position of the lord of the whole country between the eastern and western oceans. His brothers were lords of the other parts of the country, Kampa (Kampaṇa I) being the Lord of Nellore and Cuddapah districts, and Bukka in charge of the Muḷuvâyi country, *i.e.*, the country around the Mulbagal district of Maisur. Mârapa, the fourth of Sangama's sons, had control of the Shimoga and the North Canara districts. Thus almost the central belt of the Peninsula had passed into the direct though vassal rule of this rising dynasty, when it thought of starting an independent line. In A.D. 1337, the capital of the crest-fallen Hoysaḷa was shifted from Dvârasamudra to Tonnûr near Śrirangapatam. Towards the last days of the Hoysaḷa rule, the former had come to be the seat of a viceroy of this line, a chief of the later Vijayanagara family. It was one of the three South-Indian capitals devastated by the Muhammadan conquerors, the other two being Devagiri the capital of the Yâdavas and Orugallu, the capital of the Kâkatîyas. Thus both by the possession of its territory and the assumption of its capital the Vijayanagara house was practically a political descendant of the Hoysaḷa line, destined to be a wider-felt and more enduring government for South India. When a new Kannada dynasty took the place of a Kannada sovereignty in the same ancient spirit of rule, there was not so much a revolution as a necessary continuative substitute of the fallen dynasty after the circumstance of a crushing foreign conquest. The rising Sangama dynasty had no external difficulties in the way of its establishment and growth. Not only had it no political obstacles from outside but internally also the ruling family was well rooted in the strength of its position, nobility of ideal and morality of outlook. The five brothers that started the glorious career of the dynasty were like the Pâṇḍava brothers, to whom they compare themselves in their copper-plate records—the comparison is really justifiable—ruled with the single mind of true Hindu brothers. Four of these were established as provincial rulers under Harihara I, the eldest. They acknowledged him as sovereign and all acted with one mind, as it were, of a Hindu joint family. Fraternal co-operation and regard were manifested through joint grants and joint orders. The five brothers made a common grant to the Sringeri-pîṭha. Harihara and his last brother Muddapa issued a joint order in a certain instance. This unanimity of the brothers started the family on a career of steady and sure progress in the acquisition of dominion and glory.

At such an ascendant tide of time for this dynasty, Providence procured for it the advice and guidance of a great scholar and saint--probably the greatest scholar and thinker in the South India of the fourteenth century. Vidyâraṇya became the minister and on his almost prophetic advice was built the new capital at Vijayanagara, called also Vidyânagara, after

this minister-founder. This gave the dynasty its first existence as a really new ruling house. It was no longer the successor to an extinct sovereign in his ancient capital, but a new royal line with a new seat attached to an epic-celebrated and time-honoured spot, namely the Pampa (the modern Hampe). The location of the capital, in association with one of the most revered Śaiva centres in Southern India, brought the new ruling house all the respect and allegiance that such an association would engender in a religiously inclined people, like the Hindus and especially the Hindus of the mediæval times. Its location also on the Hindu bank of the Tungabhadra, as the guarding post of the Hindu part of the Peninsula against the Mussalman part of it, was strategically very important. Proximity to the alien kingdoms on the north of the river naturally led to the raising of fortifications, which are probably the strongest and on the grandest scale that Dravidian India has witnessed within historic times. It is notable that this city could successfully resist the constant attacks of the Muhammadan invaders for no less a period than two centuries.

To these advantages the ruling house added also a line of conquerors, who were no less faithful to the crown than war-like in the battle-field. The Kadamba country had been brought under Vijayanagara rule by Mârapa, brother of Harihara, with a viceregal capital at Chandragutti. The Santalige country, *i.e.*, parts of the modern South Canara district and of Shimoga in Maisur, acknowledged its supremacy, though it was in the immediate charge of the Pâṇḍya-chakravartin—a relic of time. Châmeya-Nâyaka had built the fort at Badami under orders of Harihara I for the strength of his northern dominions. About Śaka 1290 (A.D. 1368) Bhâskara, the younger brother of Harihara, who ruled from about A.D. 1379 to 1401, was viceroy over the country surrounding the modern Cuddapah district. Ten years later Adoni was attacked by the Muhammadans, but these were repulsed by Channappa Oḍaya, who captured and presented it to Harihara II. About A.D. 1380 Udayagiri, which was the premier province in the Vijayanagara Empire was under Devarâya I, the first son of Harihara II. This province was, during the time of the first kings almost always under the rule of the crown princes of the Vijayanagara line. During the reign of Harihara II, who started his reign with the imperial titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Râjaparameśvara*, the Tulu country, comprising the Haive and the Konkana in the western part of the Peninsula, passed into the rule of the Vijayanagara crown and formed a viceroyalty bordering on the western sea, just like Udayagiri on the eastern sea. Gove (*i.e.*, Goa), about A.D. 1395, became a dependency of this crown. Virâpâksha, the second son of Harihara I, conquered the Tuṇḍîra country, (*i.e.*, Toṇḍamaṇḍalam) —the country covered by the two modern Arcot districts and the Chingleput district, which had formerly been the dominion of the Pallavas and the Chôḷas successively, and presented them to his father. He was also the governor of the Penugonda province. Harihara II's reign was a brilliant one for the Vijayanagara house. Its dominions had expanded considerably and its authority over the conquered territories was maintained well by the dutiful governors of royal as well as non-royal descent.

One of the incidental dangers to the stability of a ruling family is domestic dissension. Luckz is that house which is not divided in itself. Such a danger was upon the royal house after the death of Harihara II. Disputes delayed actual succession. Devarâya the legitmate heir secured it. Still attempt was made on his life. Fortunately his ubiquitious minister Lakshmîdhara, one of the type and capabilities of Timma-Arasu the minister and parent-like councillor of the later king Krishṇarâya, warded off the conspirator's stab from the royal person and averted an early stain of blood-shed on the successions of the dynasty. The fidelity of the minister was an asset to Devarâya II.

There was for him also the other asset, *viz.*, the fidelity of the provincials. Generally, important viceroyalties were held, in the Vijayanagara times by members of the royal family. This was the custom under the first dynasty especially. Sons of the king held the important forts. Udayagiri had been under Bhâskara a younger brother of Harihara II. In the time of Devarâya I, Vijayarâya had the charge of the Muḷuvâyi province, while Râmachandra Oḍaya, the eldest son of Devarâya I, ruled the Udayagiri province. No conquests were made during the reign of Vijayarâya. But in Devarâya II's time the Vijayanagara dominion was almost at its zenith. Accounts of foreign travellers, like Abdu'r-Razâk, inform us that the kings of 'Pallecote (Palemcottah), Coullao (Kollam *i.e.*, Travancore), Ceyllao (Ceylon), Peggu (Pegu), Tennaserim and many other countries paid him tribute'. His inscriptions are found almost throughout the Dravidian part of the Peninsula.

(*To be continued.*)

THE HISTORY OF THE NIẒÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

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(*Continued from p.* 203.)

XCVII.—THE RENEWAL OF STRIFE BETWEEN ṢALÂBAT KHÂN AND SAYYID MURTAẒÂ, AND THE RUIN OF THE LATTER.

When Ṣalâbat Khân had obtained all power in the state he sent revenue collectors into Berar to collect revenue from all the *khâliṣa* lands in that province. Sayyid Murtaẓâ, who could not endure Ṣalâbat Khân's tenure of the office of *vakîl,* refused to assist or recognize the collectors in any way and returned nothing but reproaches to all their requests. Ṣalâbat Khân of course showed Sayyid Murtaẓâ's contumacy to the king in its darkest light and obtained an order for the arrest of Sayyid Murtaẓâ, but since all the *amîrs* of Berar, and especially Khudâvand Khân, Tîr Andâz Khân and Shîr Khân, who were among the greatest of the *amîrs* of the kingdom, were devoted to the interests of Sayyid Murtaẓâ, and Asad Khân also, who held the titular office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ,* was secretly in correspondence with him, to arrest him was no easy matter. But Ṣalâbat Khân was considering day and night how it could be compassed.

As Asad Khân was in league with the *amîrs* of Berar, Ṣalâbat Khân, in the petition which he sent to the king in this case, represented him as a partner in their guilt, and as there was nobody to carry petitions from Asad Khân, or present his case to the king, Ṣalâbat Khân's statements naturally carried great weight and so enraged the king with Asad Khân that he gave Ṣalâbat Khân full authority to depose him from his office.

Just now Ṣalâbat Khân bethought him of a device whereby he could sow discord between the *amîrs* of Berar. It had been customary to send all the yearly *khal'ats* for Berar to Sayyid Murtaẓâ, leaving the distribution of them to him, but this year Ṣalâbat Khân caused a separate *khal'at* to be sent to each *amîr*, each by a separate messenger, and each *amîr* was separately encouraged to hope for advancement and for the royal favour. When the *amîrs* of Berar appeared wearing their *khal'ats* without having consulted Sayyid Murtaẓâ in the matter, Sayyid Murtaẓâ grew suspicious of them, and the concord that had previously reigned among them was changed into discord.

Khudâvand Khân was more intimate with, and more devoted to Sayyid Murtaẓâ than were any of the other *amîrs*, and he suspected that the *khal'at* and the message which he had received with it, were a device to sow discord, and did not wear his *khal'at* but hastened to Sayyid Murtaẓâ and placed his services at his disposal. When the other *amîrs* heard

that Khudâvand Khân gone to Sayyid Murtazâ and placed his services at his disposal they all hastened to follow his example, and assembled before the town of Bâlâpûr where they were invested with the royal *khal'ats* by Sayyid Murtazâ and, at the instigation of Khudâvand Khân, renewed their engagements with Sayyid Murtazâ, agreeing to join him in opposing Ṣalâbat Khân and to consider how the latter could best be overthrown before he could perfect plans against which they would be unable to contend.

It was now the rainy season, and it rained heavily daily, from morning until evening, so that movements of troops were not to be thought of. The *amîrs* therefore, after consulting together, decided to disperse to their own districts and there to employ themselves in preparing their forces for war, so that when Canopus should rise and the rains should cease they might march with one accord against those who stirred up strife in the kingdom.

When Ṣalâbat Khân heard of the confederacy of the *amîrs* and of the renewal of the bond between them he was much perturbed and took counsel with his intimates as to the best means of meeting this difficulty.

At this time the king expressed a desire to visit the palace and garden of Aḥmadnagar, which was known as Baghdâd, and on Ṣafar 2, A.H. 992 (Feb. 14, 1584) he left the old garden of the watercourse, in which he had lived in complete retirement for nearly twelve years, as some say, for the citadel of Aḥmadnagar and inspected the palace and buildings of the city. The king had never seen the beautiful garden known as the watercourse of Ni'mat Khân, since its completion, and he therefore turned to it, to inspect it. It so happened that the water channel which conveyed water to that garden and garden house had burst and flooded the whole garden and the king remained no longer than one night in that d elling, but went on to the garden of the 'Ibâdatkhâna, which was one of the buildings of his reign. There he stayed for nearly a week, and thence he went on to the village of Manjaresna situate in a valley full of beautiful springs and covered with verdure, with fountains springing from the green hill side. Ṣalâbat Khân had artificial tanks formed both in the valley and on the hill tops, and in them fountains played, and the tanks were surrounded by beautiful buildings. Without exaggeration the village is one of the best worthseeing in the world and there can be few so pleasant in the world.[265]

The king, after enjoying himself both bodily and spiritually in this place, returned to Aḥmadnagar and having completed his tour of all the fine buildings and gardens around the capital, turned his attention to sensual pleasures and inquired after several of the attendants of the *ḥaram*. He then ordered the dancing girls of the city to be sent for, and some were selected for the royal service, among them one named Tuljî, who was one of the most beautiful women in the world, and bold and alluring, and who was distinguished above her fellows by the receipt of special marks of the royal favour.

At this time Ṣalâbat Khân entirely deprived Asad Khân of all power in the administration and became absolute. When the royal command that the prince of the age[266] should remain in the village of Pâtorî was issued, Ṣalâbat Khân placed Nâṣira, one of his own trusted servants, in charge of the gate of Aḥmadnagar and used occasionally to travel backwards and forwards between the city and Pâtorî.

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[265] According to Firishta it was on receipt of the news that Sayyid Murtazâ was again marching to attack him, early in 1584, that Ṣalâbat Khân removed the king from the *Bâgh-i-Hasht Bihisht* first to the *Bâgh-i-Faraḥ Bakhsh* and afterwards to the Baghdâd palace, where he provided him with a companion to amuse him and keep him occupied.—F. ii. 282.

[266] Burhân-ud-dîn, afterwards Burhân Nizâm Shâh II.

XCVIII.—The conclusion of peace between the Niẓâm Shâhî and 'Âdil Shâhî Dynasties, and the marriage between Shâhzâda Mîrân Shâh Ḥusain and the sister of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II.

Before Asad Khân was deposed from the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, a sister of Muḥammad Quli Quṭb Shâh had been selected as the bride of Mîrân Ḥusain, but after the deposition of Asad Khân, who had always cultivated the alliance with Telingâna, Ṣalâbat Khân, making the approach of the army of Telingâna his pretext,[267] reproached Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, and set about preparing the way for a marriage between the prince and the sister of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh I, and, having obtained the king's consent thereto, he opened negotiations for the marriage. It was necessary to send an embassy to Bîjâpûr for the purpose, and the officers selected were Ḥakîm Qâsim Beg, Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqi *Vazîr-ul-Ḥukûmah*, and Jamshîd Khân, one of the *amîrs* of Berar. A *farmân* was sent to summon Jamshîd Khân from Berar, but as he feared artifice on the part of Ṣalâbat Khân and regarded this *farmân* as part of a plot for his undoing he hesitated to obey the summons.[268] Ṣalâbat Khân, in order to reassure Jamshîd Khân, wrote to him and told him that he might proceed direct from Chîtâpûr to Bîjâpûr, and need not appear at the capital, but Jamshîd Khân was still suspicious and wrote to Sayyid Murtaẓâ and all the *amîrs* of Berar, instigating them to rise against Ṣalâbat Khân. The *amîrs*, in accordance with their former bond, marched from their districts with all their troops and assembled at Chîtâpûr, which was the *jâgîr* of Jamshîd Khân. Sayyid Murtaẓâ also marched from Bâlâpûr, which was his capital, in the middle of Shawwâl,[269] with all his troops and encamped before Chîtâpûr. The *amîrs* of Berar, being now all met together at Chîtâpûr, with a large and united army, renewed their engagements each with the others, and Sayyid Murtaẓâ, with the assent of the rest, raised the *vazîr* Mîrzâ Ḥusain Iṣfahânî, who had been appointed by the king *vazîr* of the whole of Berar, to the rank of *amîr*, assigned the Elichpûr district to him in *jâgîr* and entrusted the protection of Berar to him and Chaghatâî Khân, who both marched from Chîtâpûr back to Berar and entered upon their duties. The rest of the *amîrs* then marched with their armies towards the capital.

When the news of the advance of the *amîrs* of Berar was received in Aḥmadnagar, Ṣalâbat Khân set about preparing the royal army for the field, and calling upon the *amîrs* and the officers of the army to swear fidelity to him. Many of the principal men of the army, who were outwardly partisans of Ṣalâbat Khân secretly sent messages to Sayyid Murtaẓâ, promising that when the *amîrs* were face to face they would desert Ṣalâbat Khân and join the army of Berar, and so co-operate with it in the attempt to overthrow Ṣalâbat Khân. Some even, such as Mîrzâ Yâdgâr and Shâhvardî Khân, openly broke with Ṣalâbat Khân before the near approach of the army of Berar and left Aḥmadnagar to join Sayyid Murtaẓâ. But since it had been eternally decreed that the army of Berar, which was in truth in rebellion against its lord and master, should be defeated and flee, their strength and numbers availed them nothing, for victory depends on the will of God and not on numbers.

The *amîrs* of Berar, with their great army, reached the pass of Jeûr,[270] which is two leagues from the city of Aḥmadnagar, on Ẓî-l-Ḥijjah 5, in the year above mentioned, (Dec. 8, A.D. 1584) and encamped there for that night. On the next day, Ẓî-l-Ḥijjah 6, they lay

267 It is not quite clear how this can have been made a pretext for breaking off negotiations with Golconda, unless the army of that State were menacing the frontier. No such movement is recorded.

268 Firishta gives a slightly different account of this affair. See note 263.

269 October, 1584.

270 Jeûr, in 19° 18′ N. and 74° 49′ E. about thirteen miles north-east of Aḥmadnagar.

in their camp, expecting no attack and utterly unprepared for battle, having neglected all ordinary military precautions, when Ṣalâbat Khân suddenly surrounded the hills on which they were encamped with the royal army, elephants and artillery. The *amîrs* of Berar, completely surprised, hurriedly armed themselves and mounted their horses in great confusion and drew up their troops as best they might to meet the royal army.[271] The conflict then began with artillery fire. Khudâvand Khân, who commanded the left wing of the army of Berar, boldly charged the right wing of the royal army, which was commanded by Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, and at the first onslaught threw it into confusion. Bihzâd-ul-Mulk was wounded and his troops were dispersed. The household troops, who had agreed to support Sayyid Murtaẓâ against Ṣalâbat Khân made the defeat of Bihzâd-ul-Mulk's wing a pretext for flight, and carried off prince Mîrân Ḥusain with them. Jamshîd Khân, who commanded the advanced guard of the army of Berar, when he saw Khudâvand Khân's success against Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, led his troops on to attack the advanced guard of the royal army, which was commanded by Ṣalâbat Khân, but he had scarcely reached the enemy when his horse was shot under him. He tried to reach another horse in order to mount it, but a swordsman so wounded him in both legs that he could not move and was made a prisoner by the royal army. The advanced guard under Ṣalâbat Khân then charged and drove back Jamshîd's troops and fell on the corps commanded by Tîr Andâz Khân and Shîr Khân and dispersed them. The left wing of the royal army and the right wing of the army of Berar had now closed and were so intermingled that friend could not be distinguished from foe. Ṣalâbat Khân now, with a picked force and several elephants, attacked the troops under the immediate command of Sayyid Murtaẓâ, and threw them into confusion. Sayyid Murtaẓâ made every attempt to rally his men, but they could not respond and Sayyid Murtaẓâ was compelled to flee. When Khudâvand Khân returned from his successful attack on the right wing of the royal army, he found the army of Berar dispersed and was himself compelled to flee.

The army of Berar, overconfident in its great strength, made no account of Ṣalâbat Khân and at length their treachery to their king and their own foolish pride led to their defeat and overthrow, and they were driven into exile.

The royal army pursued the army of Berar and took much spoil, including horses, elephants, beautiful maidservants and slave boys, gold, jewels, and all sorts of valuable property and stuffs. Ṣalâbat Khân, having been granted by God so great a victory, returned thanks to the giver of victory and ordered the troops under his command to interfere in no way with the property or women of the inhabitants of Berar, and to slay none, but to send any who might be captured to a place of safety.

In this dreadful battle no famous man of valour was slain, save Shâhvardî Khân, who had deserted from the royal army to Sayyid Murtaẓâ and Bahrâm Khân, who was wounded with a spear by one of the elephants of his own army. The army of Berar having dispersed and fled, Ṣalâbat Khân did not pursue them in person, but told off a body of Kolîs for that purpose, and himself returned to court with the prince Mîrân Ḥusain.

Mîrak Mu'în, who was at that time Sayyid Murtaẓâ's agent and representative at court, on the day on which the battle was fought took every precaution to ensure his own safety and having promised the body of infantry placed at his disposal by Sayyid Murtaẓâ, large pay and rewards, persuaded them that the *amîr-ul-umarâ* was victorious and had defeated the army of Ṣalâbat Khân. He ordered them to protect their own quarters from the mob until

[271] This is a much more detailed account of the battle of Jeûr than that given by Firishta (ii. 282).

the army of Berar arrived, when they would be rewarded. The soldiers believed what Mîrak Mu'în told them and armed themselves for battle. Naṣîr Khân, with a large force of cavalry and infantry surrounded their quarters and a fight ensued. The Berar infantry, ignorant of the flight of the *amîrs*, bravely defended their quarters, keeping off the attacking force with spears and arrows. While the combat was at its height, Mîrak Mu'în fled by a secret way to the house of one of his friends who lived near, then changed his clothes and fled, in the guise of a *faqîr*, and joined Sayyid Murtaẓâ's army.

Mîrzâ Ḥusain and Chaghatâî Khân had been left to protect the country and Mîrzâ Ḥusain had not yet heard of the defeat and flight of the *amîrs*, when Chaghatâî Khân, on the pretext of bringing his family, left him at Elichpûr and went to his own *jâgîr*. Meanwhile news of the flight of the *amîrs* had reached the kotwal of the fort of Gâwîl, who, assembling the whole garrison of the fortress to oppose Mîrzâ Ḥusain came forth from the fort. In the morning, while Mîrzâ Ḥusain and his army had still no inkling of the enemy's design, the defeated army of Berar appeared and Mîrzâ Ḥusain and his immediate companions mounted in great confusion and prepared for battle.

A body of the *amîrs* of the Dakan who had been told off to assist Mîrzâ Ḥusain came up in the rear and thus surrounded Mîrzâ Ḥusain, whom they put to death. Mîrzâ Ḥusain's brother, Mîrzâ Ḥasan, extricated himself from his perilous position with great difficulty and joined Chaghatâî Khân. The two men fled together to Burhânpûr, believing that they would thus save themselves from impending calamity, forgetting that all things are ordered by fate. When they arrived at the environs of Burhânpûr they were met by a force which had been sent by the ruler of Khândesh to seize them, and these men arrested Chaghatâî Khân and Mîrzâ Ḥasan and plundered all their property.

Sayyid Murtaẓâ and the rest of the *amîrs* of Berar, after fleeing from the field, reached the town of Paithan where they were joined by about 10,000 horse, who came in from all sides, so that they were numerically a strong army but they were so disorganized and demoralized by fear and panic that they halted nowhere, and could not make a stand even against the contemptible force (of Kolîs) which had been sent off to pursue them, but fled straight on to Burhânpûr. When they reached Burhânpûr they placed reliance on the friendship of its ruler for them and considered themselves safe from their enemies and halted in that country in all confidence, but the Sulṭân of Khândesh, altogether forgetting his former friendship with them, sent a force to attack them. The *amîrs* of Berar were halted and were carelessly taking their ease when they discerned the approaching army of Burhânpûr afar off. Sayyid Murtaẓâ, who over eighty years of age and had suffered much in his flight through Berar had no longer the power to flee and resolved to remain where he was and surrender himself to the attacking force, and gave his army leave to disperse. Khundâvand Khân's brave spirit could not endure this and he therefore compelled Sayyid Murtaẓâ, against his will, to mount, and with the help of Shîr Khân, Tîr Andâz-Khân, Chandâ Khân, and several soldiers, carried him away from his position of peril. The rest of the property of the army of Berar, horses, and elephants, which had escaped Ṣalâbat Khân's army, now fell into the hands of the army of Burhânpûr.

After this Baḥrî Khân, having obtained a safe conduct from Ṣalâbat Khân, hastened to the capital.

Sayyid Murtaẓâ and the other *amîrs* fled from Burhânpûr towards Karkâwan, which is a dependency of the dominions of Akbar Pâdshâh, halting not for three days in their fear of the army of Burhânpûr. They suffered much before they reached Karkâwan, but, having arrived there, took some rest and proceeded towards Akbar's capital, which they reached in due course.

After this signal victory Ṣalâbat Khân's power and influence in the office of *vakîl* was greatly increased, and when he had disposed of the *amîrs* of Berar, he deposed Asad Khân altogether both from the office of *vakîl* and the rank of *amîrs*, and imprisoned him in the fortress of Jond. He then took into his own hands all power in the state. He appointed Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq Urdûbâdî Râî, one of his faithful friends, as his deputy for the settlement of certain civil and revenue questions.

At this time the king issued an order for the execution of the prince Mîrzâ Ḥusain,[272] for the astrologers had represented to the king that the prince would be the cause of his ruin and would even attack the royal person. For this reason the king was ever endeavouring to compass the prince's death, and issuing farmans ordering his execution. Ṣalâbat Khân, however, hesitated to carry out these orders and shewed great negligence in the matter of bringing the prince to execution.

In the end the prophecies of the astrologers were verified and this prince was the cause of the ruin of his dynasty, as will shortly be shown.

When the royal order for the execution of the prince was issued, Ṣalâbat Khân represented that the prince was so unwell that it was possible that his sickness would be fatal, and that the king would thus be relieved of all anxiety. This answer so enraged the king that he came near to dismissing Ṣalâbat Khân, and this was the first breach in the foundation of Ṣalâbat Khân's power and influence.

Sayyid Murtaẓâ and the other *amîrs*, when they reached Akbar's capital, were admitted to an audience,[273] and Akbar, who had long been cogitating the conquest of the Dakan, regarded the arrival of Sayyid Murtaẓâ and the other *amîrs*, who were among the greatest men of that country, as an evidence of good fortune and prestige, and his ambition of conquest was renewed. He now appointed the pillar of his kingdom, Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kûka,[274] who was at that time governor of the province of Mâlwa, to the command of this great expedition and having bestowed honours and favours on Murtaẓâ and the other *amîrs*, appointed them and other highly placed *amîrs* and khâns of his own court to an army to be placed under the orders of Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kûka. This army marched -from the capital to Mâlwa and joined Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kûka. The imperial forces then marched to the town of Hindiya which s at the junction of the frontiers of Mâlwa, Burhânpûr, and the Dakan and encamped there. The victorious *Ṣâḥib Qirân* (Burhân Niẓâm Shâh) was at that time one of the *amîrs* of Akbar's court and was sent to the assistance of this army.

When Ṣalâbat Khân heard of the approach of the imperial army, he reported the matter to the king, and the king ordered that the army of Berar, strengthened and reinforced by other *amîrs* with their contingents, should march to oppose the imperial army. The Sayyid, Âṣaf Jâh Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî, *vazîr* of the kingdom (province) was appointed to the command of this army, and was sent to Berar, and the prince, Mîrzâ Ḥusain, was allowed to depart,

272 Firishta does not mention this sentence of death passed on prince Husain.

273 Sayyid Murtazâ and the *amirs* of Berar were presented at Akbar's court on the Nawûz festival (March 21, 1585).

274 Khân-i-A'ẓam, Akbar's foster brother. This proposed invasion of the Dakan dwindled into an abortive raid into Berar, whence the invaders were compelled to retreat in haste, almost to flee, into Gujarât. The failure of the expedition was largely due to the insubordination of the *amîrs* of Mâlwa, and especially of Shihâb-ud-dîn Aḥmad Khân, *jâgirdâr* of Ujjain, who had formerly been governor of Mâlwa and had been implicated in the murder of Khân-i-A'ẓam's father, Shams-ud-dîn Muḥammad Atgah Khân. Nothing would induce Shihâb-ud-dîn Aḥmad Khân to co-operate with the Khân-i-A'ẓam. He withdrew to Ujjain and was with difficulty prevailed upon to refrain from marching against the governor. —A.N , A.A., T.A., Bud., F.

with a body of troops, to Daulatâbâd. Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî hastened to join the army to which he had been appointed and then busied himself in preparing it for battle. He then, having brought the army to a high degree of discipline, marched to the borders of Burhanpur.

The army of the Dakan then encamped on the banks of the Tâptî, which flows by the city of Burhânpûr. The ruler of K͟hândesh, who had agreed to oppose the advance of Akbar's army, sent several of his *amîrs* to see the *amîrs* of the Dakan and to renew his treaties and engagements with them.

In the meantime the learned Shâh Fatḥullâh Shîrâzî, who was Akbar's *vakîl*, arrived at Asîr with a royal robe of honour. The ruler of K͟hândesh, who was openly obedient to Akbar, received him with all honour and treated him with all courtesy, but the next day he sent a messenger to tell him that the army of the Dakan had arrived in K͟hândesh for the purpose of making a night attack on Shâh Fatḥullâh's escort, and that he was not strong enough to prevent them from doing so. Shâh Fatḥullâh was much perturbed by this news and fled that night. By daylight he had reached Gondwâra,[275] and thence he fled in all haste and joined the army of Mîrzâ Âzîz Kûka. Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kûka was much displeased with Shâh Fatḥullâh for having fled,—so much so that Shâh Fatḥullâh found it impossible to remain with his army and therefore fled, with the troops which had been told off as his, to Gujarât.

When the army of the Dakan heard of the flight of Shâh Fatḥullâh and of his quarrel with Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kûka, they regarded these events as earnest of victory and marched on Hindiya.[276]

When spies informed Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kûka of the approach of the army of the Dakan, he called a council of his *amîrs*, and the conclusion at which they arrived was that the army of the Dakan was so strong that a battle with it should be avoided. The imperial army then, under the advice and guidance of Sayyid Murtaẓâ and the *amîrs* of Berar, made for Elichpûr, which is the capital of Berar, by way of Gondwâra, and on their arrival in the environs of Elichpûr, turned the day of the inhabitants of that city into night. They reached the environs of the city on a market day, when the inhabitants of the country round were bringing in their merchandise, and they plundered everything and burnt the place, levelling to the ground in the twinkling of an eye a city which had just before excelled Cairo and Damascus in population and prosperity.[277] They seized women and children and made prisoners of all whom they caught and bound them, making no distinction between Musalman and misbeliever. After plundering and wasting Elichpûr, the imperial army marched on to Bâlâpûr. Thence K͟hudâvand K͟hân went on to Malkâpûr and Rohankhed, which had been his *jâgîr*, and collected thence all the treasures which had been stored up in the period of his governorship, and then rejoined the imperial army.

When the army of the Dakan arrived at Hindiya, they learnt that the imperial army had invaded Berar. They therefore plundered and burnt Hindiya and then hastened back in all haste on the trail of the enemy. It was breakfast time when the Niẓâm Shâhî army was sighted by the imperial army and the latter were so overcome with fear that there was no

275 The Sâtpûra Hills, *i.e.*, the country of the Korkûs, not of the Gouds.

276 K͟hân-i-A'ẓam had already left Hindiya. He had captured the fort of Sâvolîgaṛh from Nâhar Râo, a refractory Hindu, and had undertaken an expedition to Kherla, which was disastrous to the horses of his cavalry.

277 The imperial troops sacked Elichpûr on March 20, 1586—A.N.

question of their withstanding the Dakanîs,[278] and Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kûka, who had been led into this trouble by the *amîrs* of Berar, gave up all thought of fighting and acquiring honor, and fled. He fled in such haste and confusion that he was forced to blind and leave behind him some elephants which had accompanied him on his forced march, and were now unfit to take the road. He then fled towards Sulṭânpûr and Nandûrbâr. The Niẕâm Shâhî army closely pursued the imperial army, halting daily where the imperial army had halted the day before, but not venturing to engage them, until they reached the confines of Sulṭânpûr and Nandûrbâr.[279] When these were reached Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kûka left his army on the borders of Sulṭânpûr, while he marched rapidly in light order to Gujarât. The imperial army and the Niẕâm Shâhî army lay over against one another on the Sulṭânpûr border until Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kûka returned from Gujarât and retreated with his army to Ujjain, and the army of the Dakan then left the frontier and returned to the capital. It was in truth by God's blessing that the Niẕâm Shâhî army was enabled, in the king's absence, successfully to oppose the imperial army of Dihlî, which had overrun so many countries and ruined so many kings.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE HARṢACARITA OF BÂṆA.

In the sixth chapter, nineteenth paragrap of Bâṇa's Harṣacarita, there is a sentence whic stands thus :

आश्चर्य्यं कुतूहली च [चण्डीपति] दण्डोपनत यवननिर्मितेन नभस्तलयायिना यन्त्रयायेनानीयत क्वापि काकवर्णः शैशुनागि नगरोपकण्डे कण्ठश्चास्य निचकृते निस्त्रिंसेन

Messrs. Cowell and Thomas have translated this passage thus (page 193) :—

" Kâkavarna being curious of marvels was carried away, no one knows whither, on an artificial aerial car made by a Yavana condemned to death. The son of Śiśunâga had a dagger thrust into his throat in the vicinity of his city ".

They have treated it as two separate sentences under the impression that Kâkavarna and son of Śiśunâga were two different persons. The Nirnayasâgara Press edition of 1897 (page 199), and the edition of S. D. Gajendragadkar and A. B. Gajendragadkar of 1919 (?) also divide the passage into two sentences, introducing one चण्डीपति who is not mentioned in any of Führer's manuscripts. Then again शैशुनरि is the reading of all the three editions. Messrs. Cowell and Thomas rightly take it to be शैशुनागि, a reading which is found in three of Führer's manuscripts A, B, and D, (page 269).

A reference to the original Sanskrit will make it clear that Skandagupta, the commandant of the elephant troops of Harṣa was relating to his young master, instances of disasters to kings, caused by their own follies, giving one instance in each separate sentence. Hence Messrs. Cowell and Thomas have erred in treating Kâkavarṇa and the son of Śiśunâga as different persons. We are sure that they had before them an edition of Harṣacarita which had the passage in question in the following wrong form :

आश्चर्य्यं कुतूहली च दंडोपनतयवननिर्मितेन नभस्तलयायिना यन्त्रयायिनानीयत क्वापि काकवर्णः। शैशुनागिश्च नगरोपकंठे कंठे निचकृते निस्त्रिंशेन ।

This is the reading in Gajendragadkar's edition, whereas the Nirṇayasâgar edition has the full stop after क्वापि.

Here it is to be noticed that there is a full stop between काकवर्णः and शैशुनागि with the letter च joined to the latter. This is the reason of their confusion. It is a well known fact to the historian of India that Kâkavarṇa was the son of Śiśunâga, and the second king of the dynasty founded by him. A reference to the Purāṇic list of kings of the Śiśunâga dynasty, as given in Pargiter's text, will remove all doubt. Compare also Bhâgabatâ Puran (XII, 1, 4), and Vincent Smith's early History of India on the chronology of the Śiśunaga and Nanda Dynasties given in a tabular from page 44, second edition. Hence the correct translation should be:

[278] During the retreat of the Khân-i-A'ẕam an action was fought at Chândûr (20° 53′ N. and 76° 25′ E.) in which the imperial troops engaged took some plunder, but their leader, 'Abdullâh Sulṭân Kâshgharî, was slain.—A. N.

[279] The Khân-i-A'ẕam reached Nandûrbâr on April 10, 1586. On reaching Aḥmadâbâd he nearly succeeded in persuading his brother-in-law, the Khân khânân, to join him in an expedition to Aḥmadnagar, but the approach of the rainy season and troubles in Mâlwa prevented the enterprise—A. N.

Kâkavarṇa, the son of Śiśunâga, being curious of marvels was carried away, no one knows whither, on an artificial aerial car made by a Yavana condemned to death, and his throat was cut in the vicinity of his city.

The next sentence in Harsacarita runs thus :

अतिस्त्रीसंगरतमनंगपरवशं शुंगममात्यो वसुदेवो देवभूतिं (मिं) दासीदुहिता देवी व्यंजनयवीतजीवितमकारयत् ।

This has been translated as follows : "In a frenzy of passion, the over-libidinous Śunga was, at the instance of his minister Vasudeva, reft of his life by a daughter of Devabhûti's slave woman disguised as his queen."

It is a well-known fact to the historian that Devabhûti or Devabhûmi, the last of the Śunga kings was put to death by his minister Vasudeva of the Kanva family. *cf.* Bhâgavata Purâṇa (XII. 1. 18).

शुंगं हत्वा देवभूतिं कण्वोऽमात्यस्तु कामिनम् ।
स्वयं करिष्यते राज्यं वसुदेवो महामतिः ॥ *cf.* also Vishnu Purâṇa (IV. 24. 12.)

देवभूतिन्तु शुंगराजानं व्यसनिनं तस्यैवामात्यः कण्वो वसुदेवनामा निपात्य स्वयमवनीं भोक्ता । *cf.* also Matsya Purâṇa, 272, 32, 33.

आमात्यो वसुदेवस्तु वाल्यात् (बलात् ?) व्यसनिनं नृपम् । देवभूमिमथोत्साह्य शौंगस्तु (शुंगंतु) भविता नृपः ॥

Hence देवभूतिदासीदुहित्रा is apparently a copyist's blunder for देवभूतिं (मिं) दासीदुहित्रा.

In the fourth paragraph of the seventh chapter are described the gigantic preparations of *Harsavardhana* for starting out to conquer the whole of northern India and especially to wreak vengeance on Śaśânka the king of Gauḍa. Here also Messrs. Cowell and Thomas have given us a meaningless translation by attempting to render a corrupt reading of a passage. The corrupt reading is :—

स्रस्तवेसरविसंवादिसीदद्दाक्षिणात्यसादिनि

This has been rendered into "The Dekkan riders disconsolately contended with fallen mules." This has very little meaning. स्रस्त cannot mean 'fallen,' especially when this qualifies a mule. स्रस्त means परिगलित, क्षरित *i.e.*, disjoined, separated, etc., it may mean 'fallen' when this qualifies a lump of matter. So स्रस्तवेसर has no meaning or very little meaning. Even though we admit for the sake of argument that it may mean a 'fallen mule' the question naturally suggests itself as to why should mules fall prostrate on the ground in their preparations for departure. Then we come to विसंवादि in the above passage. The root with the prefix means 'to contend' generally ; but here विसंवादि means परिशीलन as suggested by the commentator Śanker Miśra, and परिशीलन means "to touch, contact, treating well, patting with caressing ;" that is, "breaking in" is the real meaning here.

The correct reading would be त्रस्तवेसरविसंवादसीदद्दाक्षिणात्यसादिनि and the correct translation should be "The Dekkan riders were getting tired of breaking in the frightened mules." The above the reading of the manuscripts A, B, and T, collated by Führer.

SITA NATH PRADHAN.

BOOK-NOTICES.

DJÂWÂ : Driemaandelijksch Tijdschrift uitgegeven door het Java-Instituut bij G. Kolff and Co. Weltevreden. Onder Redactie van Dr. Raden Ario Hoesein Djajadiningrat, J. Kats, S. Koperberg, Raden Ngabei Pœrbatjaraka en J. W. Teillers. Secretariaat der redactie : Kanarilaan 13, te Weltevreden, No. 1 Januari-April, 1921. 82 pp.

PROGRAMMA voor het Congres van het Java-Instituut te houden te Bandoeng van 17-19 Juni, 1921. 57 pp.

CONGRES JAVA INSTITUUT. Catalogus van de Houtsnijwerk Tentoonstelling te houden te Bandoeng van 18 tot en met 26 Juni, 1921. 36 pp.

The Java Institute, which has its seat in Surakarta, was founded in 1919. Its object is to promote the development of the native culture, in the widest sense of the word, of Java, Madura and Bali by : (1) collecting and making accessible manifestations of Javanese culture both past and present ; (2) promoting a knowledge of and an insight into Javanese culture by congresses, exhibitions, lectures, etc.; (3) supporting all serious attempts made by others in the same direction ; (4) all other means available to the Institute, capable of advancing its objects.

The Society consists of ordinary members, honorary members, corresponding members and patrons. Societies and Institutions are eligible as members or patrons. Various activities are carried on by the Institute in furtherance of its aims. It issues a quarterly, *Djâwâ* [Java], with the object of bringing to the notice of as large a number as possible of the Javanese themselves, and of foreigners interested in the subject, hitherto unknown or not generally

known data on Javanese culture, reviews of researches on that subject published in other journals and in books, and efforts to add to the knowledge of it.

The first number, January-April, 1921, has appeared, published for the Java Institute by G. Kolff and Co., Weltevreden. It is admirably illustrated and contains articles of much interest. The first deals with a stone figure of great antiquity found in South Sumatra, the date and origin of which the author, L. C. Westenenk, endeavours to fix with the aid of legend and history. He includes in his article an account and a reproduction of an inscription found in Palembang. Other original articles are concerned with the customs of the Sundanese, the drama of Java and the form of theatre best suited to its representation, various Javanese legends, the language of the school children, new lines of development for Javanese art, the songs and games of Sundanese children, and secret language in Javanese. A very full notice is given of Prof. Hazeu's inaugural lecture at Leyden on Javanese literature, ancient and modern. There are besides short notices of articles in other publications on Javanese subjects and a very full classified list of books and articles on the language, geography and ethnography of Java.

The Institute has also issued a beautifully produced and illustrated programme of the Congress at Bandung, June 17-19 and a catalogue of the exhibition of wood carving held in connection with the Congress. Besides the customary speeches and debates, performances of Javanese music, dancing and drama are included in the programme.

M.J.B.

STUDIES IN PARSI HISTORY, by SHAHPURSHAH HORMASJI HODIVALA, Principal, Bahauddin College, Junagadh. Bombay, 1920.

This stout volume of 349 pages contains a series of lectures or papers read before the Society for the Promotion of Zoroastrian Research during the last 10 years by a well-known Professor of History. It need hardly be said that they are invaluable for their purpose, the "throwing of fresh light on some dark corners of Parsi antiquities, by offering new solutions of old difficulties or unearthing facts that have hitherto escaped discovery."

Professor Hodivala's methods are after my own heart. He goes to the root of things: examines his dates from original sources, both Musalman chronicles and Hindu inscriptions bearing on his subject: studies the colophons of mediæval Avesta-Pahlavi MSS. for the history they may reveal; and finally he addresses himself to the very important subject of the true dates of the Persian *Revâyets* or Epistles of the 16th and 17th centuries. The historical importance of ascertaining the dates of these documents accurately will become obvious to the student from the fact that the *Revâyets* were "the replies and information collected by some special messenger who had been sent, by some of the chief Parsis in India, to obtain the opinions of the Parsis in Persia, regarding certain particulars of religious practice which were duly specified in writing, or to apply for copies of MSS. which were either unknown or scarce in India." A *Revâyet* to the modern Parsi must therefore be very like what an Epistle in the New Testament is to the modern European Christian.

The question of transliteration is again becoming acute, owing to the great increase of scholarship among Orientals of various races, pronouncing the classical languages, Semitic, Aryan and Dravidian, in various ways, and to the fact that Orientalists are not even yet agreed on the subject. Practically every modern book that comes my way raises it for me. It troubles every Indian student and professor apparently, and excuses for not adhering to "uniformity" crop up in nearly every Indian scholar's writings. Each European writer goes his own way without making an excuse. This book, too, says: "It has not been possible to observe a strict uniformity in the transliteration of Oriental words and names." Alas, it never is, and yet the importance of uniformity is paramount to the makers and users of indexes, even though the Indian books are still usually lacking in that valuable addition.

Within the limits of a book-notice it is impossible to examine this important book in detail. Suffice it to say that Professor Hodivala explores his sources thoroughly wherever he finds them—Parsi, Persian, Hindu, Portuguese, English—with a fairness and a candour that makes his book one that no student of Parsi History and Chronology will be able to pass by undigested. So careful is he to sift tradition in the matter of chronology that he makes it clear that up to quite recent times the Parsi Dastur propounded the dates of the main facts of the history of his religion with the same confidence and the same amount of accuracy as did the Anglican Bishop of the present writer's boyhood. It is more than interesting to find that the traditional date of 716 A.D. for the landing of the first Parsi refugees from Muslim tyranny at Sanjân (the St. John of Lord and other early English writers in India) and of 1475 A.D. for the bringing of the holy fire to the Parsi temple at Navsâri are on a par with the 4004 B.C. for the date of Adam in the annotated Bible still in my possession from the time when I was a small boy, and won "the Bible Prize," because I could remember such dates better than the other little boys in a typically Mid-Victorian School.

R. C. TEMPLE.

INDEX.

S.A.L. stands for the Supplement, Dictionary of the South Andaman Language, Appendices V—XII, pp. 165—188.

G.D. stands for the Supplement, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India, pp. 79—118.

H.R. stands for the Supplement, the Story of Hîr and Rânjha, pp. 33—64.

Indraśilâ-guhâ—Mr. Laidlay has identified it with the Giriyek hill, six miles from Râjgir, which is evidently a corruption of Gairik-giri, a large portion of the stones of this hill being of red (*gairik*) colour. It is a spur of the Bipula range. It is the most easterly of the range of hills in which Râjgir was situated (*JASB.*, XVII, p. 500). The Panchân or Pañchânan river flows by its side, and just across the river is situated the ancient Buddhist village called Giriyek. It has two peaks: on the lower peak on the east is situated the celebrated brick-tower called Jarâsindhu-kâ-Baiṭhak which was the Haṃsa-stûpa of the Buddhists. In some portions the moulding of sand and plaster in niches are well preserved. It is said to be the only building in India that has any pretention to be dated before Asoka's reign (Fergusson's *Cave Temples of India* p. 33). In front of it there are the remains of a monastery (*Sañghârâma*), a dry well, two tanks and a garden. The western peak which is connected with the Haṃsa-stûpa by a pavement is the higher of two : to this peak the name of Giriyek properly belongs : it contains the remains of a vihâra. It is the "Hill of the isolated rock" of Fa Hian. It was on this hill that Indra brought the heavenly musician Pañcha Śikhâ to play on his lute before Buddha, and questioned the latter on forty-two points, which questions he traced with hie finger on the ground (Legge's *Fa Hian*, p. 80). According to the Buddhist account, the cave was situated in the rock Vedi, at the north side of the Brâhman village Ambasanda, on the east of Râjagṛiha (Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 298).

Irân—Persia, which was so-called from its colonisation by the ancient Aryans, the ancestors of the modern Parsis, who settled there after they left the Punjab: see **Ariana** (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 420).

Iraṇa—The Runn of Cutch, the word Runn or Ran is evidently a corruption of Iraṇa, which means a salt land (*Amara-kosha*): It is the Eirinon of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.*

Irâvatî—1. The Ravi (Hydraotes of the Greeks). 2. The Rapti in Oudh (*Garuḍa P.*, ch. 81). Rapti is also said to be a corruption of Revatî.

Isalia—Kesariya, in the district of Champâraṇ, where Buddha in a former birth appeared as a Chakravartti monarch. A stûpa was raised at this place to commemorate the gift of the Alms-bowl by Buddha to the Lichchhavis when he parted with them (*Fa Hian*, and *Arch. S. Rep.*, XVI, p. 16). The ruins of this stûpa are known to the people by the name of Râjâ Ben-kâ-deorâ, Râjâ Bena being one of the Chakravartti kings of ancient time.

J

Jâhnavî—Same as Gaṅgâ (*Harivaṃśa*, I, ch. 27). See **Jahnu-âśrama.**

Jahnu-âśrama—The hermitage of Jahnu Muni is at Sultangunj (E. I. Railway) on the west of Bhagalpur. The temple of Gaibinâtha Mahâdeva, which is on the site of the hermitage of Jahnu Muni, is situated on a rock which comes out from the bed of the Ganges in front of Sultanganj. The river Ganges (Gaṅgâ) on her way to the ocean, was quaffed down in a draught by the Muni when interrupted in his meditation by the rush of the water, and was let out by an incision on his thigh at the intercession by Bhagîratha: hence the Ganges is called Jâhnavi or the daughter of Jahnu Rishi. It is the Zanghera of Martin (*Indian Empire*, vol. III, p. 37 and *Eastern India*, vol. II, p. 37), or Jahngira which is a contraction of Jahnu-giri according to Dr. R. L. Mitra (*JASB.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 360), and of Jahnu-gṛiha according to General Cunningham (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XV, p. 21). The Pâṇḍâs of Gaibinâtha Mahâdeva live in the village of Jahngira which is at a short distance from the temple. The hermitage of Jahnu Muni is

also pointed out at Bhairavaghâṭî below Gaṅgotri in Garwal at the junction of the Bhâgîrathî and the Jâhnavî, where the Ganges is said to have been quaffed by the ishi (Fraser's *Himala Mountains*, p. 476). For other places which are pointed out as the hermitage of Jahnu [see **Gaṅgâ** and my *Notes on Ancient Aṅga* in *JASB.*, vol. X (1914), p. 340]. There was a Buddhist Monastery at Sultanganj itself which contained a colossal copper statue of Buddha constructed in the 5th century A.D.

Jajâhuti—Same as **Jejabhuktî**. Its capital was Kajurâha at the time of Alberuni in the eleventh century (Alberuni's *India*, vol. I, p. 202).

Jajâtipura—Jâjpur (see **Yajñapura** and **Yayâtipura**).

Jâlandhara—Jalandhar, a town near the western bank of the Sutlej in the Punjab: same as **Trigartta**. (*Hemakoska*). The name is derived from its founder, the Asura Jâlandhara, the son of the Ganges by the Ocean (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 51). It is the head-quarters of the district called Jalandhara Doab or Jâlandharapîṭha lying between the Bias and the Sutlej. It is the Kulindrina of Ptolemy; but see **Kulinda-deśa.**

Jalpîśa—See **Japyeśvara**. It is situated on the west of the river Tista in the district of Jalpaiguri in Bengal (*Kâlikâ P.*, 77). The name of Jalpaiguri is evidently derived from this Tîrtha.

Jamadagni-âśrama—1. Zamânia, in the district of Ghazipur, the hermitage of Ṛishi Jamadagni. Zamânia is a corruption of Jamadagnîya. 2. The hermitage of the Ṛishi is also pointed out at Khaira Dih in the Ghazipur district opposite to Bhagalpur. 3. At Mahâsthânagaḍ, seven miles north of Bogra in Bengal (*Kathâ-sarit-sâgara*, II, 1; *Skanda P.*, Brahma Kh., ch. 5, vs. 147, 150). It is also called Parasurâma-âśrama.

Jambudvîpa—India. The ancient name of India as known to the Chinese was Shin-tup or Sindhu (Legge's *Fa Hian*, p. 26). See **Sindhu** and **Bhâratavarsha**.

Jambukeśvara.—Tiruvanaikâval between Trichinopoly and Śrîraṅgam (Devî P., ch. 102): *see* **Śrîraṅgam.**

Jambumârga—Kalinjar (Prof. H. Wilson's *Vishnu P.*, Bk. II, ch. XIII note). But this identification does not appear to be correct (see *Mbh.* Vana, chs. 87 and 89). The *Agni P.*, (ch. 109) places Jambumârga between Pushkara and Mount Abu, and mentions Kâlañjara separately as a place of pilgrimage in the same chapter. Jambu is placed in Mount Abu (*Skanda P.*, Arbbuda Kh., ch. 60).

Jamunotri—*See* **Yamunotri**. A sacred spot in the Bândarpuchchha range of the Himalaya considered to be the source of the river Yamunâ (Jamunâ) near the junction of three streams. The particular spot which obtains the name of Jamunotri is a little below the place where the various small streams, formed on the mountain-brow by the melting of snow, unite and fall into a basin below. Jamunotri is eight miles from Kursali. At a short distance from the latter is a celebrated hot spring, issuing from the bed of a torrent which falls into the Jamunâ at a place called Banass: it is considered by the Hindus to be exceedingly holy (Martin's *Indian Empire Illustrated*, vol. III, pp. 11-20; Fraser's *Tour through the Himala Mountains*, ch. 26).

Janasthâna—Aurangabad and the country between the Godâvarî and the Kṛishṇâ : it was a part of the Daṇḍakâraṇya of the *Râmâyaṇa* (Araṇya, ch. 49). Pañchavaṭî or Nasik was included in Janasthâna (*Ibid*, Uttara, ch. 81). According to Mr. Pargiter, it is the region on both banks of the Godâvarî, probably the country around the junction of that river with the Pranhita or Waingaṅgâ (*JRAS.*, 1894., p. 247).

Japyeśvara—Japyeśvara of the *Linga P.* (Pt. I, ch. 43), and Jâpyeśvara of the *Śiva P.*, (Pt. IV, ch. 47) are the **Jalpîśa** (q. v.) of the *Kâlikâ P.*, (ch. 77). Nandî, the principal attendant of Śiva, performed asceticism at this place. In the *Kâlikâ P.* (ch. 77), it has been placed to the north-west of Kâmarûpa in Assam with the five rivers called **Pañchanada** (q. v.) in the *Linga P.* (Pt. I, ch. 43). But the *Kûrma P.* (Uttara, ch. 42) places it near the Ocean (sâgara). See, however, **Shaḍâraṇya** and **Nandigiri.** The *Varâha P.*, ch. 214 appears to place Japyeśvara near Śleshmātaka or Gokarṇa.

Jasnaul—Bara-Banki in Oudh. Jas, a Raja of the Bhar tribe is said to have founded it in the tenth century (Führer's *MAI.*).

Jaṭâ parvata—The Jaṭâphaṭkâ mountain in Daṇḍakâraṇya, in which the Godâvarî has its source. *See* **Godâvarî** (*Devi P.*, ch. 43).

Jatodbhava—The river Jatodâ, a tributary of the Brahmaputra, which flows through the district of Jalpaiguri and Kuch Bihar (*Kâlikâ P.*, ch. 77).

Jaugaḍa—The fort of Jaugaḍa, eighteen miles to the north-west of Ganjam, contains an edict of Aśoka inscribed upon a rock (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XIII; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I). The rock which bears the edict of Aśoka (dating about 250 B.C.), is four miles to the west of Purushottapur in the district of Ganjam, Madras Presidency, on the north bank of the Ṛishikulyâ (*Ind. Ant.*, I, 219).

Jâvâlî-pura—Jabbalpur (Bhagavanlal Indraji's *Early History of Gujarât, p.* 203; *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, Tawney's Trans., p. 161).

Jayantî—1. Jyntia in Assam (*Tantrachuḍâmaṇi*). 2. Same as **Baijayantî** (*JRAS.*, 1911, p. 810). *See* **Banavâsî.**

Jejabhukti—The ancient name of Bundelkhand, the kingdom of the Chandrâtreyas or the Chandels. Its capitals were Mahoba and Kharjurâha (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 218). Kâliñjara was the capital of the Chandels after it had been conquered by Yasovarman. The name was corrupted into Jajâhuti (Alberuni's *India*, vol. I, p. 202) and Jajhoti (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 481).

Jetavana-vihâra—Joginibhariya mound, one mile to the south of Śrâvastî. Buddha resided and preached here for some time. The Vihâra was erected in a garden by Sudatta, a rich merchant of Śrâvastî, who for his charity was called Anâthapinḍika: he gave it to Buddha and his disciples for their residence. It was a favourite residence of Buddha (*Chullavagga*, Pt. VI, chs. 4 and 9). The garden formerly belonged to Jeta, son of king Prasenajit, who sold it to Anâthapinḍika for gold *masurans* sufficient to cover the whole area (amounting to 18 Koṭis of *masurans*). It contained two temples called Gandhakuṭi and Kosamba-kuṭi and a sacred mango-tree planted by Ânanda at the request of Buddha (Cunningham's *Stûpa of Bharahut*, p. 86). *See* **Śrâvastî.**

Jetuttara—Nâgari, 11 miles north of Chitore. It was the capital of Sivi or Mewar (*Jâtakas*, vi, 246; *Arch. S. Rep.*, vi, 196). Jetuttara is evidently the Jattaraur of Alberuni, the capital of Mewar (Alberuni's *India*, I, p. 202). *See* **Śivi.**

Jhârakhaṇḍa—Chota or Chutia Nagpur: Kokra of the Muhammadan historians. Madhu Sing, Râjâ of Chutia Nagpur, was conquered, and the country was annexed to the Mughal dominion by Akbar in A.D. 1585. According to Dr. Buchanan, all the hilly region between Birbhum (anciently called Vîra-deśa, the capital of which was Nagara) and Benares was called Jhârakhaṇḍa (Martin's *Eastern India*, I, p. 32). It also included the

Santal Pargana (*Mahâ-Liṅgeśvara Tantra*). Chutia, now an insignificant village two miles to the east of Ranchi, was, according to tradition, the earliest capital of the Nâgavaṃsi Râjâs of Chota Nagpur, the descendants of the Naga (snake) Puṇḍarika (Bradley-Birt's *Chota Nagpur*, chs. I, III).

Jîrṇanagara—Juner in the district of Poona. According to Dr. Bhandarkar (*Hist. of the Dekkan*, sec. viii), it was the capital of the Kshatrapa king Nahapâna whose dynasty was subverted by Pulamâyi, king of Paiṭhân.

Jushkapura—Zukur in Kâśmîra.

Jvâlâmukhî—A celebrated place of pilgrimage (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, vii, 38), 22 miles south of Kangra and 10 miles north-west of Nadaun in the Kohistan of the Jalandhara Doab in the Dehra sub-division of the Kangra district, being one of the Pîṭhas where Satî's tongue is said to have fallen *Tantra-chuḍâmaṇi*. The town is thus described by W. H. Parish in *JASB.*, vol. XVIII: "The town of Jvâlâmukhî is large and straggling, and is built at the base of the western slope of the Jvâlâmukhî or Chungar-ki-dhar. The town with the wooded slopes of Chungar forming the background, and the valley spread out before it, has a very picturesque appearance from a distance." The celebrated temple has been cut out of the volcanic rock. It possesses no architectural beauty, nor anything worthy of notice except natural jets of gas which are ten in number, five being within the temple and five on its walls. The temple contains the image of Ambikâ or Maṭeśvarî, but General Cunningham says that there is no idol of any kind, the flaming fissure being considered as the fiery mouth of the goddess whose headless body is in the temple of Bhawan (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. V, p. 171). According to an ancient tradition, the flame issued from the mouth of the Daitya Jâlandhara. It is evidently the Bâḍavâ of the *Mahâbhârata* (Vana, ch. 82). The Jvâlâmukhî mountain is 3,284 feet high, the temple being at a height of 1,882 feet.

Jyotirathâ—A tributary of the river Sona (*Mbh.*, Vana P., ch. 85). It has been identified with the Johila, the southern of the two sources of the Sona (Pargiter's *Markaṇḍeya P.*, p. 296).

Jyotirliṅgas—For the twelve Jyotir-liṅgas of Mahâdeva, *see* **Amareśvara**.

Jyotirmaṭha—One of the four Maṭhas established by Śaṅkarâchâryya, at Badrinâth (*see* Śrîṅ**gagiri**). It is now called Joshimaṭh on the Alakânandâ in Kumaun.

Jyotishâ—Same as **Jyotirathâ** (*Vishṇu Saṃhitâ*, ch. 85).

K

Kabandha—The territory of Sarik-kul and its capital Tashkurghan in the Tagdumbash Pamir. It is the Kie-pan-to of Hiuen Tsiang (Sir Henry Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 154, 163, 166; Dr. Stein's *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, p. 72). *See* **Kupatha**.

Kachchha.—1. Cutch: it was called Marukachchha (*Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, ch. XIV) in contradistinction to Kauśikî-Kachchha. 2. Kaira (Kheda) in Gujarat, a large town between Ahmadabad and Cambay (Kambay), on the river Betravatî (present Bâtrak). 3. Perhaps Uch (*see* Śû**draka**). 4. Kachar in Assam.

Kailâsa.—The Kailâsa mountain: it is the Kangrinpoche of the Tibetans, situated about 25 miles to the north of Mânas-sarovara beyond Gangri which is also called Darchin, and to the east of the Nîti Pass. (Batten's *Nîti Pass* in *JASB.*, 1838, p. 314.) It is a spur of the Gangri range, and is said to be the abode of Mahâdeva and Pârvatî. "In picturesque beauty" says H. Strachey in *JASB.*, 1848, p. 158, "Kailâsa far surpasses the big Gurla or any other of the Indian Himalaya that I have ever seen: it is full of majesty—a king of mountains." Through the ravines on either side of the mountain is the passage

by which the pilgrims perform their perambulation in two days. The identification of the Kiunlun range with Kailâsa is a mistake (see Map of Tibet in Dr. Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 40). *The Mahâbhârata*, Vana (chs. 144, 156) and the *Brahmâṇḍa P.*, (ch. 51) include the mountains of the Kumaun and Garwal in the Kailâsa range (see *Vikramorvaśî*, Act IV; Fraser's *Himala Mountains*, p. 470). Badrikâ-âsrama is said to be situated on the Kailâsa mountain (*Mbh.*, Vana P., ch. 157). The Kailâsa mountain is also called Hemakûṭa (*Mbh.*, Bhîshma P., ch. 6). Four rivers are said to rise from Gangri, from the mountain or the lakes; the Indus on the north is fabled to spring from the mouth of the Lion, the Śatadru on the west from the Ox, the Karnali on the south from the Peacock, and the Brahmaputra on the east from the Horse [*JASB.* (1848), p. 329]. Sven Hedin says, "The spring at Dolchu is called Langchenkabat, or the mouth out of which the Elephant river (*i.e.*, the river Sutlej as called by the Tibetans) comes, just as Brahmaputra's source is the Singi-kabab, or the mouth from which the Lion river issues. The fourth in the series is the Mapcha-Kamba, the Peacock river or Karnali (Sven Hedin's *Trans-Himalaya*, vol. II, p. 103). For the description of the Kailâsa mountain [see Sven Hedin's *Trans-Himalaya*, vol. II, ch. 51, and H. Strachey's *Narrative of a Journey to Cho Lagan* (Râkhas Tâl) in *JASB.*, 1848, pp. 157, 158]. Kailâsa mountain is the Ashṭâpada mountain of the Jainas. According to Mr. Sherring, the actual circuit round the holy mountain occupies, on an average, three days, the distance being about 25 miles. The water of the Gaurî-kuṇḍa, which is a sacred lake that remains frozen all the year round, has to be touched during the circuit. Darchan is the spot where the circuit usually begins and ends (Sherring's *Western Tibet*, p. 279). But it is strange that none of the travellers mention anything about the temple of Hara and Pârvatî who are said to reside in the mountain.

Kaira Mâli—The Kaimur range, which is situated in the ancient Kaira-deśa, *mâli* being the name of a mountain [*JASB.*, (1877), p. 16]. Same as **Kîmhritya**. Kaimur is evidently a corruption of Kairamâli.

Kajiṅghara—Same as **Kajughira.**

Kajughira—Kajeri, ninety-two miles from Champâ (Beal's *R.W.C.*, Vol. II, p. 193n.). Cunningham identifies it with Kankjol, sixty-seven miles to the east of Champâ or Bhagalpur. Kajughira is a contraction of Kubjâgriha. It may be identified with Kajra, one of the stations of E.I. Railway in the district of Monghyr. Three miles to the south are many remains of the Buddhist period, and many hot springs.

Kâkanâda—Sâñchi in the Bhopal territory, celebrated for its Buddhist topes. Bhagavanlal Indraji first pointed out that the ancient name of Sâñchi was Kâkanâda (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 31).

Kakauthâ—The small stream Barhi which falls into the Chhoṭa Gandak, eight miles below Kasia (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 435). Carlleyle has identified it with the river Ghâgî, one and half miles to the west of Chitiyaon in the Gorakhpur district. *See* **Kakushtâ** (*Mahâparinibbâna Sutta*, ch. IV and *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XXII.) Lassen identifies Kakauthis of Arrian with the Bâgmatî of Nepal (McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 189 n.).

Kâlachampâ—Same as **Champâpurî** (*Mahâ-Janaka Jâtaka* in the *Jâtakas*, vi, 20, 28, 127).

Kaladi—Kaladi or Kalati in Kerala, where, according to the *Śaṅkaravijaya*, Śaṅkarâchâryya was born in the seventh century of the Christian era. *See* **Kerala**. His father's name was Śivaguru. Guru Govinda Gaṇḍa Padyâchârya Vedantist initiated him into Sannyâsihood on the banks of the Nerbada. Govindanâtha was himself the disciple of Gouḍapâda (*Ibid.*, ch. V, v. 105).

Kalahagrâma—Kahalgâon or Colgong in the district of Bhagalpur in Bengal. The name is said to be derived from the pugnacious character of Rishi Durvâsâ, who lived in the neighbouring hill called the Khalli-pâhâḍ.

Kâlahasti.—In the North Arcot district (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 368; vol. III, pp. 116, 240), one mile from the Renugunta railway station. It was a celebrated place of pilgrimage (*Śaṅkaravijaya*, ch. 14) on the river Suvarṇamukharî. The great temple contains the *Vâyu* (Wind) image of Mahâdeva, which is one of the Bhautika or elementary images. The lamp over the head of this phallic image which is called Urṇânâbha Mahâdeva is continually oscillating on account of the wind blowing from below, while the lamps in other parts of the temple do not oscillate at all. See **Chidambaram.**

Kâlakavana.—The Rajmahal hills in the Province of Bihar (Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya*, II, 4, 10; *Baudhâyana*, I, 1, 2; Kunte's *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization*, p. 380). *See* **Âryâvartta**

Kala-Kuṇḍa.—Golkanda in the Nizam's territory, formerly celebrated for its diamond mines. Gowâl-kuṇḍa is a corruption of Kalakuṇḍa. It was the birthplace of Mādhavâchârya, the author of the *Sarvadarśanasâra-saṃgraha* and other works.

Kâlañjara.—Kalinjar, in the Badausa sub-division of the Banda district in Bundelkhand (*Padma P.* Svarga, ch. 19, v. 130 and *Śiva P.*, IV, ch. 16). It was the capital of Jejabhûktî (Bundelkhand) at the time of the Chandelas after it was conquered by Yaśovarman (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 218). It contains the temple of Nîlakaṇṭha Mahâdeva (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 84) and lso that celebrated place of pilgrimage called Koṭa-tîrtha within the fort, the erectio of which is attributed to Chandra Barmmâ, the traditional founder of the Chandel fa..ily, though the inscriptions mention Nannuka as the founder of the dynasty; *see*, however, **Mahotsavanagara.** There is also a colossal figure of Kâla Bhairava with eighteen arms and garlands of skull and snake armlets within the fort (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XXI). The *tîrtha* called Hiraṇya-Vindu is also situated at this place (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 87). The hill of Kalinjar is also called Rabichitra [*JASB.*, XVII, (1848), p. 171]. For the inscriptions of Kalinjar, see p. 313 of the *Journal.*

Kalâpa-grâma.—A village where Maru and Devâpi, the last kings of the Solar and Lunar races respectively, performed asceticism to re-appear again as kings of Ayodhyâ and Hastinâpura after the subversions of the Mlechchha kingdoms by Kalki, the tenth incarnation of Vishṇu (*Kalki P.*, Pt. III, ch. 4). According to the *Mahâbhârata*, Maushala, (ch. 7); *Bhâgavata P.*, (X, ch. 87, v. 7), and the *Bṛihat-Nâradîya P.*, (Uttara, ch. 66), Kalâpagrâma appears to have been situated on the Himâlaya near Badarikâśrama. In the *Vâyu P.*, ch. 91, Kalâpa is placed among the Himalayan countries where Urvaśî passed sometime with Purûravâ. According to Capt. Raper, Kalâpa-grâma is near the source of the Sarasvatî, a tributary of the Alakânandâ, in Badrinâth in Garwal (*Asia. Res.*, vol. XI, p. 524).

Kâlî—The Kâlî Nadî (west), a tributary of the Hindan: it flows through the Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar districts, United Provinces (*Matsya P.*, ch. 22).

Kâlighâṭa.—Near Calcutta. It is one of the Pîṭhas where the four toes of Satî's right foot are said to have fallen. The name of Calcutta is derived from Kâlighâṭ. Golam Husain in his *Riyaz-us-Salatin* says that the name of Calcutta has been derived from Kâlî-karttâ, as the profit of the village was devoted to the worship of the goddess Kâlî. In the *Mahâliṅgârchana Tantra*, it is mentioned as *Kâlî-pîṭha*, and as the pilgrims bathed in the Ghâṭ before worshipping the goddess, the place became celebrated by the name of Kâlîghâṭ. Some derive the name of Calcutta from Kilkilâ of the Purâṇas. *See* **Kilkilâ.**

Kâlikâ-Saṅgama—The confluence of the Kauśikî and the Aruṇâ (*Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 19).

Kâli-Nadî (East)—A river which rising in Kumaun joins the Ganges (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 13). The town of Saṅkâsya stood on the east bank of this river. It is also called Kâlinî or Kâlindî. Kanauj stands on the western bank of the eastern Kâli-Nadî, 3 or 4 miles from its junction with the Ganges. From its source to its junction with the Dhavalâ-gaṅgâ, Gourî and Chandrabhâgâ, it is called Kâlî-gaṅgâ, and after its junction, it is known by the name of Kâlî-nadî.

Kalinda-Deśa—A mountainous country situated in the Bândarapuchchha range of the Himâlaya, where the Jamunâ has got its source; hence the river is called Kâlindî. Same as **Kulinda-deśa.** The *Kalinda-giri* is also called Yâmuna Parvata (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kishkindhâ K., ch. 40).

Kâlindî—The river Jamunâ. *See* **Kalinda-deśa.**

Kaliṅga—The Northern Circars: a country lying on the south of Orissa and north of Drâviḍa on the border of the sea. According to General Cunningham, it was between the Godâvarî river on the south-west and the Gaolya branch of the Indrâvatî river on the north-west (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 515). It was between the Mahânadî and the Godâvarî (according to Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 164). Its chief towns were Maṇipura, Râjapura or Râjamahendri (*Mbh.*, Âdi, ch. 215; Śânti, ch. 4). At the time of the *Mahâbhârata*, a large portion of Orissa was included in Kaliṅga, its northern boundary being the river Baitaraṇî (Vana, ch. 113). At the time of Kâlidâsa, however, Utkala (Orissa) and Kaliṅga were separate kingdoms (*Raghuvaṃśa*, IV). It became independent of Magadha shortly after the death of Aśoka in the third century B.C., and retained its independence at least up to the time of Kanishka.

Kaliṅga-Nagara—The ancient name of Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa. The name was changed into Bhuvaneśvara at the time of Lalâṭendu Keśarî in the seventh century A. C. It was the capital of Orissa from the sixth century B.C. to the middle of the fifth century A.C. (Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, p. 62 and *Daśakumâracharita*, ch. 7.) But it has now been identified with Mukhaliṅgam, a place of pilgrimage 20 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 220). It contains many Buddhist and Hindu remains. The temple of Madhukeśvara Mahâdeva is the oldest, and that of Someśvara Mahâdeva the prettiest. These old temples still bear numerous inscriptions and excellent sculptures. The adjoining Nagarakaṭakam also contains some interesting remains and a statue of Buddha. But according to the Parlakimedi inscriptions of Indravarman, king of Kaliṅga, Kaliṅga-nagara is Kaliṅgapatam at the mouth of the Bamśadhârâ river in the Ganjam district (*Ind. Ant.*, XVI, 1887, p. 132). The *K.Ch.* (composed in 1577 A.D.), places it on the river Kaṃsa which is different from the Kasai. Kaliṅga-nagara, however, appears to have been the general name of the capitals of Kaliṅga which were different at different periods, as Maṇipura, Râjapura, Bhuvaneśvara, Pishṭapura, Jayantapura, Siṃhapura, Mukhaliṅga, etc.

Kâliñjara—Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. The fort was built by the Chandel king Kirât Brahma: it contains the shrine of Mahâdeva Nîlakaṇṭha and the Tîrtha called Kota-tîrtha (*Matsya P.*, ch. 180; Lieut. Maisey's *Description of the Antiquities of Kalinjar* in *JASB.*, XVII, p. 171). See **Kâlañjara.**

Kâli-Pîṭha—Same as *Kâlighâṭa* (*Tantrachuḍâmaṇi*).

Kalki—Tutikorin at the mouth of the river Tâmraparṇî in Tinnevelly : it is the Sosikourai of Ptolemy (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 57). It was formerly the capital of Pâṇḍya (*see* **Kolkai**).

Kalyâṇapura—Kaliani or Kalyâṇa, thirty six miles west of Bidar in the Nizam's territory. It was the capital of Kuntala-deśa (*see* **Kuntala-deśa**). In the beginning of the seventh century A.D., the Chalukyas were divided into two main branches,—the Western Chalukyas in the Western Deccan and the Eastern Chalukyas in that part of the Pallava country which lies between the Krishṇâ and the Godâvarî (Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 37). Ahavamalla or Someśvara, one of the latter Chalukya kings of the Deccan, founded this city in the eleventh century and removed his seat of government from Mânyakheta (Mâlkhet) to this place (Dr. Bhandarkar's *History of the Dekkan*, see. xii; but see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, p. 209). Vijñâneśvara, the author of the *Mitâksharâ*, flourished in the court of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramâditya II, the second son of Someśvara I, who reigned from 1076 to 1126 A.D., and who was the most powerful monarch of the Chalukya dynasty (Dr. Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p. 56). Bilhana also flourished in the court of this king in the eleventh century. He was the author of the *Vikramâṅkadeva-charita* which was written about 1085 A.D. (Dr. Bühler's *Introduction* to the work, p. 23). The kings of Kalyâṇa were also called kings of Karṇâṭa. According to the *Vâsava Purâṇa*, Bijala Râya, the last king of Kalyâṇa, was a Jaina. He persecuted the followers of *Vâsava*, who was his minister, and was the founder of the Liṅgait or Jaṅgama sect of Śaivas. Bijala was assassinated in his own palace by Jagaddeva, a Lingait, at the instigation of Vâsava. After the death of the king, Kalyâṇa was destroyed by internal dissension (see Garrett's *Classical Dictionary of India*, s. v. *Vâsava Purâṇa*; Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, pp. 311-320). But it appears that Kalyâṇa ceased to be the capital on the fall of the Kalachuris.

Kâma-Âśrama—Kâron, eight miles to the north of Koranṭeḍi in the district of Balia Mahâdeva is said to have destroyed Madana, the god of love, at this place with the fire of his third eye in the forehead (*Râmâyaṇa*, Bâla, ch. 23). It was situated at the confluence of the Sarayu and the Ganges, but the Sarayu has now receded far to the east of this place, and joins the Ganges near Siṅghi, eight miles to the east of Chapra in Saran. The place contains a temple of Kâmeśvaranâtha or Kauleśvaranâtha Mahâdeva. It is the same as Madana-tapovana of the *Raghuvaṃśa* (ch. II, v. 13). But according to the *Skanda P.*, (Avantî Kh., Avantî-kshetramâhâtmya, ch. 34), the incident took place at Devadâruvana in the Himâlaya.

Kâma-Giri—See **Kâmâkhyâ** (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, viii, 11).

Kâmâkhyâ—1. In Assam (*Bṛihat-Dharma P.*, I, 14) : see **Kâmarûpa.** 2. In the Punjab : a place of pilgrimage (*Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 11) on the river Devikâ. 3. Same as *Mâyâpurî* (*Bṛihat-Śiva P.*, I, ch. 16).

Kâmakoshṭhî (Kâmakoshṇî)—1. Kumbhaconum in the province of Madras. It was the ancient capital of Chola (*Bhâgavata*, Bk. X, ch. 79 ; *Chaitanya-charitâmṛita*, Madhya, ch. 9 ; *Life of Chaitanya*, p. 43 published by the Buddhist Text Society). But this identification is doubtful. 2. Same as *Kâmâkhyâ* (*Bṛihad-Dharmma P.*, Pûrva, ch. 14).

Kamalâṅka—Comilla : it was the capital of Tipârâ in the sixth century. Most probably, it is the Komalâ of the *Vâyu P.*, (II, ch. 37, v. 369) and Kiamolongkia of Hiuen Tsiang.

Kamarûpa—Assam : on the north, it included Bhutan, on the south it was bounded by the confluence of the Brahmaputra and the Lâkhyâ and Baṅga, and included Maṇipur, Jayantiya, Kachhar, and parts of Mymensingh and Sylhet (Buchanan's *Account of Rangpur* in *JASB.*, 1838, p. 1). It included also Rangpur which contained the country-residence of Bhagadatta, king of Kâmarûpa (*Ibid.*, p. 2). The modern district of Kâmrup extends from Goâlpârâ to Gauhâti. Its capital is called in the *Purâṇas* Prâgjyotisha (*Kâlikâ P.*, ch. 38) which has been identified with Kâmâkhyâ, or Gauhâti (*JRAS.*, 1900, p. 25). Kâmâkhyâ is one of the Pîṭhas, containing the temple of the celebrated Kâmâkhyâ Devî on the Nîla hill or Nîlakûṭa-parvata (*Kâlikâ P.*, ch. 62) ; it is two miles from Gauhâti. Râjâ Nîladhvaja founded another capital Komotapura (the modern Kamatapur in Cooch-Behar, *Imp. Gaz.*, s. v. *Rangpur District*). On the opposite or north side of the river Brahmaputra is situated a hill called Aśva-krântâ-parvata where Kṛishṇa is said to have fought with Narakâsura (*Brihat-Dharma P.*, Madhya Kh., ch. 10 and *Brahma P.*, ch. 51 ; *JRAS.*, 1900, p. 25). Bhagadatta, son of Naraka, was an ally of Duryodhana (*Mahâbhârata*, Udyoga, ch. 4). The *Yoginî-Tantra* (Pûrva Kh., ch. 12) has preserved some legends about the successors of Naraka. For the stories of Mayanâvatî's son Gopichandra and his son Gavachandra, see *JASB.*, 1838, p. 5. The Ahom kings came into Assam from the east at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The immediate cause of their emigration was the breaking up of the Chinese Empire by the Moguls, for at the time when Chukapha fixed himself in Assam, Kublai had just established himself in China (*JASB.*, 1837, p. 17). The word "Ahom" is perhaps a corruption of Bhauma, as the descendants of Narakâsura were called (*Kâlikâ P.*, ch. 39). For the later history of Kâmarûpa under the Muhammadans, see *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. The temple of Tâmreśvarî Devî or the copper temple, called by Buchanan the eastern Kâmâkhyâ, on the river Dalpani, is situated near the north-eastern boundary of the ancient Kâmarûpa (*JASB.*, XVII, p. 462).

Kamberikhon—According to Ptolemy, it is the third mouth of the Ganges ; it is a transcription of Kumbhîrakhâtam or the Crocodile-channel. It is now represented by the Bangara estuary in the district of Khulna in Bengal (see my *Early Course of the Ganges* in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1921).

Kâmboja—Afghanistan : at least its northern part (*Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57 and *Manu*, ch. X). According to Dr. Stein (*Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Vol. I, p. 136), the eastern part of Afghanistan was called Kâmboja. The name of "Afghan," however, has evidently been derived from Aśvakân, the Assakenoi of Arrian (McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 180). It was celebrated for its horses (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ P., chs. 26 and 51). Its capital was Dvârakâ, which should not be confounded with Dwarka in Gujarât (Dr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 28). *See* **Loha**. The Shiaposh tribe, which now resides on the Hindukush mountain is said to have descended from the Kâmbojas. In the Girnar and Dhauli inscriptions of Aśoka, Kâmboja is mentioned as Kambocha, and according to Wilford, Kâmboja was classed with the mountain of Ghazni (*JASB.*, 1838, pp. 252, 267).

Kambyson—According to Ptolemy, it is the name of the westernmost mouth of the Ganges. It is evidently a corruption of Kapilâśrama (see my *Early Course of the Ganges* in *Ind. Ant.* 1921.)

Kaṅkalî—1. One of the fifty-two Pîṭhas situated on a burning ground near the river Kopai, where it takes a northernly course, in the district of Birbhum in Bengal. The name of the goddess is Kaṅkâlî. 2. For Kaṅkâlî Ṭîlâ, *see* **Mathurâ**.

Kâmpilya—Kampil, twenty-eight miles north-east of Fathgaḍ in the Farrakhabad district, United Provinces. It is situated on the old Ganges, between Budaon and Farrakhabad. It was the capital of Râjâ Drupada, who was king of South Pañchâla, and was the scene of Draupadî's Svayamvara (*Mbh.*, Âdi P., ch. 138; *Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 23). Drupada's palace is pointed out as the most easterly of the isolated mounds on the bank of the Buḍa-Gaṅgâ. Its identification with Kampil by General Cunningham (*Arch. S. Rep.*, I, p. 255) and by Führer (*MAI.*) appears to be correct and reasonable.

Kaṃâśvaṭî—The river Kasâi in Bengal. But *see* **Kapiśa** (river). It is perhaps the Kośâ of the *Mahâbhârata* (Bhîshma, ch. 9). Kamśâvatî and Kasâi are separately mentioned in *K.Ch.*, p. 197.

Kâmyakavana—The Kâmyaka-vana of the *Mahâbhârata* was situated on the bank of the Sarasvatî (Vana P., ch. 5; *Vâmana P.*, ch. 34), and is not identical with Kâmyavana in the district of Mathurâ. Kâmyaka-vana was then a romantic wilderness in Kurukshetra (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 34, v. 4), where at Kâmoda, six miles to the south-east of Thâneśvar, Draupadî-kâ-bhâṇḍâr is pointed out as the place where Draupadî cooked food for her husbands, the Pâṇḍavas, during their sojourn at that place after Yudhishṭhira lost his kingdom by gambling with the Kurus (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XIV).

Kanaka—Travancore. Same as Mushika (*Padma P.*, Svarga, Âdi, ch. 3; Garrett's *Class. Dic.*).

Kanakavatî—Kaṅkoṭah or Kanakkoṭ, sixteen miles west of Kosam on the southern bank of the Yamunâ near its junction with the river Baisuni. (Dr. Hoey's *Identification of Kusinâra, &c.* in *JASB.*, 1900, p. 85; *Ava. Kalp.*, ch. 106).

Kanakhala—It is now a small village two miles to the east of Hurdwar at the junction of the Ganges and Nîladhârâ. It was the scene of *Daksha-yajña* of the *Purâṇas* (*Kûrma P.*, Uparibhâga, ch. 36; *Vâmana P.*, chs. 4 and 34). The *Mahâbhârata* (Vana P., ch. 84) describes it as a place of pilgrimage, but states that the sacrifice was performed at Haridvâra (*Mbh.*, Śalya, ch. 281). The *Liṅga P.*, says that Kanakhala is near Gaṅgâ-dvâra, and Daksha performed his sacrifice at this place (*Liṅga P.*, Pt. I, ch. 100).

Kâñchîpura—Konjeveram (*Mbh.*, Bhîshma, ch. IX), the capital of Drâviḍa or Chola (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 74), on the river Palar, forty-three miles south-west of Madras. The portion of Drâviḍa, in which it is situated, was called Toṇḍa-maṇḍala. The eastern portion of the town is called Vishṇu-Kâñchî and the western portion Śiva-Kâñchî, inhabited by the worshippers of Vishṇu Varadâ Râja and Śiva called Ekâmranâtha (with his consort Kâmâkshî Devî) respectively (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 70; Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, pp. 146, 191). *See* **Chidambaram.** Śaṅkarâchârya constructed the temple of Vishṇu called Vishṇu-Kâñchî at Kâñchî (Ânanda Giri's *Śaṅkaravijaya*, ch. 67). At Śiva-Kâñchî exists his tomb or Samâdhi with his statue upon it within the precincts of the temple of Kâmâkshî Devî. The town contains the celebrated Tîrtha called Śiva-Gaṅgâ. It possessed a University (*see* **Nâlandâ**). The Pallava dynasty reigned at Conjeveram from the fifth to the ninth century of the Christian era, when they were overthrown by the Chola kings of Tanjore, which was also the capital of Chola or Drâviḍa. Kâñchîpura is said to have been founded by Kulottuṅga Cholan on the site of a forest called Kurumbar-bhûmi (*Mackenzie Manuscripts* in *JASB.*, vii, Pt. I, pp. 399, 403), which was afterwards called Toṇḍa-maṇḍala.

Kanhagiri—Kanheri in the Province of Bombay. It is the Kṛishṇa-śaila of the Kanheri inscription (Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, Intro., p. xxxiii).

Kanishkapura—Kanikhpur or Kâmpur, ten miles to the south of Srînagar. It was founded by Kanishka, who in 78 A.D., convened the last Buddhist synod, which gave rise to the Śaka era.

Kaṇṭaka-Dvîpa—*See* **Kaṭadvîpa.**

Kaṇṭaka-Nagara—Katwa in the district of Burdwan in Bengal. It was visited by Chaitanya (*Chaitanya-Bhâgavata,* Madhya, ch. 26). *See* **Kaṭadvîpa.**

Kântâraka—*See* **Âraṇyaka.**

Kântipurî —1. Identified by Cunningham with Kotwal, twenty miles north of Gwalior (*Skanda P.*, Nâgara Kh., ch. 47 ; *Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 308). 2. According to Wright (*Hist. of Nepal*, pp. 9, 154), Kântipura or Kântipurî is one of the ancient names of Katmandu in Nepal. 3. The *Vishṇu P.* (Pt. IV, ch. 24) places it on the Ganges near Allahabad.

Kaṇva-Âśrama—1. On the bank of the river Mâlinî (the river Chukâ) which flows through the districts of Shaharanpur and Oudh, it was the hermitage of Kaṇva Muni who adopted the celebrated Śakuntalâ as his daughter (Kâlidâsa's *Śakuntalâ*). The hermitage of Kaṇva Muni was situated 30 miles to the west of Hurdwar, which is called Nâḍapit in the *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa*, xiii, 5, 4, 13 (*SBE.*, xliv, p. 399). 2. On the river Chambal, four miles to the south-east of Kota in Rajputana (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 82 ; *Agni P.*, ch. 109). This Kaṇva-âśrama was also called Dharmmâraṇya. 3. On the banks of the Narbada (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 94).

Kânyakubja—1. Kanauj, on the west bank of the Kâlinadî, about six miles above its junction with the Ganges in the Farrakhabad district, United Provinces. It was the capital of the second or Southern Pañchâla during the Buddhist period (Dr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 27) and also in the tenth century (Râjaśekhara's *Karpûramañjârî,* Act III). It was the capital of Gâdhi Râjâ and birth-place of Viśvâmitra (*Râmâyaṇa*, Bâla K.). Buddha preached here on the instability of human existence. It was visited by Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang in the beginning of the fifth and the middle of the seventh centuries respectively. Harshavardhana or Silâditya II was the reigning sovereign, when it was visited by Hiuen Tsiang in 636 A.D. ; he inaugurated the Varsha era in 606 A.D., but according to Max Müller, Harshavardhana reigned from 610 to 650 A.D. He was the contemporary of Muhammad, whose flight from Medina in 622 A.D. gave rise to the Hijira era. In his Court flourished Bânabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Kâdamvarî* and *Harshacharita*, Dhâvaka, the real author of the *Nâgânanda*, and Chandrâditya, the versifier of the *Vessantara-Jâtaka*. The celebrated Bhavabûti was in the court of Yaśovarmana of Kanauj (Stein's *Râjataraṅginî*, I, p. 134) ; he went to Kâśmîra with Lalitâditya (672 to 728 A.D.) after the conquest of Kanauj by the latter. Śrîharsha wrote the *Naishadha-charita* at the request of Jayachandra. For the ancestors of Jayachandra, see copperplate grant in *JASB.*, 1841, p. 98. Kanouj had been the capital of the Maukhari kings before Harshavardhana transferred his seat of government from Thâneśvara to this place. The three great monasteries, in one of the chapels of which was enshrined a tooth relic of Buddha, were situated to the south-west of the town in what is now called Lâlâ Misar Tolâ (Cunningham : *Arch. S. Rep.* I, p. 292). A celebrated temple of Vâmana existed at Kânyakubja (*Padma P.*, Sṛishṭi, ch. 35 ; Uttara, ch. 53). The Rang-mahal of the ancient Hindu palace is situated in the south-west angle of the triangular shaped

fort, the remains of which still exist; the palace is said to have been built by Ajaya Pâla who was killed in 1021 A.D., and it was perhaps from this palace that Pṛithvî Râj carried off Saṃyuktâ (*Bhavishya P.*, Pratisarga P., Pt., III, ch. 6). 2. That part of the Kâverî, on which Uragapura (Uraiyur), the capital of Pâṇḍya, was situated (see Mallinâtha's commentary on *Raghuvaṃsa*, canto vi, v. 59) was called Kânyakubjanadî.

Kanyâ-Tîrtha—1. In Kurukshetra. 2. On the Kâverî. 3. Same as **Kumârî**.

Kapâla-Mochana-Tîrtha.—1. In Bârâṇasî or Benares (*Śiva P.*, I, ch. 49). 2. In Mâyâpura (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 51). 3. In Tâmralipta or Tamluk. 4. In the river Sabarmati in Gujarât (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 53). 5. On the river Sarasvatî called also Auśanasa Tîrtha in Kurukshetra (*Mbh.*, Śalya, ch. 40). General Cunningham places the holy tank of Kapâla-Mochana on the east bank of Sarasvatî river, ten miles to the south-east of Sadhora (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XIV, pp. 75, 77).

Kapilâ—1. The portion of the river Narbada near its source which issues from the western portion of the sacred *Kuṇḍa*, and running for about two miles falls over the descent of seventy feet into what is known as the Kapiladhârâ (Cousen's *Archæological Survey List of the Central Provinces*, p. 59; *Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 22). 2. A river in Mysore (*Matsya P.*, ch. 22, v. 27).

Kapiladhârâ—1. Twenty-four miles to the south-west of Nasik: it was the hermitage of Kapila. 2. The first fall of the river Narbada from the Amarakaṇṭaka mountains. The Kapilâ-saṅgama is near the shrine of Amareśwara on the south bank of the Narbada. *See* **Kapilâ.**

Kapilâśrama—1. The hermitage of Kapila Ṛishi in the island of Sâgara near the mouth of the Ganges (*Bṛihat-Dharmma P.*, Madhya, Kh., ch. 22). The ruins of a temple dedicated to him are situated on the south-east corner of one of the minor islands into which the island of Sâgara is divided by creeks and rivers. *See* **Sâgara-saṅgama.** 2. Same as **Siddha-pura** (2).

Kapilavastu—The birth-place of Buddha. It has been identified by Carlleyle with Bhuila in the North-western part of the Basti district, about twenty five miles north-east of Fyzabad. He places Kapilavastu between the Ghagrâ and the Gandak, from Fyzabad to the confluence of these rivers (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XII, p. 108). General Cunningham identifies it with Nagarkhâs on the eastern bank of the Chando Tâl near a large stream named Kohâna, a tributary of the Râptî, and in the northern division of Oudh beyond the Ghagrâ river; and he supposes that Mokson is the site of the Lumbini garden, where Buddha was born. But Dr. Führer, on the suggestion of Dr. Waddell, has discovered that Kapilavastu lies in the immediate neighbourhood of the Nepalese village called Nigliva, north of Gorakpur, situated in the Nepalese Terai, thirty-eight miles north-west of the Uska station of the Bengal and North-Western Railway. The Lumbini garden has been identified with the village Paderia, two miles north of Bhagabanpur. The birth of Buddha occurred under a Sal tree (*Shorea robusta*) in the Lumbini garden when Mâyâ Devî, his mother, was travelling from Kapilavastu to Koli. He was born according to Prof. Max Müller (*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 298) in 557 B.C., during the reign of Bimbisara of the Śiśunâga dynasty of Magadha, and died in 477 B.C., but according to Prof. Lessen, and the Ceylonese chronology, he was born in 623 and died in 543 B.C., The ruins of Kapilavastu, according to Dr. Führer, lie eight miles north-west of Paderia. P. C. Mukherji has explored the region and identified Kapilavastu with Tilaura, two miles north of Tauliva which is the head-

quarters of the provincial government of the Tarai, and three and half miles to the south-west of Nigliva. The town of Kapilavastu comprised the present villages of Chitra-dei Ramghat, Sandwa and Tilaura, of which the last mentioned place contained the fort and the palace within it. It is situated on the east bank of the Bângaṅgâ, which has been identified with the Bhâgirathî, on the bank of which, according to some authorities, Kapilavastu was situated. He has identified Lumbini-vana with Rummin-dei which is a corruption of Lummini-devi, ten miles to the east of Kapilavastu and two miles north of Bhagabanpur, and about a mile to the north of Paderia. The inscription found there on the pillar of Aśoka leaves no doubt as to the accuracy of the identification. It distinctly mentions the name as "Lumminî-gâma" and contains a temple of Mâyâ Devî. He has identified also Śarakûpa (Arrow-well) with Piprava, which also contains the stupa in which the Śâkyas of Kapilavastu enshrined the one-eighth share of Buddha's relics obtained by them after his death. He identifies Kanaka-muni or Kanagamana-Buddha's birth-place Sobhâvatînagara with Araura, a yojana to the east of Tilaura, and Krakuchandra's birth-place Khemavatinagara with Gutiva, four miles to the south of Tilaura. He has identified the Nyagrodha monastery with the largest mound to the south of Lori-Kudan, which is one mile to the east of Gutiva, and one and a half miles west of Tauliva, and has also identified the place of massacre of the Sâkyas by Viruḍhaka with Sagarwâ, two miles to the north of Tilaura-kot (Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Terai, Nepal*, ch. 6). Buddha, when he revisited Kapilavastu at the request of his father Suddhodana who had sent Udâyi called also Kaludâ to invite him, dwelt in the Nigrodha garden, where he converted his son Râhula and his step-brother Nanda. It was also in this Nyagrodhârâma Vihâra that he refused to convert to Buddhism his step-mother Prajâpati and other Śâkya princesses, though at the request of Ânanda, he converted them afterwards in Vaiśâlî. The names of the twenty-four Buddhas who preceded Gautama Buddha are to be found in the Introduction to the *Mahâvaṃśa* by Turnour. The Sâkyas, including the Koliyans, had republican form of government like the Vajjians including the 8 clans, the Lichchhavis of Vaiśâlî and others, and the Mallas of Kuśinâra and Pava. They elected a chief who was called Râjâ and who presided over the state. They carried on their business in a public hall called Mote Hall (Santhâgâra). Suddhodana, Buddha's father, was an elected president (Dr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 19). The contemporaries of Buddha outside India were the prophet Ezekiel and king Josiah in Jerusalem, Crœsus in Lydia, Cyrus in Persia, Anacreon, Sappho, Simonides, Epimenides, Draco, Solon, Æsop, Pythagoras, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Pisistratus in Greece, Psammeticus in Egypt and Servius Tullius in Rome. Ahasuerus reigned thirty years after Buddha's death (Spence Hardy's *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists*, Introduction, p. xxx).

Kapiśâ—1. Kushan, ten miles west of Opian, on the declivity of the Hindu-kush: in short, the country to the north of the Kabul river was Kapiśâ, the Kipin of the Chinese travellers. Julian supposes the district to have occupied the Panjshir and Tagao valleys in the north border of Kohistan (Beal's *R.W.C.*, I, p. 55n). It is the Kâpiśî of Pâṇini. Ptolemy places Kapiśâ two and half degrees northwards from Kabura or Kabul (*JASB.*, 1840, p. 484). According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Kapiśâ was North Afghanistan: the country to the north of the Kabul river (*Ind. Ant.*, I, 22). According to Prof. Lassen, Kapiśâ is the valley of the Gurbad river (*JASB.*, 1839, p. 146). The town of Kapiśâ was once the capital of Gândhâra (Rapson's *Anc. Ind.*, p. 141). It has been identified with Afghanistan (*Ind. Ant.*,, I, 1872, p. 22). 2 The river Subarnarekha in Orissa

(Raghuvaṃśa, C. IV, v. 38; Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, Map), but Mr. Pargiter correctly identifies Kapiśâ with the river Kâsâi which flows through the district of Midnapur in Bengal (*Ancient Countries in Eastern India* in *JASB.*, Vol. LXVI, Pt. I, 1897, p. 85; *K. Ch.*, p. 197).

Kâpisthala—It is called Kavital by Alberuni (Alberuni's *India*, I, p. 206) which has been corrupted into Kaithal. Kâpishthala of the *Bṛihat-saṃhitâ* (xiv, v. 4) is the Kambistholoi of Arrian, Kaithal is situated in the Karnal district, Panjab. It is said to have been founded by Yudhishṭhira. In the centre of the town is an extensive lake.

Kapisthala—Same as **Kâpishthala**.

Kapitha—Identified by General Cunningham (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 369), according to Hiuen Tsiang's description, with Sankisa or Sâṅkâsya, forty miles south-east of Atranji and fifty miles north-west of Kanauj. *See* **Sâṅkâsya.**

Kapivatî—The Bhaigu, a branch of the Râmgaṅgâ (Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, II, p. 524; *Râmâyaṇa*. Bk. II, ch. 71).

Kârâ—The hermitage of Agastya, said to be situated in the Southern Ocean; it may be identified with Kolkai, the Kael of Marco Polo on the mouth of the Tâmbraparṇî in Tinnevelly (Speyer's *Jâtakamâlâ*—the story of Agastya).

Kârâhâṭaka—Karâḍa, in the district of Satara in the Province of Bombay on the confluence of the Krishṇâ and the Koinâ, about forty miles north of Kolhapur; it was conquered by Sahadeva, one of the Pâṇḍavas (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 31; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 232; Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. III). It was the capital of the Silahâra kings and the residence of the Sinda family who claimed to belong to the Nâga-vaṃśa, being the descendants of Vâsuki; for their history, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 231. Vikramâditya II, king of Kalyâna, married Chandralekhâ, the daughter of a Silhâra prince of Karahâṭaka (*Vikramâṅkadeva-charita*, vii). Karahâṭaka was the capital of the country called Kârâshṭra (*Skanda P.*, Sahyâdri kh.).

Karakalla—Karachi, in Sindh: Krokala of Megasthenes.

Kârapatha—Kârâbagh, or Kâlâbagh, or Bâghân, as it is now called, on the right or west bank of the Indus, at the foot of the Salt range locally called Nili hill in the Bannu district. It is mentioned in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (XV, v. 90) as the place where Lakshmaṇa's son Aṅgada was placed as king by his uncle Râmachandra when he made a division of his empire before his death. It is the "Carabat" of Travernier. But the distance he gives from Kandahar does not tally with its actual distance from that place (Travernier's *Travels*, Ball's Ed., Vol. I, p. 91). But it should be observed that there is a town called Kârâbagh on the route from Kandahar to Ghazni, 35 miles south-west from the latter place. The surrounding district called also Kârâbagh is remarkably fertile (Thornton's *Gazetteer of the Countries Adjacent to India*). It is called Kârupatha in the *Râmâyaṇa* (Uttara K., ch. 115). The *Padma P.*, (Uttara, ch. 93), however, says the Lakshmaṇa's sons were placed in the country of Madra, which is evidently a mistake for Malla of the *Râmâyaṇa* (Uttara, ch. 115). It is perhaps Kailavata of the *Bṛihatsaṃhitâ* (ch. 14). For a description of Kâlâbagh or Bâghân, see *JASB.*, 1838, p. 25.

Kârâshṭra—The country was situated between the Vedavatî on the south and the Koinâ or Koyanâ on the north (*Skanda P.*, Sahyâdri Kh.). It included the district of Satâra: its capital was Karahâṭaka (*Ind. Ant.*, V, 1876, p. 25).

Karaskara—The country of the Kâraskaras is in the south of India (*Mbh.*, Karṇâ, 44; *Baudhâyana*, I, 1, 2; *Matsya P.*, 113). Perhaps it is Kârakal in South Kanara, Madras Presidency, famous for the Jaina and Buddhist pilgrims, which accounts for its being condemned as a place of pilgrimage.

Karatoyâ—1. A sacred river which flows through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur, and Bogra. It formed the boundary between the kingdoms of Bengal and Kâmarûpa at the time of the *Mahâbhârata* (Vana, ch. 85): *see* **Sadânîrâ**. It flowed through the ancient Puṇḍra (*Skanda P.*). It is called Karatoyâ and Kuratî. 2. A river near the Gandhamâdana mountain (*Mbh.* Anuś., ch. 25).

Kâravana—Karvan in the territory of the Gaikwar, 15 miles south of Baroda and 8 miles north-east of Miyagam railway station. Nakulisa, the founder of the Pâśupata sect of Saivism, flourished between the 2nd and 5th century A.D. His chief shrine of Śiva called Nakulisa or Nakuleśvara (see *Devî P.*, ch. 63) was at Kârvân. The special holiness attached to the Narbada and its pebbles as Lingas is probably due to the neighbourhood of this shrine of Kârvân (Bhagavanlal Indraji's *Early History of Gujarat*, pp. 83, 84). Same as **Kayâvarohana.**

Karavîrapura—1. It has been identified with Kolhapur in the Province of Bombay (Madhura Kaviśarmâ's *Archâvatârasthala-vaibhava-darpaṇam*; *Padma P.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 74; Râmdâs Sen's *Aitihâsika Rahasya*, 3rd ed., Pt. II, p. 276). It is locally called Kârvir. Krishṇa met here Paraśurâma, and killed its king named Śṛigâla. Same as *Padmâvatî* on the river Veṇva, a branch of the Krishṇa (*Harivaṃśa*, ch. 9). The temple of Mahâ-Lakshmî is situated at this place (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, vii, chs. 30, 38; *Matsya P.*, ch. 13). In the eleventh century it was the capital of the Silâhâra chiefs. For the genealogy of the Silâhâra dynasty of Kolhapur, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 208, 211, 213. It appears from an inscription that Kshullakapura is another name for Kolhapur. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 209). 2. The capital of Brahmâvartta: it was situated on the river Drishadvatî (*Kâlikâ P.*, chs. 48, 49).

Karddama-âsrama.—Sitpur or Sidhpur (Siddhapura) in Gujarât, the hermitage of Ṛishi Karddama and birth-place of Kapila. The hermitage of the Ṛishi was situated on the bank of the Bindusarovara caused by the tears of Vishṇu (*Bhâgavata P.*, Bk. III, ch. 21). The town itself is situated on the north bank of the river Sarasvatî in the Kadi district of the Baroda State, sixty-four miles north of Ahmadabad.

Karkoṭaka-Nagara—1. Karra, forty-one miles north-west of Allahabad. It is one of the Pîṭhas where Satî's hand is said to have fallen (Führer's *MAI.*). 2. Perhaps Arakan (Rakia) on the "opposite side of Tâmralipta across the eastern sea," *i.e.*, the Bay of Bengal (*Kathâ-sarit-sâgara*, Pt. I, ch. 18; Tawney's trans., Vol. I, p. 136).

Karmanâsâ—1. The cursed river, the water of which is considered by the Hindus to be polluted, being associated with the sins of Triśaṅku, the *protégé* of Rishi Visvâmitra (*Vâyu P.*, ch. 88, v. 113). The river is on the western limit of the district of Shahabad in the former province of Bengal and forms the boundary of Bihar and the United Provinces. It issues from a spring situated in a village called Sarodak (Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 400). 2. A small rill in Baidyanâtha (*see* **Chitâbhumi**).

Karmamanta—Kamta, near Comilla, in the district of Tipârâ, Bengal. It was the capital of Samataṭa at the time of the Khaḍga kings (*JASB.*, 1914, p. 87).

Karṇa-Gaṅgâ.—The river Pendar, a tributary of the Alakânandâ in Garwal.

Karṇakî—A town on the Narbada. It is mentioned as Karṇikâ in the *Bṛihat-Śiva P.*, I, ch. 75. It is perhaps the modern Karnali near the junction of the Narbada and the Uri; *see* **Eraṇḍî** and **Bhadrakarṇa** (I).

Karṇakubja—Junâgaḍ in Kâṭhiawâḍ; it is situated in Antargraha-kshetra (*Skanda P.*, Prabhâsa Kh.).

Karṇapura—Near Bhagalpur, now called Karṇagaḍ (*see* **Champapuri**). According to Yule, Karnagaḍ is the Kartinagar of Ptolemy (*JASB.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 395).

Karṇa-Suvarṇa—Kânsonâ, now called Rângâmâṭi in the district of Murshidabad, on the right bank of the Bhâgirathî, six miles south of Berhampur, in Bengal (*Kubjikâ Tantra*, ch. 7; *JASB.*, XXII, 281). It was the former capital of Bengal at the time of Âdisura. It was at the request of Âdisura that Bîra Siṃha, king of Kanauj, sent five Brâhmaṇas, Bhaṭṭanârâyaṇa, Daksha, Śrîharsha (the author of the *Naishadha-charita*), Chhândaḍa, and Vedagarbha, to Bengal to perform his sacrifice according to the Vedas. Bhaṭṭanârâyaṇa, the author of the drama *Veṇi-saṃhâra*, is considered by some to have flourished at the court of Dharma Pâla of the Pala dynasty. Even the name of Kânsonâ has become antiquated, and the town is now known by the name of Râṅgâmâti. Captain Layard says that Râṅgâmâṭi was anciently called Kânsonâpurî, and the remains of the greater part of the palace with its gate and towers are distinctly traceable, although the site is now under cultivation (*JASB.*, Vol. XXII, 1853, p. 281). Karṇa-suvarṇa was also the capital of Śaśâṅka or Narendra, the last of the Gupta kings and the great persecutor of the Buddhists, who reigned in Bengal at the latter part of the sixth century, and it was he who treacherously killed Râjyavarddhana, elder brother of Harsha Deva or Śilâditya II of Kanauj, as related in the *Harsha-charita*. The kingdom of Karṇa-suvarṇa was situated to the west of the Bhâgîrathî and included Murshidabad, Bankura, Burdwan, and Hugli. The earth of Râṅgâmâṭi is red, and the tradition is that Bibhîshaṇa, brother of Râvaṇa, being invited to a feast by a poor Brahman at Râṅgâmaṭi, rained down gold on the ground as a token of gratitude and hence the earth is red (*On the Banks of the Bhagirathi* by Rev. J. Long in *Cal. Review*, Vol. VI). This is a figurative way of stating the immense profit which Bengal derived from its trade with Ceylon in precious stones, pearls, &c. (*K. Ch.*, pp. 189, 223). Dr. Waddell identifies Karṇa-suvarṇa with Kâñchannagar (Kânson-nagara) near Burdwan in Bengal (Dr. Waddell's *Discovery of the Exact Site of Asoka's Classic Capital of Pataliputra*, p. 27).

Karṇâṭa—Part of the Carnatic between Ramnad and Seringapatam. It is another name for Kuntaladeśa, the capital of which was Kalyânapura: see **Kuntala-deśa.** According to the *Târâ Tantra*, it was the same as Mahârâshṭra, and extended from Bâmanâtha to Śrîraṅgam. Dvâra-samudra was a capital of Karṇâṭa. The kingdom of Vijayanagar was also called Karṇâṭa (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV). But see *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 377 (1886), in which Kanara is said to be Karṇâṭa-deśa, including Mysore, Coorg, and part of the Ceded Districts. The Mysore State was called Karṇâṭaka (*JRAS.*, 1912, p. 482).

Karṇâvatî—1. The river Kane in Bundelkhand (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vols. II and XXI). But this name does not appear in any *Purâṇa*. See **Śyenî** and **Śuktimatî.** 2. Ahmadabad in Gujarât. It was built by Râjâ Karṇa Deva of the Solanki race of Anahillapattana or Pattana in Gujarât in the eleventh century (Tawney: Merutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, pp. 80, 97n). Ahmad Shah made it his capital after conquering it. It was also called Srinagar. It is the Râjanagara of the Jainas (*Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh* by Burgess; H. Cousen's *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. III).

Karnika—The Coleroon, a branch of the Kâverî. Both these rivers surround Srîrangam (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 62).

Kartripura—The kingdom of Kartripura included Kumaun, Almorah, Garwal and Kangra (*JRAS.*, 1898, p. 198). It was conquered by Samudra Gupta. Mr. Prinsep supposes it to be Tripura or Tippera (*JASB.*, 1837, p. 973). Same as **Katripura.**

Kârttikasvâmi—See **Kumârasvâmi.**

Kârttikeya-Pura—Baijnâth or Baidyanâth, in the district of Kumaun, about 80 miles from Almora. It is also called Kârttikapura (*Devî P.*, ch. 9; also Dr. Führer's *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions*).

Kârupatha—Same as **Kârapatha.**

Karura—See **Korura.**

Karusha—Two countries by the name of Karusha are mentioned, one in the east and the other in the west. 1. Same as *Adhirâja*, the kingdom of Dantavakra (*Harivamsa*, ch. 106). In the *Mahâbhârata* it has been named between Matsya and Bhoja (*Bhîshma P.*, ch. 9). In the *Purânas*, it is mentioned as a country on the back of the Vindhyâ range. According to Mr. Pargiter, Karusha lay south of Kâsî and Vatsa between Chedi on the west and Magadha on the east, enclosing the Kaimur hills : in short, the country of Rewâ (*JASB.*, 1895, p. 255; *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 271; Pânini's *Sûtra*, IV, I, 178). Same as **Kârusha**. 2. A portion of the district of Shahabad in Bihar (*Râmâyana*, *I.*, ch. 24). According to tradition, the southern portion of the district of Shahabad between the river Sona and Karmanâsâ was called Karukh-desa or Karushadesa (Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 405). Vedagarbhapurî or modern Buxar was situated in Karusha (*Brahmânda P.*, Pûrva Kh., ch. 5). 3. It was another name for Pundra (*Bhâgavata*, X, ch. 66).

Kârusha—Same as **Karusha** : Rewâ.

Kâshtha-Mandapa—Kâtmându, the capital of Nepal, founded by Râjâ Gunakâmadeva in 723 A.D. at the junction of the Bagmati and Vishnumati rivers. It was anciently called Mañju-Patan (see **Mañjupatan**), after Mañjusrî, who is said to have founded it. Mañjusrî was esteemed by the northern Buddhists as their Visvakarmâ or celestial architect (Hodgson's *Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*, p. 62). According to the *Svyambhu Purâna*, he was an historical personage who introduced Buddhism into Nepal. Kâtmându is also called Kântepura (Wright's *History of Nepal*, p. 9).

Kâsî—Benares. Kâsî was properly the name of the country, of which Benares was the capital (*Fa Hian*; also *Apannaka Jâtaka* in the *Jâtakas* (Fausboll's ed.) p. 98; *Mbh.*, Bhîshma, ch. 9; *Râmâyana*, Uttara, ch. 48). At the time of Buddha, the kingdom of Kâsî was incorporated with the kingdom of Kosala (Lohichcha Sutta in the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pp. 291, 292). See **Bârânasî.**

Kâsmîra—Kâsmîr (*Brahma P.*, ch. 54). It is said to have been originally colonised by Kâsyapa, and the hermitage of the Rishi is still pointed out in the Hari mountain near Srînagar. But see **Kâsyapapura.** He gave his name to Kasgar and Kasmir, and to the people originally called Kâsas or Kassias. Vishnu is said to have incarnated in Kâsmîra as the fish (*Matsya-avatâra*), and bound the ship (Nau) (into which form Durga had converted herself to save the creatures from destruction in the great deluge) to the westernmost and highest peak of the three snowy peaks situated on the west of Banhal Pass in the eastern portion of the Pir Pantsal range : hence this peak is called *Naubandhana-tîrtha*. It is the Nâvaprabhramsana of the *Atharva-Veda* and the Manoravasarpana

of the *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* (Macdonell's *Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 144). At the foot of this peak is the Kramasara lake (now called Konsarnâg) which marks a foot-step (Krama) of Vishṇu (*Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* in *SBE.*, XII ; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 186 ; Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇi*, II, p. 392). Vishṇu is also said to have incarnated as the boar (*Varâha-avatâra*) at Baramula, thirty-two miles from Srinagar on the right bank of the Vitastâ (see **Śûkara-kshetra**). Asoka sent here a Buddhist missionary named Majjhantika in 245 B.C. (*Mahâvaṃsa*, ch. XII). For the history of Kâṣmîr, see Kalhana's *Râjatariṅgiṇî*. It appears from the Jâtaka stories that Kâśmîr once formed a part of the kingdom of Gândhâra (*Jâtakas*, Cam. Ed., Vol. III, pp. 222, 229).

Kâśyapapura—Wilson supposes that the name of Kâśmîr is derived from Kâśyapapura, the town of Ṛishi Kaśyapa, the Kaspapyros of Herodotos. Dr. Stein, however, is of opinion that Kâśmîr was never called Kâśyapapura, but it was always called Kâśmîra (Dr. Stein's *Ancient Geography of Kasmir*, pp. 11, 62). Kaspairia of Ptolemy has been identified with Multan. For the legend how the lake Satisara was desecrated and Kâśmîra was created by Kaśyapa, see **Râjataraṅgiṇî** (Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Vol. I, p. 5). 1. The hermitage of Ṛishi Kaśyapa was on the Hari mountain, three miles from Srinagar. 2. Multan was also called Kâśyapapura, the Kaspeira of Ptolemy, being founded by Kâśyapa, the father of Hiraṇyakaśipu (Alberuni's *India*, I, p. 298).

Kaśyapî-Gaṅgâ—The river Sabarmati in Guzerat (*Padma Purâṇa*, Uttara, ch. 52).

Kaṭadvîpa—Kâṭwa in the district of Burdwan in Bengal (McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 187 ; Wilford in *Asia. Rev.*, V., p. 278). It is a sacred place of pilgrimage to the Vaishṇavas, where Chaitanya at the age of 24 embraced Daṇḍism after leaving his father's home, being initiated into its rites by a Gossain named Keśava Bhâratî. The hairs cut off from his head on the occasion have been preserved in a little temple. Kâṭwa was called Murshidganj after the name of Murshid Kuli Khan, Nawab of Murshidabad. The old fort of Katwa where Ali Verdi Khan defeated the Mahrattas, was situated on a tongue of land between the Ajai and the Bhâgîrathî (Bholanauth Chunder's *Travels of a Hindoo*, Vol. I ; *Chaitanya-Bhâgavata*, Madhya Kh.). Chaitanya's autograph is preserved in a village called Dadur, 14 miles to the south of Katwa. Same as *Kaṇṭakanagara* and *Kaṇṭaka-dvîpa*, the gradual corruptions of which are Kaṭa-dvîpa, Kâtâdia, and Kâṭwâ. Krishṇadâs Kavirâj, the author of the *Chaitanya-charitâmṛita* lived at Jhâmatpur, 4 miles to the north of Kâṭwâ ; Nânnur, 16 miles to the south-west of Kâṭwâ in the district of Birbhum, was the birth-place of the Vaishṇava poet Chaṇḍidâs.

Katripura—Tripura or Tipara (Allahabad Inscription) ; but Mr. Oldham supposes that the kingdom of Katripura included Kumaun, Almora, Garwal, and Kangra (*JRAS.*, 1898, p. 198). Same as **Kartṛipura**.

Kaulam—Quilon in Travancore, once a great port on the Malabar coast (Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 313, note).

Kauninda—See **Kuninda**.

Kauśâmbi—Kosambi-nagar or Kosam, an old village on the left bank of the Jamuna, about thirty miles to the west of Allahabad. It was the capital of Vaṃśadeśa or Vatsyadeśa, the kingdom of Udayana, whose life is given in the *Bṛihât-Kathâ* and *Kathâ-sarit-sâgara*, II, ch. I. The *Ratnâvalî*, a drama by Harsha Deva, places its scene at Kauśâmbî (see **Hastinâpura**). Buddha dwelt in the Ghosita-ârâma of Kauśâmbî (*Chullavagga*, pt. I, ch. 25). Udayana or Udena, as he was called by the Buddhists, was the son of King Parantapa : he married Vâsuladattâ or Vâsava-dattâ, daughter of Chaṇḍa Prajjota

called also Mahâsena (Śriharsha's *Priyadarśikâ*, Acts I, III), king of Ujjayinî. He was converted to Buddhism by Piṇḍola (Dr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 7), and it was Udayana who first made an image of Buddha who was his contemporary. The image was of sandal-wood, five feet in height. The second image was made by Prasenajit, king of Kośala, who was also a contemporary of Buddha. It was made of gold (Dr. Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 49), but according to Fa Hian, Prasenjit's image was also made of Gośirsha Chandana (sandal-wood). The *Vâsavadattâ* by Subhandu, probably written at the beginning of the 9th century A. D., relates the story of Vâsavadattâ and Udayana. Vararuchi, called also Kâtyâyana, the author of the *Vârttikas*, is said to have been born at Kauśâmbi and became the minister of Nanda, king of Pâṭaliputra (*Kathâ-sarit-sâgara*, I, ch. 3).

Kauśikî—1. The river Kusi (*Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 34; *Barâha P.*, ch. 140). According to tradition, the Kusi in remote ages passed south-east by the place where Tajpur is now situated, and thence towards the east until it joined the Brahmaputra, having no communicatian with the Ganges. When the Kusî joined the Ganges, the united mass of water opened the passage now called the Padmâ, and the old channel of the Bhâgîrathî from Songli (Suti) to Nadia was then left comparatively dry (Martin's *Eastern India*, III, p. 15). This junction must have taken place at some period between the third century A.D., when the Sultanganj Jahnu was established, and the 7th century A.D. At Jot-narahari, the Kusi joins the Ganges, and the junction is a place of pilgrimage (Martin's *Eastern India*, III, p. 84). 2. A branch of the Dṛishadvatî (Chitang) in Kurukshetra (*Vâmana P.*, *ch.* 34).

Kauśikî-Kachchha—The district of Purnea.

Kauśikî-Saṅgama—1. The confluence of the Kusi and the Ganges on the opposite side of Kahalgaon and to the north of Pâtharghâṭâ in the district of Bhagalpur in Bengal. 2. The confluence of the rivers Dṛishadvatî and the Kauśikî (*Padma P.*, Svarga Kh., ch. 12). The confluence is near the village of Balu on the Rakshî river, 17 miles to the south of Thanesvara. (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XIV, p. 88.)

Kautalakapura—Same as Kuntalakapura (*Jaimini-Bhârata*, ch. 53).

Kâverî—1. The Kaveri, a river in southern India which rises from a spring called Chandra-tîrtha (*Kūrma P.*, II, ch. 37) in the Brahmagiri mountain in Coorg (*Skanda P.*, Kâverî Mâhât., chs. 11-14; Rice's Mysore and Coorg, III, pp. 8 and 85). The Kaveri-fall at Śivasamudra is one of the most picturesque sights in southern India. 2. The northern branch of the Nerbuda near Mândhâtâ (Oṁkaranâtha) mentioned in the *Purâṇas* (*Padma P.*, Svarga Kh., ch. 8; *Matsya P.*, ch. 188). The junction of the Nerbuda and the Kaveri is considered to be a sacred place.

Kâyâbarohaṇa—Same as Kârâvana (*Skanda P.*, Prabhâsa Kh., I, ch. 79).

Kedâra—Kedâranâtha, situated on the southern side of the junction of the Mandâkinî and the Dudhgaṅgâ. The temple of the Kedâranâtha, one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahâdeva, is built on a ridge jutting out at right angle from the snowy range of the Rudra Himalaya below the peak of the Mahâpanthâ in the district of Garwal, United Provinces (see **Amareśvara**). A sacred stream called Mandâkinî or the Kâlî-gaṅgâ has its rise about two days' journey from Kedârnâtha from a lake which is said to produce blue lotus, and it joins the Alakânandâ at Rudraprayâga. It requires eight days to go from Kedâra to Badrinath, although the distance along a straight line between them is short. It is 15 or 16 days' journey from Haridvâra to Kedârnâtha.

The peak of Kedârnâtha is said in the *Śiva Purâṇa* (Pt. I, ch. 47), to be situated at Badarikâ-âśrama. The worship of Kedâranâtha is said to have been established by the Pâṇḍavas (see Pañcha-kedâra). Close to the temple is a precipice called Bhairab Jhâmp, where devotees committed suicide by flinging themselves from the summit. (Dr. Führer's *MAI.*, *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII, s.v. *Kedarnath*). Śaṅkarâchârya died at this place (Mâdhavâchârya's *Śaṅkaravijaya*, ch. 16). Near the temple is a Kuṇḍa called Reta-Kuṇḍa where Kârttika is said to have been born. (*Skanda P.*, Maheśvara Kh., I, 27 ; II, 29). Ushi-maṭh is 32 miles lower ; it contains the images of Mândhâtâ and the five Pâṇḍavas.

Kekaya—A country between the Bias and the Sutlej. It was the kingdom of the father of Kaikeyî, one of the wives of Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyâ (*Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhyâ, ch. 68). See **Girivrajapura** (II).

Kerala—The Malabar coast (Wilson's *Mâlatî and Mâdhava*). It comprised Malabar, Travancore, and Kanara (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., ch. 41) terminating at Cape Comorin on the south and Goa on the north. It is the country of the Nairs. It is sometimes used as synonymous with Chera (Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 164 and *Indian Coins*, p. 36; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Hist. of the Dekkan*, sec. III). In fact Kerala is the Kanarese dialectal form of the more ancient name of Chera (Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s.v. *Chera*). Śaṅkarâchârya, the celebrated reformer, was born at Kâladi on the bank of the river Purṇâ at the foot of the mountain called Bṛisha in Kanara (Kerala); his father was Śivaguru and his grandfather was Vidyâdirâja. See **Chittambalam**. In the Mackenzie Manuscripts, the capital of Keraladeśa is said to be Ananta-Śayanam. Paraśurâma is said to have caused Brâhmaṇas to inhabit this country (*JASB.*, 1838, pp. 183, 128). Gibbon says " Every year about the summer solstice, a fleet of 120 vessels sailed from Myas Hormas, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. The coast of Malabar or the island of Ceylon was the usual term of their navigation, and it was in those markets, that the merchants from the more remote parts of Asia expected their arrival. This fleet traversed the ocean in about forty days by the periodical assistance of the monsoons." The Kollam era which is in use in Travancore and Malabar, and which commenced in 824 A.D., is a modification of the Saptarshi era (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 118).

Keralaputra—See **Keṭalaputra**.

Keśavatî—The Vishṇumatî river in Nepal, a tributary of the Bâgmati (Wright's *Hist. of Nepal*, pp. 81, 89). It forms four out of the fourteen great Tîrthas of Nepal by its junction with four rivers. The names of the four Tîrthas are Kâma, Nirmala, Akara, and Jugana. But according to the *Svayambhu Purâṇa* (ch. iv), its junction with the rivers Bimalâvatî Bhadranadî, Svarṇavatî, Pâpanâśinî, and Kanakavatî form the sacred Tîrthas called Manoratha, Nirmala (or Triveṇî), Nidhana, Jñâna and Chintâmaṇi respectively.

Keṭakîvana—Baidyanâth in the Santal Parganas in Bengal (Dr. R. L. Mitra's *On the Temples of Deoghar* in *JASB.*, 1883, p. 172).

Keṭalaputra—Same as *Kerala* or *Chera* (Aśoka's Girnar Inscription ; Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. III, p. 10). It comprised the Malabar Coast, south of the Chandragiri river (V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 164) ; it was also called **Keralaputra**

Ketumâla-Varsha—Turkestan and the lands watered by the river Chaksu or Oxus (*Vishṇu P.*, ch. 2 ; *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 59). In oriental history, Turkestan is called Deshti Kiptchak from the Kiptchaks who are the primitive Turkish race. It comprises Kharezm (called also Urgendj) as the Khanat of Khiva is called, the Khanat of Bokhara, and the Khanat of Khokand called also Fergana. Up to the time of Zenghis Khan's conquest in 1225, Bokhara, Samarkhand, Merv, Karshi (Naksheb), and Balkh (Um-ul-Bilad, the mother of cities) were regarded as belonging to Persia, although the government of Khorasan (the district of the sun as it was then called) was under Bagdad (Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, ch. XII, and pp. 339, 367).

Khajjurapura—Khajraha, the capital of the Chandels, in Bundelkhand.

Khalatika-Parvata—The Barabar hill in the Jahanabad sub-division of the district of Gaya, containing the Sâtgharâ and Nâgârjuni caves of the time of Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha. It is about 7 miles east of the Bela station of the Patna-Gaya Railway. Khalatika is evidently a corruption of Skhalatika or Slippery (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, p. 32). Some of the inscriptions on the cave show that Daśaratha gave certain cave-hermitages to the Âjîvakas (a sect of naked ascetics). The Âjîvakas are also mentioned in the seventh pillar-edict of Aśoka issued in the twenty-ninth year of his reign (Bühler's *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 39). For a description of the Barabar Hill Caves, see *JASB.*, 1847, pp. 401 and 594 (Nâgârjuni cave). To the south and near the foot of the hill are the seven rock-cut caves called the Sâtgharâ. Out of these seven caves, three are on the Nâgârjuni hill. There is also a sacred spring called Pâtâlgaṅgâ. Not far from it, is the Kawaḍol hill (see **Śîlabhadra Monastery**).

Khâṇḍava-Prastha—Same as *Indraprastha* : old Delhi (*Mbh.*, Âdi P., ch. 207).

Khâṇḍava-Vana—Mozuffarnagar, at a short distance to the north of Mirat included in ancient Kurukshetra. It is one of the stations of the North-Western Railway. Arjuna, one of the Pâṇḍavas, appeased the hunger of Agni, the god of Fire, at this place (*Mbh.*, Âdi, ch. 225). The name was applied to a great portion of the Mirat division from Bulandshahar to Saharanpur (*Hardwar* in the *Cal. Review* of 1877, p. 67). Khâṇḍava-vana was situated on a river called Aśvarathâ (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 160). According to the *Padma P.*, (Uttara, ch. 64), Khâṇḍava-vana was situated on the Jamuna, and Indraprastha, called also Khâṇḍava-prastha, was a part of it.

Kharki—Aurangabad.

Kharosṭhra—Kashgar (Dr. Stein's *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, p. 404). The ancient alphabets called Kharosṭhi were introduced from this country into India. It is situated in that part of Turkestan which is called Lesser Bucharia. It was conquered by Jengiz Khan, and upon the division of his empire, it fell to the share of his son Jagatai; it was then conquered by Tamerlane, and in 1718 by the Chinese (Wright's *Marco Polo*).

Khaśa—The country of the Khaśas was on the south of Kâśmîr, and extended from "Kastvar in the south-east to the Vitastâ in the west", and it included the hill states of Râjapurî and Lohara. The Khaśas are identical with the present Khakha (Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Vol. II; *Ancient Geography of Kasmir*, p. 430; and *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57).

Khaṭṭâṅga-Prapâta—The celebrated water-fall of the river Sarasvatî in Kanara near Hunabar, not far from Mangalore. The sound of the fall is terrible.

Khemavatînagara—The birth-place of the Buddha Krakuchchhanda or Krakuchandra (*Svayambhû P.*, ch. 4). It was also called Khema (*Dipavaṃśa* in *JASB*, 1838, p. 793). It has been identified with Gutiva, four miles to the south of Tilaura in the Nepalese Taraì (P. C. Mukherji's *Antiquities of Terai, Nepal*, pp. 49, 55). According to Fa Hian, Krakuchandra's birth-place was Napeikea or Nabhiga.

Khetaka—Kaira, 20 miles south of Ahmedabad, on the river Vetravatî (present Vatrak) in Guzerat, described in the *Padma P.*, (Uttara Kh., ch. 51; *Dasakumâracharita*, ch. 6 and Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 492). See **Kachchha.** For a description of the town, see Bishop Heber's *Narrative of a Journey*, Vol. II, p. 156. It contains a Jaina temple.

Khiragrama—Twenty miles north of Burdwan in Bengal. It is one of the Pîṭhas, where a toe of Satî's right foot is said to have fallen. The name of the goddess is Jogâdhyâ.

Khurasan—Khorasan in Central Asia; it was celebrated for its fine breed of horses (*Aśvachikitsitam*, ch. 2, by Nakula; see also Ward's *History of the Hindoos*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. 558).

Kikaṭa—Magadha (*Vāyu P.*, ch. 105; *Ṛig-Veda*, III, 53, 14). According to the (*Târâ Tantra*, the name of Kîkaṭa was applied to the southern part of Magadha from Mount Varaṇa to Gṛidhrakuṭa (Ward's *History of the Hindoos*, Vol. I, p. 558).

Kilkilâ—Kilagila, the capital of Koṅkana (Garrett's *Classical Dictionary* s. v. *Kailakila*). See **Bakâtaka** and **Kâlighâṭa.**

Kimmṛitya—The Kaimur range, between the rivers Sone and Tons. This range is part of the Vindhya hills (Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, Vol. I, p. 28). It commences near Kaṭâṅgi in the Jubbulpore district and runs through the state of Rewa and the district of Shahabad in Bihar. Same as **Kaira-mâli.** Perhaps the names of Kimmṛitya and Kaimur are derived from Kumâra-râjya, a kingdom which was close to Chedi (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 30).

Kimpurusha-Deśa—Nepal.

Kiragrâma—Baijnath in the Punjab; it contains the temple of Baidyanâtha, a celebrated place of pilgrimage (*Śiva P.*, cited in the *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. V, pp. 178, 180) 30 miles to the east of Kot Kangra (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 97). Twelve miles to the south-west of Baijnath is the temple of Âśapurî Devî, situated on the top of a lofty hill.

Kirâta-Deśa—Tipârâ. The temple of Tripureśvarî at Udaipur in Hill Tipârâ is one of the Pîṭhas (*Mbh.*, Bhîshma, ch. 9; *Brahma P.*, ch. 27; *Vishṇu P.*, Pt. 2, ch. 3). It was the Kirrhadia of Ptolemy, and included Sylhet and Assam (see *Râjamâlâ or Chronicles of Tripura* in *JASB.*, XIX, 1850, p. 536, which contains the history of the Tipârâ Râj). The title of Mânikya was conferred upon the Râjâ named Ratnâfah by the king of Gauḍ, shortly after 1297 A.D., which title they have retained ever since. The kirâts also lived in the Morung, west of Sikkim (Schoff, *Periplus of he Erythraean Sea*, p. 243). They lived in the region from Nepal to the extreme east *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 326).

Kirîṭakonâ —One of the Pîṭhas, situated four miles from Ḍâhâpâḍâ in the district of Murshidabad. Satî's crown (*kirîṭa*) is said to have fallen at this place (*Tantrachuḍâmaṇi*; P. C. Muzumdar's *Musnud of Murshidabad*). Mr. Beveridge says that it is three miles from Murshidabad (*Old Places in Murshidabad* in the *Calcutta Review*, 1892, p. 208).

Kishkindhâ —" About a mile easterly from Nimbapur, a small hamlet in the suburb of Bijanugger, lies an oval-shaped heap of calcareous scoria, partially covered by grass and other vegetation. The Brahmins aver it to be the ashes of the bones of giant Walli or Bali, an impious tyrant slain here by Râma on his expedition to Laṅkâ (Ceylon). "—*JASB.*, vol. XIV, p. 519. It appears from the accounts of pilgrims that the ancient Kishkindhâ is still called by that name and also by the name of Anagandi. It is a small hamlet situated in Dharwaḍ on the south bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrâ near Anagandi,

three miles from Bijayanagara (Sewell's *Arch. Surv. of Southern India*, I, p. 322) and close to Bellary (*JRAS.*, 1894, p. 257). About two miles to the south-west of Kishkindhâ is the Pampâ-sarovara, and to the north-west of Pampâ-sarovara is the Añjana hill, where Hanumâna was born; Savarî's hermitage was 60 miles to the west of Kishkindhâ. Râma killed Bâlî, the brother of Sugrîva, and gave the kingdom of Kishkindhâ to the latter (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., ch. 26). Kishkindhâ comprises the hills on the opposite side of the valley that separate it from Humpi, which are wild congeries of fantastic naked granite rocks with narrow valleys between. In one of these is shown the place where the body of Râjâ Bâlî was burned; it is a bed of very white carbonate of lime (Meadows Taylor's *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore*, p. 70).

Kiyâna—The river Kane or Ken in Bundelkhand (Lassen). It runs through the country held by the Chandel kings from south to north dividing it into two nearly equal portions with the capital cities Mahoba and Khajuraha in the western half and the great forts of Kalinjar and Ajayagaḍh in the eastern half (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 78). See **Śyenî, Karṇâvatî** and **Śuktimatî.** The name of Kiyâna is not mentioned in any of the *Purâṇas.*

Klisoboras (of the Greeks)—Growse identifies it with Mâhâvana, six miles to the south of Mathurâ on the opposite bank of the Jamunâ (Growse's *Mathurâ*, p. 279). General Cunningham identifies it with Bṛindâvana (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 375). Vajra founded many towns after the name of his grandfather Kṛishṇa, *e.g.*, Kṛishṇapura. Wilkins restores the name to Kalisapura, .now called Mugu-nagar by the Musalmans (*Asia. Res.*, Vol. V, p. 270). See *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 240 note. It is the Caresobara of Megasthenes.

Koḍagu—Coorg: a country on the Malabar Coast (Caldwell's *Drav. Comp. Gram.*, p. 32). Same as **Kolagiri** [Koragiri of the *Vishṇu P.*, (ch. 57)].

Koḍaṅgalura—Cranganore, a town of Malabar: it is practically identical with Mouziris of Marco Polo, once a seaport of Malabar.

Koil—Aligarh in the United Provinces. Balarâma is said to have killed here the demon Kol.

Kokâkshetra—The tract of land to the west of the river Kauśikî, or Kusi, including the western portion of the district of Purnea in Bengal (*Varâha P.*, ch. 140, vs. 53 and 72). It included the Barâha-kshetra at Nâthpur below the Triveṇî formed by the junction of the three rivers Tâmbar, Aruṇa, and Suna Kusi.

Kokâmukha—Barâha-kshetra in the district of Purnea in Bengal on the Triveṇî above Nâthpur, where the united Kosis (the Tâmbar, the Aruṇa, and Suna) issue into the plains. See **Mahâkauśika** and **Barâhakshetra** (*Varâha P.*, ch. 140; *Nṛisiṅha P.*, ch. 65).

Kokilâ—The river Koil which rises in Chota Nagpur and flows through the district of Shahabad in Bihar (*As. Res.*, XIV, p. 405).

Kolâchala—It has been identified with the Brahmayoni hill in Gaya. It is considered to be the same as **Kolâhala-parvata.** But it appears that Kolâchala and Kolâhala are two distinct mountains, and Kolâchala may be identified with the Kaluhâ-pâhâḍ (see **Makula-parvata**).

Kolagiri—Same as **Koḍagu** (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 30; Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍ. P.*, p. 364).

Kolâhala-Parvata—1. The Brahmayoni hill in Gaya (*Vâyu P.*, I, ch. 45; Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Buddha Gayâ*, pp. 14, 15), including the hill called Muṇḍa-pṛishṭha which contains the impression of Gadâdhara's feet (*Ibid.*, II, ch. 50, v. 24). 2. A range of hill in Chedi (*Mbh.*, Âdi, ch. 63). It has been identified by Mr. Beglar with the Kâwâ-kol range in Bihar

(*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. VIII, p. 124). But this identification does not appear to be correct; it is the Bandair range on the south-west of Bundelkhand in which the river Ken the ancient Śuktimatî) has its source (*Mbh.*, Âdi, ch. 63).

Kolâhalapura—Kolar, in the east of Mysore where Kârtyavîryârjuna was killed by Paraśurâma. It was also called Kolâlapura, evidently a contraction of Kolâhalapura (Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*: Intro. xxviii).

Kola-parvatapura.——Its contraction is Kolapura, at present called Kulia-Pâhâḍapura or simply Pâhâḍapura (*Kavikaṅkaṇa Chaṇḍî*, p. 228) in the district of Nadia in Bengal. It is the Poloura of Ptolemy situated near the Kambyson mouth of the Ganges. It is not far from Samudragari (ancient Samudragati or 'Entrance into the Sea'), which according to tradition as preserved in the *Navadvîpa-Parikramâ* (p. 40) of the Vaishṇava poet Narahari Chakravarttî, was the place where Gaṅgâ (the Ganges) united with Samudra (the Ocean) in ancient time.

Kolâpura—See **Karavîrapura** (*Chaitanya-charitâmṛita*, II, ch. 9).

Kolhâpura—Same as **Kolâpura** (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 62).

Koli—The country of Koli was situated on the opposite side of Kapilavastu across the river Rohinî; its capital was Devadaha. Koli was the kingdom of Suprabuddha or Añjanârâja, whose two daughters Mâyâ Devî and Prajâpatî *alias* Gautamî were married to Buddha's father Suddhodana. It was also the kingdom of Daṇḍapâṇi, the brother of Buddha's mother Mâyâ Devî, whose daughter Gopâ or Yaśodharâ was married by Buddha. The kingdom of Koli has been identified with a portion of the district of Basti in Oudh, comprising a sacred place called *Barâhachhatra* (Upham's *Mahâvaṃsa*, ch. I). P. C. Mukherji has identified the Rohiṇî with the rivulet Rohin between Rummindei and Koli in the Nepalese Terai (*The Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal*, p. 48). Same as **Vyâghrapura.**

Kolkai—The capital of Pâṇḍya at the mouth of the river Tâmbraparṇî in Tinnevelli, now five miles inland: it is the Kael of Marco Polo. It is identified also with Ṭuticorin (see **Kalki**). It is evidently the Kara of the Buddhist Birth-Story *Agastya Jâtaka*. It is the Kolkhoi of Ptolemy. For an account of Kolkhoi (see Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 309, n., and Dr. Caldwell's *Dravidian Comparative Grammar*, 3rd ed., p. 12).

Kollâga—A suburb of Vaiśâlî (Besar) in the district of Mozaffarpur (Tirhut) in which the Nâya-kula Kshatriyas resided: Mahâvîra, the Jaina Tîrthaṅkara, belonged to this class of Kshatriyas. See **Kuṇḍagâma.**

Koluka—Same as **Kulûta.**

Kolvagiri—Same as **Kolagiri** (*Agni P.*, ch. 109): Coorg.

Komalâ—Same as **Kamlâṅka** (*Vâyu P.*, II, 37, v. 369).

Koṇâditya—Kanarak (Koṇarka) or Chandrabhâgâ in Orissa (*Brahma P.*, ch. 27). See **Padmakshetra.** Same as **Koṇârka.**

Koṇârka—Same as **Padmakshetra** and **Koṇâditya.**

Koṅga-deśa—The modern Coimbatore and Salem (*Mackenzie Manuscripts* in *JASB.*, 1838. p. 105; Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, Intro: p. xli) with some parts of Tinnevelly and Travancore Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 209).

Koṅgama-deśa.—Koṇkaṇ (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 187).

Koṅgu-deśa.—Same as **Koṅga-deśa.**

Koṅkaṇa—Same as **Paraśurâma-kshetra** (*Bṛihatsaṃhitâ*, ch. 14). Its capital was Tâna (Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 203). It denotes properly the whole strip of land between the Western Ghâṭs and the Arabian Sea (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 283 note).

Koṅkaṇapura—Anagandi on the northern bank of the Tuṅgabhadrâ. It was the capital of the Koṅkaṇa (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 552). Da Cunha identifies it with Bassein (Da Cunha's *Hist. of Chaul and Bassein*, p. 129).

Kori—Same as **Uriyur** (Caldwell's *Drav. Comp. Gram.*, p. 13).

Korkai—See **Kolkai.**

Korura—1. Between Multan and Loni in the district of Multan, where the celebrated Vikramâditya, king of Ujjain completely defeated the Sakas in a decisive battle in 533 A.D.—the date of this battle is supposed to have given rise to the Samvat era (Alberuni's *India*, Vol. II, p. 6). It is also written Karur. According to Mr. Vincent Smith, it was Chandra Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty who assumed the title of Vikramâditya and became king of Ujjain, but according to others, Yaśodharman, the Gupta General usurped the sovereign power and assumed the title of Vikramâditya after defeating the Scythians at Karur. 2. Karur, the ancient capital of Chera, in the Koimbatur district situated near Cranganore on the left bank of the river Amarâvatî, a tributary of the Kâverî (Caldwell's Introduction to *Drav. Comp. Grammar*). It is the Karoura of Ptolemy who says that it was the capital of Kerobothras (Keralaputra). It was also called Vañji, and it is the Tâmra-chûda-krora of the *Mallikâ-mâruta* of Daṇḍi.

Kośâ—See **Kaṃsâvatî.**

Kośala—Oudh (see **Ayodhyâ**): it was divided into two kingdoms called North Kośala (Bahraich district) and Kośala (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara K., ch. 107 : *Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 68 ; *Avadâna Śataka* in the *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* by Dr. R. L. Mitra). The capital of the latter was Kuśâvatî founded by Kuśa, and the capital of the former was Śrâvastî. At the time of Buddha, that is, in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., Kośala was a powerful kingdom which included Benares and Kapilavastu : its capital was then Śrâvastî. But about 300 B.C. it was absorbed into the Magadha kingdom, the capital of which was Pâṭaliputra (Patna).

Kośala-(Dakshiṇa)—Gondwana, including the eastern portion of the Central Provinces (*Brahma P.*, ch. 27). Same as **Mahâ-Kośala.** At times, its boundaries extended much to the south and west. Its capital was Ratanpura in the eleventh or twelfth century. Its former capital was Chirâyu [see **Kathâ-saritsâgara** (Tawney's trans., Vol. I, p. 376) in which the story of Nâgârjuna and king Sadvaha, called also Chirâyu, is given ; *cf.* Hiuen Tsiang : Beal's *R.W.C.*, II. p. 210]. Nâgârjuna's *Suhṛillekha* (letter to a friend) was dedicated to his old friend Dânapati named Jin-in-ta-ka (Jetaka), a king in a great country in southern India, who was styled Sadvâhana or Sâtavâhana (I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 159, translated by Takakusu). As the Sâtavâhanas were the Andhrabhṛitya kings of Dhanakaṭaka, and as there was no particular person by the name of Sâtavâhana, the king referred to must be a king of Dhanakaṭaka (Jin-in-ta-ka) ; the name of the capital was perhaps mistaken for the name of the king, and the king must have been either Gotamiputra Sâtakarṇi or his son Pulamâyi, most probably the former, who reigned in the second century of the Christian era when Nâgârjuna is said to have flourished (see **Dhanakaṭaka**). It is, however, possible that Yajña Sâtakarṇi, was meant, as he made a gift of the Śriśaila mountain to Nâgârjuna containing a Buddhist library. Nâgârjuna was the founder of the Mahâyâna school and editor of the original *Suśruta*. According to Prof. Wilson, Sâtavâhana is a synonym of **Sâlivâhana.** The Śaka era which

begins in 78 A.D. is also called the Śâlivâhana era, but this is a mistake (see **Pañchanada**). Bidarbha or Berar was called, in the Buddhist period, Dakshiṇa Kośala (Cunningham's *Arch. S. Rep.*, XVII, p. 68). Dakshiṇa Kośala is mentioned in the *Ratnâvalî* (Act IV) as having been conquered by Udayana, king of Vatsa. Gondwana is the Gaḍ Kaṭaṅga of the Muhammadan historians; it was governed by Durgâvatî, the queen of Dalpat Shah, and heroine of Central India. Dakshiṇa-Kośala is the Tosalî of Asoka's Inscription at Dhauli (see **Tosali**). The ancient name of Lahnji was Champanattu, that of Ratanpur Maṇipur, that of Maṇḍala Mahikamati, which towns were the capitals of the Haihayas of Gaḍa-Maṇḍala. For the history of Gaḍa-Maṇḍala, see the *History of the Garha-Maṇḍala Râjâs* in *JASB.*, 1837, p. 621.

Koṭeśvara—A celebrated place of pilgrimage near the mouth of the Kori river on the western shore of Cutch (*Bomb. Gaz.*, V, p. 229). It is the Kie-tsi-shi-fa-lo of Hiuen Tsiang.

Koṭa-tîrtha—A holy tank situated in the fort of Kalinjar (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XXI, p. 32; Lieut. Maisey's *Description of the Antiquities of Kalinjar* in *JASB.*, 1848). It is now called Karoḍ-tîrtha.

Koṭigɪma—Same as **Kuṇḍagâma** (*Mahâ-parinibbânasutta*, ch. II, 5).

Koṭi-tîrtha—1. In Mathurâ. 2. A sacred tank in Gokarṇa. 3. In Kurukshetra (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 36). 4. A sacred Kuṇḍa in the court-yard of Mahâkâla at Ujjayinî [*Skanda P.*, Avantî Kh., ch. 22; *Padma P.*, Swarga (Âdi), ch. 6]. 5. Same as **Dhanushkoṭi-tîrtha** (*Skanda P.*, Brahma Kh., Setu-mâhât., ch. 27). 6. On the Narmadâ (*Matsya P.*, ch. 190).

Krathakaiśika—Same as **Payoshṇî**: the river Pûrṇâ in Berar. 2. Same as **Bidarbha**, from Kratha and Kaiśika, two sons of king Vidarbha (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 13).

Krauñcha-Parvata—That part of the Kailâsa mountain on which the lake Mânasa-sarovara is situated (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., ch. 44). It included *Krauñcha-randhra*.

Krauñchapura—Same as **Banavâsi** (*Harivaṃśa*, ch. 94), which has been placed by Dr. Burnell in his Map in the *South Indian Palaeography* in North Kanara on the river Baradâ, an affluent of the Tuṅgabhadrâ. It was founded by Râjâ Sârasa. See **Baijayantî**.

Krauñcha-randhra—The Niti Pass in the district of Kumaun, which affords a passage to Tibet from India (*Meghadûta*, Pt. I, v. 58). The passage is said to have been opened with an arrow by Paraśurâma in the Krauñcha Mountain.

Kṛishṇâ—See **Kṛishṇaveṇî** (*Padma P.*, Svarga Kh., ch. 3, v. 29).

Kṛishṇa-giri—The Karakorum mountain or the Black Mountain (*Vâyu P.*, ch. 36; Bretscheider's *Mediaeval Researches*, Vol. I, p. 256). It is also called Mus-tagh.

Kṛishṇaveṇî—1. The united stream of the Kṛishṇâ and Veṇâ rivers. Bilvamaṅgala, the author of the *Kṛishṇakarnâmṛita*, lived on the western bank of this river (Kṛishṇa Das's *Sâraṅga-raṅgadâ*, a commentary on the work, MS., Sansk. Col., Calcutta). 2. The river Kṛishṇâ (*Agni P.*, ch. 118; *Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., ch. 4). It rises at Mahabalesvara in the Western Ghats, and its source, which is enclosed within a temple of Mahâdeva, is considered to be a sacred spot visited by numerous pilgrims. It falls into the Bay of Bengal at Sippelar, a little to the south of Masulipatam.

Kṛitamalâ—The river Vaiga, on which Madura (Dakshiṇa Mathurâ) is situated; it has its source in the Malaya mountain. (*Chaitanya Charitâmṛita*; *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57; *Vishṇu P.*, Pt. II, ch. 3).

Kṛitavatî—The river Sabarmati in Gujarât (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 52).

Kṛivi—The old name of Pañchâla (*Mbh.*, Âdi P., ch. 138).

Kroḍa-deśa—Coorg: same as Koḍagu (*Skanda P.*, Kâverî Mâhât., ch. 11; Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. III, pp. 88, 91, 92).

Krokala—Same as **Karakalla.**

Krumu—The river Kunar or the Choaspes of the Greeks, which joins the Kabul river at some distance below Jalalabad (*Ṛig Veda,* X, 75—the Hymn called *Nadîstuti*); it is also called the Kamah river. It has been identified also with the Koram river (McCrindle's *Ptolemy,* p. 95). See **Kuramu.** According to Drs. Macdonell and Keith, it is the river Kurum (*Vedic Index,* Vol. II) which joins the Indus near Isakhel.

Kshatṛi—The country of the Kathaidi who lived between the Hydraotes (Ravi) and the Hyphasis (Bias), their capital being Saṅgala (McCrindle's *Ptolemy,* p. 157).

Kshatriya-Kuṇḍa—Same as **Kuṇḍapura** (*Śabdakalpadruma,* s. v. *Tîrthaṅkara*).

Kshemavatî—The birth place of Krakuchandra, a former Buddha. It has been identified by P. C. Mukherji with Guṭiva in the Nepalese Terai (P. C. Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal,* p. 55). See **Kapilavastu.**

Kshetra-Upaniveśa—In its contracted form Upaniveśa. See **Hupian.**

Kshiprâ—Same as **Śiprâ** (*Brahma P.,* ch. 43 ; *Vâmana P.,* ch. 83, v. 19).

Kshîra-Bhavânî—12 miles from Srinagar in Kasmir. The goddess is within a Kuṇḍu or reservoir of water which assumes different colours in different parts of the day.

Kshîragrâma—See **Khiragrâma.**

Kshudraka—Same as **Śûdraka** ; called also Kshudra (*Padma P.,* Svarga Kh., ch. 3) and Kshaudraka (Pâṇini's *Ashṭâdhyâyî*).

Kubhâ—1. The Kabul river, the Kophen or Kophes of the Greeks, which rises at the foot of the Kohi Baba from a spring called Sir-i-Chusma, 37 miles to the east of Kabul, and flowing through Kabul falls into the Indus just above Attock (*Ṛig Veda,* X, 75). It is the Nilah of the Muhammadan historian Abdul Qadir (*JASB.,* 1842, p. 125). 2. The district through which the Kophes (Kophen) or the Kabul river flows. The name of Kabul is derived from the Vedic name of Kubhâ. It is the Koa of Ptolemy (McCrindle's *Ptolemy,* VII, ch. I, sec. 27) and Kophen of Arrian (McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian,* p. 191.) The valley of the Kabul river is generally called Ningrahar or Nungnihar, the former being the corruption of the latter word which signifies nine rivers and they are the Surkhrud, the Gandamak, the Kurrussa, the Chiprial, the Hisaruk, the Kote, the Momunddurrah, the Koshkote, and the Kabul river (*JASB.,* 1842, p. 117).

Kubjâ—A tributary of the Narbadâ (*Padma P.,* Bhûmi, ch. 63).

Kubjagṛiha—Same as **Kajughira.**

Kubjâmraka—It has been identified by some with Hṛishîkeśa but the identification is not correct. It is a celebrated place of pilgrimage at some distance to the north of Hṛishîkeśa, sacred to Vishṇu. The *Mâhâtmya* of Kubjâmraka and Hṛishîkeśa has been treated separately in the *Varâha P.,* chs. 126 and 146 (*Archâvatâra-sthala-vaibhava-darpaṇam,* p. 108). It was the hermitage of Raibhya Ṛishi. It is also called Kubjâmra. According to the *Kûrma P.,* Kubjâsrama or Kubjâmra is identical with Kanakhala (*cf. Kûrma P.,* Upari, ch. 34, v. 34, and ch. 36, v. 10).

uhu—The Kabul river. The Vedic Kubha appears to have been corrupted into Kuhu during the Pauranic period. The river Sindhu (Indus) is said to pass through the country of the Kuhus, who are mentioned just after the people of Gândhâra and Urasâ in the *Matsya P.* (ch. CXX, v. 46 and ch. CXIII, v. 21). It is evidently the Koa of Ptolemy which has been identified by McCrindle with Kophen (McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander,* p. 61). But according to Prof. Lassen, Koa or Koas of Ptolemy is not the Kophen or Kabul river. Ptolemy says that Koas is the most western river of India, but the westernmost part of India was the country of the Lampakas, who lived near the sources at the Koas. (*JASB.,* 1840, p. 474).

Kukkuṭapâda-Giri—Kurkihar, about three miles north-east of Wazirganj, which is fifteen miles east of Gaya (Grierson's *Notes on the District of Gaya* and Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 461). Dr. Stein has identified it with Sobhnâth Peak, the highest point of the Moher Hill in Hasra Kol (*Ind. Ant.*, 1901. p. 88). The three peaks situated about a mile to the north of Kurkihar are said to have been the scene of some of the miracles of the Buddhist saint Mahâ Kâśyapa, the celebrated disciple of Buddha, and eventually of his death, and not of Kâśyapa Buddha who preceded Buddha Śâkyasiṃha (Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, p. 161). But Gurupâda-giri of Fa Hian has been considered to be the same as Kukkuṭapâda-giri, so called from its three peaks resembling the foot of a chicken (Legge's *Travels of Fa Hian*, ch. XXXIII ; *JASB.*, 1906, p. 77). Hence Kukkuṭapâda-giri is not Kurkihar but Gurpâ hill (see **Gurupâda-giri** ; for a description of the place, see *JASB.*, XVII, 235).

Kukubha—A mountain in Orissa (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, VIII, ch. 11 : Garrett's *Class. Dic.*, *s.v. Kukubha*).

Kukura—A portion of Rajputana, of which the capital was Balmer, the Pi-lo-mi-lo of Hiuen Tsiang. Kukura is the Kiu-chi-lo of the Chinese traveller (*Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, ch. xiv, v. 4 ; Burgess' *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, p. 131 ; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 14 n.). East Rajputana (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I. Pt. I, p. 36, note ; *Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 3). Same as Daśârha (*Trikâṇḍaśesha*, II). The Kukuras were a tribe of Yâdavas (Visvanath Deva-Varma's *Rukmiṇîpariṇaya*. VI, 30).

Kukushta—Same as *Kakouthâ* or Kakutthâ of the *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta*. Buddha crossed this river on his way from Pava to Kuśinagara (*Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* in *SBE.*, XI, p. 74). Kukushtha has been identified with a small stream called Barhi, which flows to the Chhoṭa-Gaṇḍak, 8 miles below Kasia (see Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 435).

Kulinda-deśa—Garwal including the district of Shaharanpur, north of Delhi (*Mahâbhârata*, Sabhâ, ch. 26). The entire tract of land lying between the upper portion of the Ganges and the Sutlej was called Kulinda, the Kulindrini of Ptolemy. Cunningham places Kulinda-deśa between the Bias and the Tons, including Kulu, the Kuninda of the coins (Cunningham's *Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XIV). Same as **Kalinda-deśa.** According to McCrindle, the region of lofty mountains, wherein the Vipâśâ, the Śatadru, the Jamunâ, and the Ganges have their sources, was the Kylindrine of Ptolemy (p. 109). The Kulindas lived on the southern slope of the Himalaya from Kulu eastward to Nepal (*JRAS.*, 1908, p. 326).

Kulûta—The sub-division of Kulu in the Kangra district in the upper valley of the Bias river, Punjab, to the north-east of Kangra. (*Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, ch. XIV ; *Arch. S. Rep.*, 1907-8, p. 260). It formed a part of Kulinda-deśa. Its capital was Nagarkot. Its present head-quarters is Sultanpur called also Stanpur and Raghunathpur from the chief temple dedicated to Raghunath, situated at the confluence of the Serbulli or Serbari, a small stream, with the Bias river (*JASB.*, 1841, p. 3 ; Fraser's *Himala Mountains*, p. 291). There is a celebrated place of pilgrimage in this sub-division called Trilokanâth (Trailokyanâth), situated on a hill in the village of Tûnda on the left bank of the Chandra-bhâgâ (Chenab) river, some 32 miles below the junction of the rivers Chandra and Bhâgâ. It contains an image of Avalokiteśvara with six hands, worshipped as an image of Mahâdeva (*JASB.*, 1841, p. 105 ; 1902, p. 35).

Kumâra—Perhaps the corruption of Kumâra is Kaira (see **Kaira-mâli**) which was situated very close to Rewa (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 29).

Kumârasvâmî—1. This is a celebrated place of pilgrimage in Tuluva, 26 miles from Hospet, S. M. Railway, on the river Kumâradhârâ which rises in the Bisli Ghâṭ below the Pushpagiri or Subrahmaṇya range of the Western Ghats. 2. The temple of Kumârasvâmî or Kârttikasvâmî is situated about a mile from Tiruttani, a station of the Madras and S. M. Railway, on a hill called Krauñcha-parvata. See **Subrahmaṇya.** It was visited by Śaṅkarâchârya (Âṇanda Giri's *Śaṅkaravijaya*, ch. II, p. 67 ; *Skanda P.*, Kumârikâ Kh., Kumârasvâmi-mâhât., ch. 14). It is briefly called Svâmî-tîrtha.

Kumâravana—Same as *Kûrmavana* or *Kûrmâchala*: Kumaun (*Vikramorvaśî*, Act IV). See **Kedâra.**

Kumârî—1. Cape Comorin (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 88). It contains the celebrated temple of Kumârî Devî (Ziegenbalg's *Genealogy of South-Indian Gods*, Rev. Metzger's trans., p. 39, note). 2. The river Kaorhari which rises in the Suktimat range in the Bihar subdivision near Rajgir. (*Vishnu P.*, II, ch. 3, and *Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. VIII, p. 125). 3. The Kuârî-nadî of Tavernier (*Travels in India*, Ball's Ed., p. 64) which joins the river Sindh, a tributary of the river Jamunâ, 12 miles from Dholpur. Same as **Sukumârî.**

Kumbhaghona—Kumbhaconum in the Tanjore district. It was one of the capitals of the Chola kingdom and was a celebrated place of learning. The temple of Śiva in Kumbhaconum is one of the most celebrated temples in the Presidency. There is a sacred tank called Kumbhakarṇa-kapâla in the *Chaitanya-charitâmṛita* (II, ch. 9) or Mahâ-mâgam, where pilgrims from all parts of southern India go to bathe in Mâgh of every twelfth year.

Kumbhakarṇa—Same as **Kumbhaghona** (*Chaitanya-charitâmṛita*, II, 9).

Kumbhakona—Same as **Kumbhaghona.**

Kuṇḍagâma—It is another name for Vaiśâlî (modern Besarh) in the district of Mozaffarpur (Tirhut) ; in fact, Kuṇḍagâma (Kuṇḍagrâma) now called Basukuṇḍa was a part of the suburb of the ancient town of Vaiśâlî, the latter comprising three districts or quarters: Vaiśâlî proper (Besarh), Kuṇḍapura (Basukund), and Vâniagâma (Bania), inhabited by the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Bania castes respectively. Under the name of Kuṇḍagâma, the city of Vaiśâlî is mentioned as the birth-place of Mahâvîra, the Jaina Tîrthaṅkara, who was also called Vesali or the man of Vesali. It is the Koṭiggâma of the Buddhists (Prof. Jacobi's *Jaina Sûtras*, Introduction ; in *SBE.*, XXII, p. xi). It is also said that he was born at Kollaga, a suburb of Vaiśâlî, where the Nâya or Nâta clan of Kshatriyas resided, and in which was a temple called Chaitya Duipalâsa. (Dr. Hoernle, *Uvasagadasao*, p. 4 ; and his *Jainism and Buddhism*). Mahâvîra is said to have been conceived at first in the womb of the Brâhmaṇî Devanandâ, but Indra caused the embryo to be transferred to the womb of the Kshatriyâ Triśalâ who was also with child, through the agency of his deer-headed general Harineyameshi, who is no doubt the same as Naigamesha or goat-headed god of the Brâhmaṇas (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 316, 317 ; *Kalpasûtra* in *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, p. 227). Mahâvîra or Varddhamâna was the son of Siddhârtha, a chief or "king" of Kuṇḍapura, by his wife Triśalâ, who was sister of Chetaka, king of Vaiśâlî; Chetaka's daughter, Chellanâ, or the Videha Devî as she was called, was married to Bimbisâra, king of Magadha, and she was the mother of Ajâtaśatru or Kuṇika, who married Vajirâ, the daughter of king Prasenajit of Śrâvastî, the brother of his step-mother, the Kośalâ Devî, but according to other accounts Ajâtaśatru was the son of Kośalâ Devî. Mahâvîra died at Pâpâ (Pâvâpurî) at the age of 72 in B.C. 527, or according to Mr. Prinsep in 569 B.C., at the age of 70 (Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, Pt. II, p. 33), *i.e.*, 26 years

before the death of Buddha (see **Papa**). According to Dr. Hoernle, Mahâvîra was born in 599 B.C., and he died in 527 B.C. at the age of seventy-two (*Jainism and Buddhism*). Mahâvîra had a daughter named Anojjâ or Priyadarśanâ by his wife Yaśodâ (Jacobi's *Jaina Sûtras* in *SBE.*, XXII, p. 193; Dr. Bühler's *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, pp. 25-29). Nigranthi Jñâtiputra or Jñâtaputra or Nâtaputta, one of the celebrated sages who lived at Rajagṛiha at the time of Buddha, has been identified with Mahâvîra of the Jainas; he also resided at Śrâvastî when Buddha lived there (see also *Mahâvagga*, VI, 31). Hençe Buddhism and Jainism were two contemporary systems. Mahâvîra wandered more than 12 years in Lâḍa in Vajjabhumi and Subhabhumi, the Râḍha of to-day in Bengal. In the thirteenth year of his wandering life, he attained Jinahood and taught the Nigrantha doctrines, a modification of the religion of Pârśvanâtha (Bühler's *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 26). The Nigranthas are mentioned in a pillar edict of Aśoka issued in the 29th year of his reign. During the famine which lasted for twelve years in the reign of Chandragupta, king of Magadha, Bhadrabâhu, who was then at the head of the Jaina Community, emigrated into Karṇâṭa (or Canarese) country with a portion of the people, and Sthûlabhadra became the head of the portion that remained in Magadha. At the council held at Pâṭaliputra towards the end of the famine, the Jaina books consisting of eleven *Aṅgas* and fourteen *Pûrvas* (which latter are collectively called the twelfth *Aṅga*) were collected. All the Jainas wore no clothes before, but during the famine, the Pâṭaliputra Jainas commenced wearing clothes. Hence Bhadrabâhu's followers after their return refused to hold fellowship with them and to acknowledge the Sacred Books collected by them, that is the Aṅgas and the Pûrvas. The final separation between the two sects as Śvetâmvara and Digamvara took place in 79 or 82 A.D. At a council held at Ballabhî in Gujarât under the presidency of Devarddhi, the sacred books were again settled; this took place in 154 A.D. (Hoernle's *Jainism and Buddhism*).

Kuṇḍapura—Same as **Kuṇḍagâma.**

Kuṅḍilyapura—Same as **Kuṇḍinapura.**

Kuṅḍinapura—The ancient capital of Vidarbha. Dowson identifies it with Kuṇḍapura, about forty miles east of Amarâvatî (Dowson's *Classical Dic.*, 4th ed., p. 171 and Wilson's *Mâlatî and Mâdhava*, Act I). It existed at the time of Bhavabhûti (*Mâlatî Mâdhava*, Act I). Devalavârâ, eleven miles south of Warrora, on the river Wardha (Vidarbha) in the district of Chanda in the Central Provinces, is traditionally known as the ancient Kuṇḍinapura (Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, IX, p. 133). A fair is held here every year near the temple of Rukmiṇî. Ancient Kuṇḍinapura is said to have extended from the river Wardha to Amarâvatî (Amraoti) where the identical temple of Bhavânî, from which she was carried away by Kṛishṇa, is still said to exist. Kuṇḍinapura was the birth-place of Rukmiṇî, the consort of Kṛishṇa. It has been identified with Koṇḍâvir in Berar (Dr. Führer's *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions*). Kuṇḍinapura was also called Vidarbhapura (*Harivaṃśa*, II; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 73). It appears, however, that Vidarbhapura or Kuṇḍinapura was on the site of Bedar (see **Bidarbha.**) Rukmiṇî was formerly married by Kṛishṇa, after she was carried away from Bidarbha, at Mâdhavapur, forty miles to the north-west of Prabhâsa or Somanâtha (*Archâvatâra*). The *Anargharâghavam*, (Act VII, 101) places Kuṇḍinanagara in Mahârâshṭra which, says, included Bidarbha.

Kuninda—Same as **Kulinda-deśa.** It is the Kauninda of *Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ*, ch. XIV, v. 30.

Kuntala-deśa—At the time of the Chalukyas, Kuntala-deśa was bounded on the north by the Narbada, on the south by the Tuṅgabhadrâ, on the west by the Arabian Sea, and on the east by the Godâvarî and the Eastern Ghats. Its capitals were Nasik and Kalyâṇa at different periods (*Ind. Ant.*, XXII, 1893, p. 182 ; *Antiquities of Bidar and Aurangabad Districts*, by Burgess). In later times, the Southern Mahratta country was called Kuntala (Dr. Bhandarkar's *Hist. of the Dekkan*, sec. xii; *Vâmana P.*, ch. 13). It included the north of the present Mysore country (*JRAS.*, 1911, p. 812). In the *Daśakumâracharita* (ch. 8), it is placed among the dependent kingdoms of Bidarbha. But in the tenth century, the town of Bidarbha is mentioned as being situated in Kuntala-deśa (Rajaśekhara's *Karpûra-mañjarî*, Act I). The later inscriptions called it Karṇâṭaka-deśa (*The Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji* by Ramchandra Ghosh, Preface, p. xxxiv), Kuntala was also called Karṇâṭa (see Bühler's *note* at pp. 27, 28 of the *Introduction to the Vikramâṅkadevacharita* by Bilhana). The *Târâ Tantra* also says that Karṇâṭa was the name of Mahârâshṭra (see Ward's *History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. I, p. 558). The *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57, mentions two countries by the name of Kuntala, one in Madhyadeśa and the other in Dâkshiṅâtya ; see **Kuntalapura.**

Kuntalakapura—Kubattur in Sorab in the Shemoga district of Mysore. It was the capital of Kuntaladeśa. It was, according to tradition, the capital of king Chandrahâsa (*Jaimini-Bhârata*, ch. 53 : Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II, p. 351). It was situated in Kerala. Chandrâvatî was six yojanas or 42 miles from Kuntalakapura. Sarnal, in the Kaira District with which Kuntalakapura is identified (Cousen's *Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII, p. 94) is too far off from Kerala. It was also called Kautalakapura. See **Surabhî.**

Kuntalapura—1. Same as **Kuntalakapura.** 2. General Cunningham places it in the territory of Gwalior (Cunningham's *Arch. S. Rep.*, XX, p. 112). 3. Sarnal in the Kaira district is said to be Kuntalapura.

Kuntî-Bhoja—It was also called Bhoja, an ancient town of Malwâ, where Kuntî, the mother of Yudhishṭhira and his brothers, was brought up by her adoptive father Kunti-Bhoja, king of Bhoja (*Mbh.*, Âdi, chs. 111, 112). It was situated on the bank of a small river called Aśvanadî or Aśvarathanadî which falls into the river Chambal (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 306; *Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ*, ch. 10, v. 15). It was also called Kuntî (*Mbh.*, Bhîshma P., ch. 9 ; Virâṭa P., ch. I).

Kupatha—Hiuen Tsiang's *Kie-pan-to* should perhaps be restored to *Kupatha*, mentioned among the mountainous countries in the north-west of India (*Matsya P.*, ch. 113, v. 55), and not to **Kabandha** (q. v.).

Kuramu—The river Koram, a tributary of the Indus (*Ṛig-Veda*, X, 75). Same as **Krumu.**

Kuraṅgapura—Koringa, near the mouth of the Godâvarî.

Kûrmâchala—Kumaun (*JASB.*, XVII, 580, quoting *Skanda P.*, Manushkhaṇḍa) [*sic* for Mâheśvarakhaṇḍa (Kedâra kh.)]. It was also called by the names of Kûrmavana and Kumâravana, the corruption of which is Kumaun. Its former capital was Champauti which was also called Kûrmâchala (Conder's *Modern Traveller*, X, 343), and its present capital is Almora. On the western border is the Triśûl Mountain as its peaks have the appearance of a trident. The celebrated temple of Pûrṇâ Devî or Annapûrṇâ at Purnagiri, visited by pilgrims from all parts of the country, is situated in Kumaun (*JASB.*, XVII, 573). Vishṇu is said to have incarnated here near Lohâghâṭ as Kûrma to support the Mandâra mountain (*Ibid.*, p. 580) ; see **Mandâra-giri.** The Doonagiri mountain is the

Dronâchala of the *Purâṇas*; the Lodh Moona forest was the hermitage of Garga Rishi, and the Gagas river rises in the forest (p. 617) and falls into the Dhauli. The Kûrmâchali Brahmans who reside in Kumaun have evidently derived this name from the country (Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, pp. 21, 106). See **Kartṛipura Kârttikeyapura** and **Umâvana.** For the five Prayâgas, see **Pañcha-Prayâga.** The province of Kumaun is situated in the tract of hills lying between the western branch of the Gagra known as Kâlî-nadî and the river Râm-Gaṅgâ which divides Garwal from Kumaun (Fraser's *Himala Mountains*, pp. 54, 537). For the history of the kings of Kumaun, see *JASB.*, 1844, p. 887.

Kûrmakshetra—Eight miles to the east of Chikakol on the sea-coast in the district of Ganjam. It was visited by Chaitanya (Shyamlal Goswami's *Gaurasundara*, p. 188). It is now called Śrîkûrma.

Kûrmavana—Same as **Kurmâchala.**

Kurujâṅgala—A forest country situated in Sirhind, north-west of Hastinâpura. It was called Śrîkaṇṭhadeśa during the Buddhist period; its capital was Bilâspur. It was included in Kurukshetra. In the sixth century, its capital was Thâneśvara. The seat of Government was removed by Harsha Deva (Siladitya II) to Kanauj (see **Shrîkaṇṭha**). The entire Kurudeśa was called by this name in the *Mbh.* (Âdi P., ch. 201) and *Vâmana P.* (ch. 32). Hastinâpura, the capital of the Kurus, was situated in Kurujâṅgala (*Mbh.*, Âdi, ch. 126).

Kurukshetra—Thaneswar. The district formerly included Sonepat, Amin, Karnal, and Panipat, and was situated between the Sarasvatî on the north and the Dṛishadvatî on the south (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 83), but see Pratap Chandra Roy's edition of the *Mahâbhârata.* The war between the Kurus and the Pâṇḍavas took place not only at Thaneswar but also inthe country around it. The Dvaipâyana Hrada is situated in Thaneswar. Vyâsasthali (Modern Basthali) is seventeen miles to the south-west of Thaneswar. At Amin, five miles south of Thaneswar, Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, was killed, and Aśvatthâmâ was defeated by Arjuna, and his skull severed. Amin, according to Cunningham, is the contraction of Abhimanyukshetra. At Amin, Aditi gave birth to Sûrya; at Bhore, eight miles to the west of Thaneswar, Bhuriśravâ was killed: at Chakra-tirtha, Krishṇa took up his discus to kill Bhîshma; at Nagdu, eleven miles to the south-west of Thâneswar, Bhîshma died; at Asthipura [*Padma P.*, Sṛishti (Âdi), ch. 13], on the west of Thâneswar and south of Aujas-ghâṭ, the dead bodies of the warriors who were killed in the war, were collected and burned (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 86-106). Sonepat and Panipat are the corruptions of Sonaprastha and Pâṇiprastha, which were two of the five villages demanded by Yudhishṭhira from Duryodhana. Kurukshetra was also called Sthânutîrtha and Sâmantapañchaka (*Mbh.*, Śalya, ch. 54; Vana, ch. 83); the temple of the Mahâdeva Sthânu was situated half a mile to the north of Thaneswar. It was visited by people as a place of pilgrimage at the time of Alberuni in the eleventh century A.D., especially at the time of eclipse (Alberuni's *India*, Vol. II, p. 147; *Matsya P.*, ch. 191).

Kuśabhavanapura—Sultanpur on the Gumti in Oudh (*Thornton's Gazetteer*). It was visited by Hiuen Tsiang. Same as **Kuśapura.** It was the capital of Kuśa, son of Râmachandra. It is called Kuśasthalî in the *Vâyu P.*, (Uttara, ch. 26). The capital was removed from Ayodhyâ by Kuśa when he succeeded his father Râmachandra, king of Oudh (*Raghuvaṃśa*, XV, v. 97; xvi, v. 25).

Kuśâgârapura—Rajgir, the ancient capital of Magadha. Same as **Girivrajapura** (Beal's *R.W.C.*, II, p. 149).

Kuśamapura—1. Properly **Kusumapura** which is the same as **Pâṭaliputra** (*Mahâvamśa*, ch. 5). Kumhrâr, the southern quarter of Patna, is evidently a corruption of Kusamapura (Kusumapura), where the royal palace was situated. It was part of Pâṭaliputra (Upham's *Mahâvamśa*, ch. V, p. 46). 2. Kânyakubja.

Kuśapura—Same as **Kuśabhavanapura** (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 398).

Kuśasthala—Kanouj (*Hemakosha*).

Kuśasthalî—1. Dwârakâ, the capital of Ânartta, in Gujarat. Dwârakâ was founded on the deserted site of Kuśasthalî by Kṛishṇa (*Harivamśa*, ch. 112). 2. Ujjayinî (*Skanda P.*, Avantî Kh., chs. 24, 31).

Kuśâvartta—1. A sacred tank in Tryamvaka, twenty-one miles from Nasik, near the source of the Godâvarî. 2. A sacred ghâṭ in Hardwar.

Kuśâvatî—1. Dwârakâ in Gujarat (Nîlakaṇṭha's Commentary on v. 54, ch. 160, Vana P. of the *Mbh.*) It was founded by Ânartta, the nephew of Ikshâku. It was also called Kuśasthalî and was the capital of Ânartta-deśa (*Śiva P.*, pt. vi, ch. 60). 2. Kuśâvatî, which was situated on the border of the Vindhya hills (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara K., ch. 121), was perhaps the ancient Darbhavatî (modern Dabhoi), thirty-eight miles north-east of Baroach in Gujarat. It was the capital of Kuśa, son of Râmachandra. 3. Kaśur in the Panjab, thirty-two miles to the south-east of Lahore. 4. Same as **Kuśabhavanapura** and **Kuśapura** the capital of Kuśa, son of Râmachandra (*Raghuvamśa*, C. 15, v. 97): Sultanpur in Oudh. 5. Ancient name of Kuśinâra or Kuśinagara, where Buddha died (*Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* in *SBE.*, XI, p. 100; *Jâtaka*, Cam. Ed., vol. V, p. 141—(*Kuśa-Jataka*). 6. A place on the bank of the Veṇâ or Wain-Gaṅgâ which was given by Âryaka, the founder of the Âbhîra dynasty, to Chârudatta after killing Pâlaka, the tyrant king of Ujjayinî (*Mṛichchhakaṭika*, Act X, 51).

Kuśinagara—The place where Buddha died in 477 B.C., according to Prof. Max Müller, but according to the Ceylonese chronology and Prof. Lassen, he died in 543 B.C., (see Goldstücker's *Pâṇini*, pp. 231-233), at the age of eighty in the eighth year of the reign of Ajâtaśatru. It has been identified by Prof. Wilson with the present village of Kasia, thirty-seven miles to the east of Gorakhpur and to the north-west of Bettia. Buddha died in the upavattana of Kuśinâra in the Śâla grove of the Mallians, between the twin Śâla trees in the third watch of the night, resting on his right side with his head to the north (*Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* in *SBE.*, Vol. XI, pp. 103, 116). Aśoka erected three stûpas on the scene of his death. It was anciently called Kuśâvatî (*Jâtaka*, Cam. Ed., V, 141—*Kuśa-Jâtaka*). The charcoal ashes of Buddha's funeral pyre were enshrined in a stûpa at Barhi now called Moriyanagara in the Nyagrodha forest, visited by Hiuen Tsiang. The ruins of Aniruddwa near Kasia in the district of Gorakhpur have been identified with the palaces of the Malla nobles of the Buddhist records. The relics (bones) of Buddha were divided by the Brahmin Droṇa into eight parts among the Lichchhavis of Vaiśâlî, Śâkyas of Kapilavastu, Bulayas of Allakappaka, Koliyas of Râmagrâma, Brâhmanas of Beṭhadvîpa (perhaps Bethiâ), Mallas of Pâvâ, Mallas of Kuśinâra (Kuśinagara), and Ajâtaśatru. king of Pataliputra, who all erected stûpas upon them. The Brahmin Droṇa built a stûpa upon the pitcher with which he had measured the relics, and the Mauryas of Pippalavatî built another on the charcoal from Buddha's funeral pyre (*Mahâparinibbâna Sutta*, ch. 6). Dr. Hoey, identifies Kasia with the place where Buddha

received the *kâshaya* or the mendicant robe after he had left his home (*JASB.*, Vol. LXIX, p. 83). Though Mr. Vincent A. Smith doubts the identification of Kuśinagara with Kasia, yet the recent exploration by the Archæological Department has set the question at rest. The stûpa adjoining the main temple containing an image of the dying Buddha was opened and a copperplate was discovered showing the following words at the end "Copperplate in the Stûpa of Nirvâṇa."

Kuśinâra—Same as **Kuśinagara**.

Kuśtana—The kingdom of Khotan in Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, famous for the stone called Jade; hence it is called by the Chinese *Yu* (Jade)-*tien*. It was called by the Chinese Kü-sa-tan-na (Bretscheider's *Mediæval Researches*, II, p. 48). It was visited by Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang. Its old capital was Yotkan, a little to the west of the modern town of Khotan, which in the ancient manuscripts discovered by Dr. Stein is called Khotana and Kustanaka. The territory of Khotan was conquered and colonised by Indian immigrants from Takshaśilâ (Taxila) about the second century before the Christian era. Dr. Stein identified the Buddhist stûpa and the Sa-mo-joh monastery of Hiuen Tsiang with the Döbe in the cemetery of Somiya, a mile to the west of Yotkan. Dr. Stein discovered many Buddhist shrines, stûpas, relievos and statues of Buddha and Bodhisattvas in stucco at Dandan-Ulig (ancient Li-sieh), Niya, Endere and Rawak buried in the sand of the desert of Taklamakan in the territory of Khotan, and exhumed from the ruins many painted panels and documents written in Brâhmi and Kharoshṭi characters on wooden tablets (*Takhtâs*), and papers ranging from the third to the eighth century of the Christian era (Dr. Stein's *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, p. 402). Fa Hian saw at Khotan in the fourth century the drawing of cars of the Buddhist *Tri-ratnas*, Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, which are the prototypes of the modern Jagannâth, Balarâma, and Subhadrâ. At Ujjayinî, at the time of Samprati, Aśoka's successor, the Jainas used to draw a car on which Jivantaswâmi's image was placed (*Sthavirâvalî*, Jacobi's ed., XI). The name of Kustana has also been mentioned by It-sing (see *Records of the Buddhist Religion* by Takakusu, p. 20). Same as **Stana**.

Kusumapura—Same as **Kusamapura** (*Mudrârâkshasa*, Act II).

Kuṭaka—Gadak, an ancient town containing many old temples in Dharwar district, Bombay Presidency (*Bhâgavata P.*, V, ch. 6).

Kuṭika—The river Kosila, the eastern tributary of the Râmgaṅgâ in Rohilkhand and Oudh (Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, II, p. 524, and *Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhyâ K., ch. 71).

Kuṭilâ—Same as **Kuṭika**.

Kuṭikoshṭikâ—The Koh, a small affluent of the Râmgaṅgâ in Oudh (Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, Vol. II, p. 524 and *Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhyâ K., ch. 71).

Kuva—Same as **Goparâshṭra** and **Govarâshṭra**: Southern Koṅkaṇa.

L

Lâḍa—Same as **Lâṭa** (Southern Gujarat) and *Râḍha* (a portion of Bengal).

Lahaḍa—It is a border-land between Kâśmîr and Dardistan (*Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ*, ch. XIV, v. 22; *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, 1893, p. 182—Topographical List of the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ* by Dr. Fleet.)

Lakragaḍ—The fort of Lakragaḍ was situated on the Rajmahal hills in Bengal; it was an old fort. It is the Lakhnor of Menhajuddin and other Muhammadan historians (Beveridge's *Buchanan Records* in *C. R.*, 1894).

Lakshmaṇâvatî—1. Lakhnauti is the corruption of Lakshmaṇâvatî. It was another name for Gauḍa (town), the ruins of which lie near Mâldâ. It was the capital of the

country of Gauḍa (Tawney: Merutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, p. 181). It stood on the left bank of the Ganges. It was the capital of Bengal in 730 A.C. (Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, p. 55), which date, however, does not appear to be correct. Lakshmaṇa Sena, the son and successor of Ballâla Sena and grandson of Vijaya Sena, and great-grandson of Hemanta Sena, the son of Sâmanta Sena (Deopârâ inscription: *Ep. Ind.*, I, 3), is said to have greatly embellished the city of Gauḍ with temples and other public buildings, and called it after his own name, Laknauti or Lakshmaṇâvatî (Martin's *East. Ind.*, III, p. 68). He was a great patron of Sanskrit literature. Jaya Deva of Kenduli,—the author of the celebrated lyric *Gîta Govinda* (*Bhavishya P.*, Pratisarga, Pt. IV, ch. IX), Umâpatidhara, the commentator of the *Kalâpa* grammar and minister of Lakshmaṇa Sena (*Prabandha-chintâmaṇi*, p. 181), Govarddhana Âchârya, the spiritual guide of Lakshmaṇa Sena and author of the *Ârya-saptaśatî*, Sarana, and Dhoyi (who is called Kavi Kshamâpati-śrutidhara by Jaya Deva in his *Gîta-Govinda*), the author of the *Pavana-dûta*, were called the Pañcharatna or five gems of Lakshmaṇa Sena's court in imitation of the Nava-ratna or nine gems of Vikramâditya (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 183 *n.*) Halâyudha, the author of a dictionary and the spiritual adviser of the monarch, and Śrîdharadâsa, the author of the *Sadukti Karṇâmṛita* also flourished in his court. Lakshmaṇa Sena founded the Lakshmaṇa Samvat (era) in 1108 A.D. (Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Buddha Gaya*, p. 201), but according to Dr. Bühler, in 1119 A.D. (*Deopârâ Inscription of Vijayasena: Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 307). Hunter considers that the name of Gauḍa was more applicable to the kingdom than to the city (Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. VII, p. 51; *Bhavishya P.*, Pratisarga P., Pt. II, ch. 11). For the destruction of Gauḍa and the transfer of Muhammadan capital to Râjmahal in 1592, (see Bradley-Birt's *Story of an Indian Upland*, ch. 2). 2. Lucknow in Oudh. It is said to have been founded by Lakshmaṇa, brother of Râmachandra, king of Oudh. It was repaired by Vikramâditya, king of Ujjayinî. The town was first made the seat of government by Asaf-ud-Daulah in 1775 (Conder's *Modern Traveller*, Vol. IX, p. 296). See **Lucknow** in Pt. II, of this work.

Lakulîsa—See **Nakulîsa.**

Lampaka—Lamghan, on the northern bank of the Kabul river near Peshawar (*Hemakosha*; Lassen's *History traced from Bactrian and Indo-Scythian Coins* in *JASB.*, 1840, p. 486; *Brahmâṇḍa P.*, Pûrva, ch. 48). It is also called Muraṇḍâ. It is 20 miles north-west of Jalalabad.

Lampaka—Same as **Lampakâ** (*Mârkaṇḍ. P.*, ch. 57).

Lâṅgulî—Same as **Lâṅgulinî**. (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 9).

Lâṅgulinî—The river Lâṅguliya on which Chicacole is situated, between Vizianagram and Kalingapatam (Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57, p. 305). It is also called Naglandi river (Thornton's *Gazetteer*, *s. v.* Ganjam).

Laṅka—1. Ceylon. 2. The town of Laṅkâ or Laṅkâpataram is said to be a mountain on the south-east corner of Ceylon; it is described as Trikûṭa or three-peaked in the *Râmâyaṇa* (Sundara K., ch. I) and was the abode of Râvaṇa (Laṅkâ Kâṇḍa, ch. 125). It is believed by some to be the present Mantotte in Ceylon, others think it to be a town submerged (Mutu Coomara Swamy's *Dâṭhâvaṃsa*, p. 97). There is a place called Nikumbhilâ, about 40 miles from Colombo, where Indrajita performed his sacrifice (*Buddhist Text Society's Journal*, Vol. III, Pt. I, Appendix). There are some very good reasons to suppose that Laṅkâ and Ceylon are not identical islands; (1) the *Râmâyaṇa* (Kishk. K., ch. 41) says that one must cross the river Tâmraparṇî and go to the south

of the Mahendra range which abuts into the ocean and cross it to reach Lankâ, or in other words, the island of Lankâ, according to the *Râmâyaṇa,* was situated to the south of the Cardamum Mountains which form the southern portion of the Mahendra range, while if Ceylon be the ancient Lankâ, one is not required to cross the Tâmraparṇi river to go to the southern extremity of the Mahendra Mountain in order to reach that island by the Adam's Bridge (or Setubandha Râmeśvara); 2. Barâha-mihira, the celebrated astronomer, says that Ujjayinî and Lankâ are situated on the same meridian, while Ceylon lies far to the east of this meridian; 3. Some of the works of the Pauranic times mention Lankâ and Siṃhala (the corruption of which is Ceylon) as distinct islands (*Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ,* ch. 14 and *Devi P.,* chs. 42, 46). On the other hand, the *Mahâvaṃśa,* the most ancient history of Ceylon composed in the 5th century A.D., distinctly mentions that the island of Lankâ was called Siṃhala by Vijaya after his conquest, and calls Duṭṭhagâmani and Parâkramabâhu kings of Lankâ or Siṃhala (Geiger's *Mahâvaṃśa,* chs. VII, XXXI). The *Râjâvali* also mentions, the tradition of the war of Râvaṇa in the island of Ceylon (Upham's *Râjâvalî,* Pt. I). Dhammakitti, the author of the *Dâṭhâvaṃśa,* who lived in the twelfth century A.D., in the reign of Parâkramabâhu I, king of Ceylon, states that Siṃhala and Lankâ are the same island. It is called Zeilan or Silan (Ceylon) by Marco Polo, who visited it in the thirteenth century A.D. (Wright's *Marco Polo*). For other derivations of the name of Silan, see Col. Yule's *Travels of Marco Polo,* Vol. II, p. 254, note.

Lâṭa—1. Southern Gujarat including Khandesh situated between the river Mahi and the lower Tapti: the Larike of Ptolemy (*Garuḍa P.,* ch. 55; Dowson's *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Hist. of the Dekkan,* sec. XI, p. 42). It is mentioned in the *Kâmasûtra* of Vâtsyâyana. It comprised the collectorates of Surat, Bharoch, Kheda and parts of Baroda territory (*Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh* by Burgess). According to Col. Yule, Lâḍa was the ancient name of Gujarat and Northern Konkan (*Marco Polo,* Vol. II, p. 302 *n*). It is the Lâṭhikâ of the Dhauli inscription and Râsṭikâ (Risṭika) of the Girnar inscription of Aśoka. According to Prof. Bühler, Lâṭa is Central Gujarat, the district between the Mahi and Kim rivers, and its chief city was Broach (see Additional Notes, It-sing's *Records of the Buddhist Religion,* by Takakusu, p. 217; Alberuni's *India,* I, p. 205). In the Copperplate Inscription found at Baroda, the capital of Lâṭa or the kingdom of Lâṭeśvara is said to be Elapur (v. II). The inscription also gives the genealogy of the kings of Lâteśvara (*JASB.,* vol. VIII, 1839, p. 292). But it is doubtful whether Lâṭa and Lâṭeśvara are identical kingdoms. Lâṭa was also called Lâḍa in the *Biddhasâlabhañjikâ;* Olládeśa appears to be identical with Lâṭa (see **Ollâ**). The Nâgara Brahmins of Lâṭa (Gujarat) are said to have invented the Nagri character. The Devanâgari character, however, is said to have been derived from the Brâhmi alphabet. 2. Râḍha: the Lâḍa of Upham's *Mahâvaṃśa* is a corruption of Râḍha in Bengal (see **Râḍha**).

Laṭṭhivana—Same as **Yashṭivana** (*Jâtaka,* Cam. ed., IV, p. 179; *Mahâvagga,* I, 22).

Lavanâ—The Lun (Looni) or Nun Nadî which rises near Paniar and falls into the Sind at Chandpursonari in Malwa (*Mâlatî-mâdhava,* Act IX; *Arch. S. Rep.,* Vol. II, p. 308).

Lavapura—Called also Lavakoṭa or Lavavarâ afterwards called Lohâwar: Lahore, founded by Lava, the son of Râmachandra (Tod's *Rajasthan,* I, p. 224). The ruins of the ancient city still exist near the present city of Lahore. In the Jaina Inscriptions at Śatruñjaya, it is called Lâbhapura (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. II, pp. 38, 54).

Lilâjana—The river Phalgu: but, in fact, the western branch of the river Phalgu, which joins the Mohânâ few miles above Gaya, is called by that name. See **Nilâjana**.

Lodhra-Kanana—The Lodh-moona forest in Kumaun (*Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., ch. 43): see **Kûrmachala**. It was the hermitage of Garga Ṛishi.

Loha—Afghanistan (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 26). In the tenth century of the Christian era, the last Hindu king was defeated by the Muhammadans, and Afghanistan became a Muhammadan kingdom. See **Kamboja**.

Lohargala—A sacred place in the Himalaya (*Varâha P.*, ch. 15). It is perhaps Lohâghâṭ in Kumaun, three miles to the north of Champâwat, on the river Loha, as the place is sacred to Vishṇu (see **Kûrmachala**).

Lohita-Sarovara—The lake Râwanhrad, which is the source of the river Lohitya or Brahmaputra (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 51).

Lohitya—1. The river Brahmaputra (*Mbh.*, Bhishma P., ch. 9; *Raghuvaṃśa*, c. IV, v. 81; *Medinî*). For the birth of Lohitya, the son of Brahma, see *Kâlikâ P.*, ch. 82. Paraśurâma's axe fell from his hand when he bathed in this river, owing to the sin of killing his mother. According to Kâlidâsa, the river was the boundary of Prâgjyotisha or Gauhati in Assam (*Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, v. 81). For a description of the source of the Brahmaputra, see Sven Hedin's *Trans-Himalaya*, Vol. II, ch. 43.

Lohitya-Sarovara—The source of the river Chandrabhâgâ or Chinab in Lahoul or Middle Tibet (*Kâlikâ P.*, ch. 82). It is a small lake now called Chandrabhâgâ.

Lokapura—Chanda in the Central Provinces. It contained the temples of Mahâkâlî and her son Achaleśvara who was formerly called Jharpateśvara (*Skanda P.*).

Lomaśa-Âśrama—The Lomasgir-hill, four miles north-east of Rajauli in the sub-division of Nowadah, in the district of Gaya; it was the hermitage of Lomasa Rishi (Grierson's *Notes on the District of Gaya*, p. 27).

Loṇâra—*See* **Vishṇu-Gaya** (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 62; Cousen's *Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berar*. p. 77).

Lumbini-Vana—Rummen-dei in the Nepalese Terai, two miles to the north of Bhagavânpur and about a mile to the north of Paderia. See **Kapilavastu**. The eight Chaityas or sacred places which are visited by Buddhist pilgrims are (1) The Lumbini Garden in Kapilavastu where Buddha was born; (2) Bodhi tree in Bodh-Gaya where he attained Buddhahood; (3) Mṛigadâva in Benares where he preached his law for the first time; (4) Jetavana in Śrâvastî where he displayed miraculous powers; (5) Saṅkâsya in the district of Kanauj where he descended from the Trayatriṃśa heaven; (6) Râjagṛiha in Magadha where he taught his disciples; (7) Vaiśâlî where he spoke to Ananda about the length of his life; (8) Kuśinagara where he died in a Śâla grove (***Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta***, VI, 51-62; in *SBE.*, Vol. XI).

M

Machchha—Same as *Matsya* (*Aṅguttara Nikâya*, Tika Nipâta, ch. 70, para. 17).

Machheri—Alwar, which formerly appertained to the territory of Jaipur (see **Matsya-deśa**).

Madana-Tapovana—Same as **Kamaśrama** (*Raghuvaṃśa*, xi, 13).

Madguraka—Same as **Modagiri** (*Matsya P.*, ch. 113).

Madhumanta—Same as **Daṇḍakâraṇya** (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara, chs. 92, 94).

Madhumatî—The Mohwar or Modhwar river which rises near Ranod and falls into the Sind, about eight miles above Sonari in Malwa (*Mâlatî-Mâdhava*, Act IX, and *Arch. S. Rep.*, II, 308).

Madhupurî—Mathurâ: it was founded by Śatrughna, the youngest brother of Râma, by killing the Râkshasa Lavana, son of Madhu. The town of the demon Madhu has been

identified by Growse with Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the present town of **Mathurâ**. In Maholi is situated Madhuvana (or forest of Madhu), a place of pilgrimage (Growse's *Mathurâ*, pp. 32, 54).

Madhurâ—Same as **Mathurâ** (see *Ghaṭa-Jâtaka* in the *Jâtakas* (Cam. ed.) IV, p. 50, which is a distortion of the story of Kṛishṇa).

Madhuvana—See **Mathurâ**.

Madhyadeśa—The country bounded by the river Sarasvatî in Kurukshetra, Allahabad, the Himâlaya, and the Vindhya ; the Antarveda was included in Madhyadeśa (*Manu Saṃhitâ*, ch. II, v. 21). The boundaries of Majjhimadeśa of the Buddhists are :—to the east the town Kajaṅgala and beyond it Mahâsâla ; south-east the river Salâvatî ; south the town Setakannika ; west the town and district Thuna ; north Usiradhvaja Mountain (*Mahâvagga*, V, 12, 13). Kâmpilya was originally the eastern limit of Madhyadeśa (Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 115, note). The countries of Pañchâla, Kuru, Matsya, Yaudheya, Paṭachchara, Kunti and Śûrasena were included in Madhyadeśa (*Garuḍa P.*, I, ch. 55). Madhyadeśa includes Brahmarshi-deśa which again includes Brahmâvartta (Max Müller's *Ṛig-Vêda*, Vol. I, 45).

Madhyamarâshṭra—Same as **Mahâkośala** or **Dakshiṇa-Kośala** (Bhaṭṭa Svâmin's Commentary on Kauṭilya's *Arthaśâstra*, Bk. II, Koshâdhyaksha).

Madhyameśvara—A place sacred to Śiva on the bank of the Mandâkinî (*Kûrma P.*, Pûrva, ch. 33). See **Pañcha-Kedâra**.

Mâdhyamika—Nâgari near Chitore in Rajputana, which was attacked by Menander ; he was defeated by Vasumitra, grandson of Pushyamitra and son of Agnimitra of the Suṅga dynasty, Agnimitra being the viceroy of Vidiśa (Kâlidasa's *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, Act V ; Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 199). Same as **Sibi**. But according to the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ P., ch. 32), Mâdhyamika and Śibi are two different countries, though their names are mentioned together.

Madhyârjuna—Tiruvidaimaruḍûr, six miles east of Kumbhaconum and 29 miles from Tanjore, Madras Presidency ; it was visited by Śaṅkarâchârya (Ânanda Giri's *Śaṅkaravijaya*, ch. 4, p. 16 ; *Arch. S. Rep.*, 1907-8, p. 231). It is celebrated for its temple.

Madra—A country in the Panjab between the Ravi and the Chinab. Its capital was Sâkala. Madra was the kingdom of Râjâ Śalya of the *Mahâbhârata* (Udyoga, ch. 8), and also of Râjâ Aśvapati, father of the celebrated Sâvitrî, the wife of Satyavâna (*Matsya P.*, ch. 206, v. 5 ; *Mbh.*, Vana P., ch. 292). Some suppose that Madra was also called Vâhika. Vâhika, however, appears to be a part of the kingdom of Madra (*Mbh.*, Karṇa P., ch., 45). Madra was also called Ṭakkadeśa (Hemachandra's *Abhidhâna-chintâmaṇi*).

Magadha—The province of Bihar or properly South Bihar (*Râmâyaṇa*, Âdi, ch. 32 ; *Mbh.*, Sabhâ P., ch. 24). Its western boundary was the river Sona. The name of Magadha first appears in the *Atharva-saṃhitâ*, v, 22, 14 ; xv, 2. The ancient capital of Magadha was Girivrajapura (modern Rajgir) at the time of Jarâsandha, who was killed by Bhîma, one of the five Pâṇḍavas. The capital was subsequently removed to Pâṭaliputra, which was formerly an insignificant village called by the name of Pâṭaligrâma, enlarged and strengthened by Ajâtaśatru, king of Magadha and contemporary of Buddha, to repel the advance of the Vṛijjis of Vaiśâlî. Udayâśva, the grandson of Ajâtaśatru, is said to have removed the capital from Râjagṛiha to Pâṭaliputra (*Vâyu P.*, II, ch. 37, 369)., The country of Magadha extended once south of the Ganges from Benares to Monghyr, and southwards as far as Singhbhum. The people of the neighbouring districts still call the districts

of Patna and Gaya by the name of Magâ, which is a corruption of Magadha. In the ***Lalita-vistara*** (ch. 17) Gayâśirsha is placed in Magadha. It was originally inhabited by the Cherus and the Kols, who were considered Asuras by the Aryans. After the Andhra-bhṛityas of Pâṭaliputra (see **Patna**), the Guptas reigned in Magadha. According to Cunningham the Gupta era commenced in 319 A.D., when Mahârâja Gupta ascended the throne, whereas according to Dr. Fleet (*Corp. Inscrip. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 25), it commenced in 320 A.D., when Chandra Gupta I ascended the throne of Magadha. The Guptas were destroyed by the Epthalites known in India as the Huns whose leader Laclih (Lakhan Udayâditya of the coins) had wrested Gândhâra from the Kushans and established his capital at Sâkala. His descendants gradually conquered the Gupta territories and subverted their kingdom. The capital of the Guptas was at first Pâṭaliputra, and though after Samudra Gupta's conquest it was still regarded officially as the capital, yet, in fact the seat of government was removed to different places at different times.

Magadhi—The river Sone (*Râm.*, I, 32). See **Sumâgadhî**.

Mahâbalipura—Same as **Banapura**.

Mahâbodhi—*See* **Uravilwa** (*Matsya P.*, ch. 22).

Mahâchîna—China was so called during the mediæval period (see **Chîna**).

Mahâ-Gaṅgâ—The river Alakânandâ in the Himâlaya (*Vishṇu Saṃhitâ*, ch. 85; *SBE.*, Vol. VII, p. 257 note).

Mahâkauśika—It is formed by the seven Kosis of Nepal, which are the Milamchi, the Sun Kosi (Sona Kosi) or the Bhotea Kosi, the Tamba Kosi, the Likhu Kosi the Dudha Kosi, the Aruna (*Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 19; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 84) and the Tamor (Tamra of the *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 84). The union of the Tamor, the Aruna and the Sun Kosî forms the Triveṇî, a holy place of pilgrimage. The Triveṇî is immediately above Varâha-kshetra in Purnea above Nathpur, at the point where or close to which the united Kosis issue into the plains (*JASB.*, XVII, pp. 638, 647, map at p. 761). See **Barâha-kshetra.** Of the seven Kosis, the Tamba or Tamar, and Likhu are lost in the Sun Kosi and the Barun in the Arun (*Ibid.*, p. 644 *note*).

Mahâ-Kośala—Mahâ-Kosala comprised the whole country from the source of the Narbada at Amarakaṇṭaka on the north to the Mahânadî on the south, and from the river Wain-Gaṅgâ on the west to the Harda and Jonk rivers on the east, and it comprised also the eastern portion of the Central Provinces including the districts of Chhatisgar and Rayapur (see Tivara Deva's Inscription found at Rajim in the *Asiatic Researches*, XV, 508). Same as *Dakshiṇa-Kośala* (Cousen's *Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 59; Cunningham's *Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XVII, p. 68). It was the kingdom of the Kalachuris (Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 33).

Mahâlaya—1. Same as **Oṁkâranâtha** or **Amareśvara** (*Kûrma P.*, Pt. II, ch. 3). 2. In Benares (*Agni P.*, ch. 112).

Mahânadî—1. The Phalgu river in the district of Gaya (*Mbh.*, Âdi P., ch. 215, v. 7—Nîlakaṇṭha's Commentary; Vana, chs. 87, 95). 2. A river in Orissa (*Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 3).

Mahâṇai—Same as **Mahânadî** (*K. Ch.*, p. 83, Vaṅgavâsî ed.).

Mahânandi—A place of pilgrimage in the Karnul district (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 368).

Mahâpadma-Saras—Same as **Aravalo**; the lake derives its name from the Nâga Mahâpadma The Wular or Valur lake in Kasmir (Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Vol. I, p. 174, note).

Maharashtra—The Maratha country (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 13): the country watered by the Upper Godâvarî and that lying between that river and the Krishnâ. At one time it was synonymous with the Deccan. At the time of Asoka, the country was called Mahârattha; he sent here the Buddhist missionary named Mahâdhammarakkhita in 245 B.C. (Dr. Geiger's *Mahâvamsa*, ch. XII, p. 85 *note*). Its ancient name was Asmaka or Assaka at the time of Buddha (see **Asmaka**). Its ancient capital was Pratishthâna (Paithân) on the Godâvarî. It was the capital of the junior princes of the Andhrabhritya dynasty of the Purâṇas, who were also called Śâtakarnis or in the corrupted form of the word Śâlivâhanas (*see* **Dhanakataka**). The most powerful of the Andhrabhritya kings was Pulumâyi, who reigned from 130 to 154 A.C. He overthrew the dynasty of Nahapâna who probably reigned at Jîrṇanagara (Juner). After the Andhrabhrityas, the Kshatrapa dynasty was in possession of a portion of the Deccan from 218 to 232 A.D., and after them the Âbhîras reigned for 67 years, that is up to 399 A.D.; then the Râshtrakutas (modern Râtho‌ls) called also Ratthis or Râshtrikas, from whom the names of Mahâ-rattis (Mahrâttâ) and Mahâ-râshtrika (Mahârâshtra) are derived, reigned from the third to the sixth century A.D. Then the Chalukyas reigned from the beginning of the sixth century to 753 A.D. Pulakeśi I, who performed the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, removed his capital from Paithân to Bâtâpipura (now called Bâdâmi). His grandson Pulakesi II was the most powerful king of this dynasty. He was the contemporary of Khusrau II of Persia. He defeated Harshavarddhana or Silâditya II of Kanauj. During his reign Hiuen Tsiang visited Mahârâshtra (Mo-ho-la-cha). Dantidurga of the later Râshtrakûta dynasty ascended the throne in 748 A.C., by defeating Kîrttivarman II of the Chalukya dynasty. Govinda III was the most powerful prince of the later Râshtrakuta dynasty. His son Amoghavarsha or Sarva made Mânyakheta (modern Malkhed) his capital. The Râshtrakûta dynasty was subverted in 973 A.C., by Tailapa of the later Chalukya dynasty. Âhavamalla or Someśvara I, who reigned from 1040 to 1069, removed his capital from Manyakheta to Kalyâṇa in Kuntala-deśa. His son Tribhuvanamalla Vikramâditya II was the most powerful king who reigned from 1076 to 1126 A.C. In his court flourished Vijñâneśvara, the author of the *Mitâksharâ*, and Bilhana, the author of the *Vikramâṅkadeva-charita*. The throne was usurped by Vijjala of the Kalachuri dynasty, who had been a minister of Tailapa II, in 1162 A.C., but the dynasty became extinct in 1192, and the Yâdavas became the sovereigns of the Deccan. Bhillama of this dynasty founded the city of Devagiri, modern Daulatâbad, and made it his capital in 1187 A.C. Siṅghana was the most powerful king of this dynasty. In his court flourished Chaṅgadeva, the grandson of Bhâshkarâchârya (born in Saka 1036=A.D. 1114), and son of Lakshmîdhara, who was his chief astrologer. In the reign of Râmachandra, Hemâdri, who was probably called Hemadpant and who was the author of the *Chaturvarga-chintâmaṇi*, was his minister. He is said to have constructed in the Deccan most of the temples of a certain style called Hemadpanti temples. Vopadeva, the author of the *Mugdhabodha Vyâkaraṇa*, flourished also in the court of Râmachandra. Dr. Bhau Daji, however, is of opinion that there were many persons of the name of Vopadeva: one the author of the *Mugdhabodha*, another the author of the *Dhâtupâtha* or *Kavikalpadruma*, and a third the commentator of Bhâshkarâchârya's *Lilâvati*, who was the son of Bhîmadeva, while Keśava was the father of the author of the grammatical treatise. According to Bhau Daji, the last flourished in the court of Râmachandra (Râmachandra Ghosha's *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, ch. viii, pp. 149, 150). Râmachandra or Râmadeva was the last of the independent Hindu sovereigns of the Deccan. 'Alâuddîn Khilji defeated Râmachandra, killed his son Śaṅkara and absorbed his dominions into the Muhammadan empire in 1318 A.C. (Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. xv).

But Rânjha was insistent and would not be refused. He said to Balnath: "Seeing your face has lifted the burden from my soul. By putting all the pleasures of the world behind me I have calmed my sorrows. I have now reached the degree of Jog called Chit Akas after passing through the stages of Bhut Kas and Juda Kas [the three different planes of Jog philosophy]. I will die as a Jogi on your threshold and my blood will be on your head." And when the Chelas [pupils of Balnath] saw that his heart was wavering towards Rânjha, they began to taunt their master, and their tongues were as sharp as daggers that had been sharpened on a whet-stone.

"You are opening your arms to this goodlooking Jat," they said, "and yet you do not give Jog to those who have undergone much trouble for many years. Verily Jogis have become enamoured of comely boys." And Rânjha tried to pacify them saying: "I look upon you all as equals of Balnath and you are all my brothers. With your help I may hope to get salvation in the day of Judgment."

And the Chelas replied: "Boy, listen to us. For eighteen years we have been serving him. We have given up all and live by begging. All day and night we remember God. Yet he does not give us Jog. He is sometimes like fire and sometimes like water. We cannot discover his secret."

And the Chelas in their anger intrigued with each other and rebelled against Balnath. They left the Jogi's house and kitchen. They pierced the Guru (Holy man) with their shameless taunts.

Whereupon the Guru rebuked them and his anger blazed from his eyes. The Chelas instantly obeyed him, so powerful was the enchantment that the Guru laid upon them. All ill feeling vanished from their minds. They obeyed the orders of their Guru and brought Balnath the earrings as he had told them, and the razor wherewith to shave Rânjha. And the Guru took off Rânjha's clothes and having rubbed him in ashes and embraced him, made him sit by his side. Then he took the razor of separation and shaved him completely. Then he bored his ears and put earrings on him. He gave him the beggars' bowl, the rosary, the horn and the shell in his hands, and made him learn the word Alakh [God]. He taught him the way of God and the Gurus from the beginning, saying: "Your heart should be far from other men's women. That is the way of Jog. An old woman should be treated as your mother and a young woman as your sister."

But Rânjha having achieved his desire and having been granted Jog, shook off the disguise of penitence and replied boldly to Balanth: "Cease vexing me any longer. Even though you force your advice down my throat, I will not follow it. Who has taught you to captivate young men and to ensnare them in your net?"

Hearing this Balnath reproved Rânjha, saying: "Remember you have adopted the creed of humiliation and beggary and you should banish all impure thoughts from your mind and not disgrace the creed of a fakir."

Rânjha replied: "Had I been only a lover of God I should have sought only Him. If I had been silent before the love of women, would I have deserted my family and ruined myself. Hîr has captivated my heart. That is why I have become a Jogi. I have become a Fakir only that I might keep my Love in remembrance. Had I known that you would try to keep me from my Love, I would never have set foot on your hill of Tilla. Had I known that you would bore my ears, I would have put these earrings in the fire. Set my ears right or I will bring the sepoy of the Sirkar [Government] here."

And Balnath was sad and hung his head on hearing these wild words, and he said: "Verily I repent and am sorry for having given Jog to this youth. He has got the treasures of Jog without spending a single farthing." And he entreated Rânjha to give up his wilful and evil

ways and to become a true Fakir. But Rânjha laughed him to scorn saying: "We Jats are cunning strategists and we use all means to compass our hearts desire. I will invoke the name of my Pir, my Guru and of God and pitch my flag in Rangpur where I will cut off the nose of the Kheras and spite the Sials. Do not think I can ever give up Hîr. Gurus who try to keep their disciples from women are as foolish as driven cattle. I will open my heart frankly to you. What can a Jat do with a beggar's bowl or horn, whose heart is set only on ploughing? What is the good of teaching him to tell his beads when all he can do is to tell the tale of his cattle? I will be frank with you. I must search for my beloved. She belongs to me. And I am pursuing nobody else's property. The snake of Love has coiled itself round my heart and is sucking my lifeblood from me. My bones and my flesh melt when I am separated from Hîr. Love fell on us when we were both young. Hîr had her hair in long plaits and I had a small beard. We passed the Spring and Summer of our love together. Then evil days came and Hîr's parents preferred to marry her elsewhere; and they betrothed her to the Kheras. When the storm wind of calamity fell upon me I became a Fakir and embraced the labours of austerity. You are the only true Guru in the world, and it is only through your kindness that a poor traveller can guide his boat ashore. Give me Hîr. That is all I ask. My heart begs for Hîr and for Hîr alone."

At last the Guru understood that Rânjha had been wounded sore by the arrow of love and that he would never give up the search for his beloved. So he prayed and poured ashes over his body and plunged his soul into the deep waters of meditation. He closed his eyes in the Darbar of God and uttered this prayer.

"Oh God, the Lord of earth and sky, Rânjha the Jat has given up kith and kin and all that he possesses and has become a Fakir for the love of the eyes of Hîr, who has slain him with the arrow of Love. Grant, Oh Lord, that he may get his heart's desire."

The Five Pirs also prayed in the Court of God that Rânjha might receive that which his heart desired. Then there came a reply from the Darbar of God. "Hir has been bestowed on Rânjha and his boat has been taken ashore." So Balnath opened his eyes and said to Rânjha: "My son, your prayer has been granted. The True God has bestowed Hîr upon you. The pearl and the ruby have been strung together. Go and invade the Kheras and utterly subdue them."

CHAPTER 21.

(Rânjha leaves Tilla for Rangpur disguised as a Jogi.)

So Rânjha made haste to leave Tilla and he collected strange herbs and potent roots from the woods and put them in his wallet, that he might appear as one skilled in medicine. And he determined to learn spells and enchantments and sorceries so that he might capture his beloved. He was determined that if necessary he would wear bangles like Mian Lal Hosain Shahbeg and kiss the feet of a dog like Majnun had done. So Rânjha set out from Tilla having bidden farewell to Balnath. The destroyer of the Kheras started like the stormcloud that moves to the place where it has fallen once before.

As he passed from village to village the people said to themselves: "This boy does not look like a Jogi. His wooden earrings and beggar's clothes do not suit him. His build is not that of a Jogi. His bones and feet are hard. Surely some proud woman has made him turn Fakir."

And Rânjha replied: "I am the perfect Nath descended from seven generations of Naths. I have never handled a plough. My name is Dukh Bhajan Nath and I am the grandson of Dhanantar Vaid.[1] My Guru is Hîra Nath and I am going to worship at his shrine.

[1] Dhanantar Vaid was a celebrated Hindu Physician. Dukh Bhajan Nath is a play upon words meaning the Nath weighed down by sorrows. Hîra Nath refers to his worship of Hîr.

Any one who opposes me goes sonless from this world."

And he strode off with swinging steps as one intoxicated, even as camel-men swing riding on a camel's back. He made straight for the Kheras abode even as a stream in flood sweeps down the bed of the river or as a lion springs on its victim. A partridge sang on the right as he started and he took this as a good omen.

He was filled with love even as rain pours down in the darkness of a pitch black night. As Rânjha entered the neighbourhood of Rangpur he met a shepherd grazing his sheep, and the shepherd looked at the Jogi as a lover looks into the eyes of his beloved, and said: "Tell me without disguise what country have you come from?"

The Jogi replied: "I come from the river Ganges. I am a bird of passage from the other side of the river. We Jogis stay in one place for twelve years and then wander for twelve years and we bring success to those who meet us."

The shepherd replied: "Real Fakirs do not tell lies. You claim to be a Fakir and you are telling a lie. You cannot deceive a shepherd. They are the most cunning of all mankind. You are the Sials shepherd and your name is Rânjha. You used to graze the buffaloes of Chuchak. You and Hîr used to spend your time in the forest. You are the famous lover of Hîr. The Sials were always taunted about you and Hîr. All the world knew your story. You should flee from the Kheras or they will kill you."

And the Jogi replied to the shepherd: "Surely you will be punished for telling such lies. I and mine have been Fakirs from seven generations. I have nothing to do with the world. I deal with beads of penitence and beggar bowls and live by asking alms. If you wish well for yourself do not call me a servant, for I am without doubt a holy man. I fear the very name of women. Who is Rânjha and who is Hîr? If you call me a servant I will tear you in pieces." The Jogi shook with anger. The water of wrath gleamed in his angry eyes. And the shepherd afraid of the wrath of the Jogi fell at his feet and folded his hands in supplication, saying: "Pir [*i.e.*, Holy man], forgive my sin. The grazer of buffaloes that I knew closely resembled you and such mistakes are pardonable. I will tell you all the story."

And he told the Jogi the story of Rânjha and Hîr, spread his blanket before him and treated him kindly. Meanwhile a wolf fell on the sheep, and the shepherd in his distress called to the Jogi to attack the wolf, for he had counted his flock and found the wolf had slain seven lambs and one sheep. The Jogi did as the shepherd besought him and confronted the wolf in battle. The Jogi called upon the Five Pîrs who supported him in the encounter. He smote the wolf with his beggar's bowl and the wolf fell to the ground like a log. Then the Jogi pierced him with his Fakir's tongs and brought the body to the shepherd who was amazed at the sight. So the shepherd was convinced that the Jogi was a perfect saint and endowed with miraculous power and he fell at his feet in supplication.

And Rânjha said: "Brother, let us sit down and talk together. We must take care that our secret does not leak out."

The shepherd replied: "You have disgraced the name of Love. Having won her love you should have run away with her. Either you should have never fallen in love with her, or having once loved her, you should have killed her rather than let another have her. When the Kheras took her away in marriage you should have shaved your beard in the assembly. You should have died rather than be disgraced as you have been disgraced."

Rânjha replied: "Your speech breaks my heart but we Jogis have patience even when we are trampled on."

The shepherd replied: "You fool. Take the girl away if you can. Saida is no friend of ours. You have got your ears bored and you have grazed buffaloes for twelve years and are you still afraid of what the world will say? When you go to Rangpur to beg through the

city, go carefully. The girls of the city will tease you but you should leave them severely alone and not tarnish the name of a Fakir. Sehti the sister of Saida is a clever woman and you should beware of her. She is certain to be your enemy. She is not afraid of any Fakir. She is in love with a Baluch camel-driver. You should let her understand that you know this. May God help you in your task. Fortune favours you. Your star is in the ascendant Rânjha; you are about to ascend the throne of Akbar. The jackal of Hazara is going to try and capture the lioness of Jhang. You, a fox of the jungle of Takht Hazara, will become as favoured as a delicate musk deer of Khotan. You have heaped disgrace on the Sials and now you are going to humiliate the Kheras.

CHAPTER 22.

(Rânjha arrives at Rangpur.)

So it came to pass that Rânjha came to the village of the Kheras. The girls of the village were taking water from the well when Rânjha addressed them. Some suspected he was the lover of Hîr but they said nothing. A woman told him the name of the village, and Rânjha rejoiced when he heard the name. "Ajju," she said, "is the headman of the village and Saida is his son who stole away Hîr the bride of Rânjha." And Rânjha rejoiced when he heard the name of Hîr. The children of the village followed him about as he begged from house to house and the young men asked him what he thought of the place when he had inspected all the girls.

And Rânjha replied: "How can I fix my attention on the Kheras with all these girls about? Their bright eyes slay their lovers as with a sharp sword. The scent of their flowers and the black of their eyelashes have dealt death and destruction in the bazaar."

The beauties of Rangpur thronged round the Jogi like moths round a lamp. They overwhelmed him with their surpassing beauty. His eyes shone in amazememt. When the women of the village saw the beauty of the Jogi they surrounded him in multitudes, old and young, fat and thin, married and unmarried. They poured out all their woes to the Fakir and many wept as they told their stories. Some complained of their poverty: others yearned for children: others complained of their father-in-law or mother-in-law. Some complained that their husbands beat them; others that their neighbours were unkind. Others said: "Our sons have gone to a distant country. When will they return?" Some said: "For God's sake deliver me from the pains of Love. Its flame has scorched me ever since I was born."

Rânjha made all the girls sit close to him and told them to fetch freshly broken potsherds from the kiln. On them he drew mysterious lines and signs. Some he told to wear them round their necks. Others to bind them round their loins. Others he told to put them in pitchers of water and to make all the family drink them. "Thus fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law, husbands, brothers and everybody will become kind". To others he said: "Be composed; God has fulfilled all your hopes."

The girls came trooping out of their houses when they heard of the Jogi, saying: "Mother, a Jogi has come to our village with rings in his ears. He has a beggar's bowl in his hand and a necklace of beads round his neck. He has long hair like a juggler. His eyes are red and shine with the brilliancy of fire. Sometimes he plays on the King [a musical instrument] and weeps. At other times he plays on the Nad [another musical instrument] and laughs. He calls on God day and night. He is the chela [pupil] of Balnath and the love of someone has pierced his heart."

And Saida's sister said to Hîr: "Sister, this Jogi is as beautiful as the moon and as slender as a cypress tree. He is the son of some lucky mother. He is searching about as if he had lost some valuable pearl. He is more beautiful even than you. He cries, "God be with you" as if he had lost some beloved friend. Did not Mirza and Sahiba lose their lives

for Love ? Did not Joseph suffer imprisonment for twelve years for the love of Zuleika ? Was not Kama ground to powder for Love's sake ? Surely this Jogi is a very thief of beauty and that is why he has had his ears bored. Some say he has come from Jhang Sial. Others say he has come from Hazara. Some say he is in love with somebody and that is why he has had his head shaved. Some say he is not a Jogi at all but has got his ears bored for the sake of Hîr."

And Hîr replied : " I entreat you not to touch on this subject. It appears to me that this is a true message from God, and that it is Rânjha. My love for him has already ruined my life. Why has he come to destroy me again ? He has lost his beloved and has also got his ears bored. What benefit has he received from Love ? He became a shepherd and then cast dust and ashes on his body and relinquished all hope of name or fame."

And Hîr wept secretly and tears poured like rain from her eyes. And she said to the girls : " Bring him somehow to me that we may find out where he comes from and who he is, who is his Guru and who bored his ears."

The girls drawing water at the well made merry with the Jogi, saying : " This is what becomes of the man who runs after girls. It is only those who have lost their hearts that bore their ears ". And they tantalised him by displaying their charms. They burnt his heart sorely by saying : " Hîr is very happy with the Kheras. " They sidled up to him and touched him with their hands. They said : " You have shown us your gracious presence. Now come and let your sun shine in the courtyard of Hîr. Be kind to us and walk down with us to the house of Ajju and look at Pretty Sehti. Come into her courtyard and look at Hîr." And they laughingly said : " Sir, Fakir, we stand before you with folded hands. Please accede to our request and lay us poor women under a debt of gratitude."

To which Rânjha replied haughtily : " My family have been Fakirs for seven generations and we do not know the ways of the world. I eat *kand* and *mul* [narcotic preparations of opium] in desolate places and enjoy the hermit life of the jungle. I know all about wolves, deer, lions and tigers. You are all mines of beauty, but what concern has a Jogi with beauty ? I know all about medicines and healing herbs. The haunts of people and populous cities I avoid. I only know the ways of hermits, recluses, pilgrimages, Gurus, Jogis, and Bairagis. Other people pound and sift bhang and sherbet. I sift men at a glance. I can banish fairies, jinns, women and Satan himself. By my spells and incantations, I can compel men to submit to me."

And the girls encircled round the handsome Jogi and asked him ceaseless questions about himself.

Rânjha replied : " Do not ask vain questions. A snake, a lion and a Fakir have no country. We are dervishes and have no kith and kin. What care we for bed or board, for the headman of a village or his women folk ? You are all fairy queens and wise and witty women. I am a God-intoxicated Fakir who have left the world and the things of the world behind me. I pray you leave me alone. Why pick up a quarrel with a poor Fakir ? I am helpless in your presence. Why, did not you women put Harut and Marut in the well. You defeated even Plato and Æsop. You would tease the very angels themselves. Go and look for some youth of your own age and leave the poor Fakir alone. Why do you seek to ensnare me in the entanglement of your beauty? Women verily are faithless. I will never take their advice."

So the girls went and told Hîr : " Hîr, we have entreated the Jogi but he will not listen to us. We have praised the Kheras but he takes no notice. Hîr, why do you lie weary and sad on your bed all day and no one speaks to you for fear of your displeasure."

Hîr replies : " Girls, you may pierce me with a thousand taunts, but who can withstand the decree of God ? I do not blame you. God does what he wishes. What was to be has been. All the miseries of the world have fallen on my head and yet I have not quarrelled with you."

And the girls replied : " You have only just been married. What can you know of misery ? You have shared no secrets with us. So keep your tongue under control. You yourself told us to go and fetch the Jogi and now you deny it."

And Hîr replied : " Girls, you try and fix the responsibility on others for what you have done yourselves. I was destined for evil and God has drowned me in sorrow. It was a bad day when I was given to the Kheras in marriage."

The girls replied : " Daughters-in-law are usually afraid of their fathers and brothers-in-law, but your father-in-law is afraid of you. Other brides milk the cows, knead the bread and grind the corn, but you never lift a straw. Women like you are afraid of witches in the day time but swim across broad rivers at night."

Hîr replied : " You taunt other people's daughters but you have never been entrapped in the net of Love."

The girls answered : " Why do you quarrel with us ? We never stood between you and your lover."

Hir said : " You bad wicked girls, destroyers of your own parents. What do you mean by your rash words ? What you have said has burnt my heart. Verily I have a long and weary road to travel. I would that Rânjha would come and embrace me or that even in my dreams I might meet him."

The girls replied : " What we have said has been out of kindness for you, and we bear no ill-will towards you. If the subject was grievous to you, to whom but you should we have mentioned it ? If you wished to hide your secret in your father-in-law's house, you should not have blazoned it abroad when you were living with your parents. Why do you cry out when the truth has been told you ? You should not have engaged in the game of Love without deep forethought. Now you turn round and abuse us. What object had we in calling the Jogi ? Was it not you who asked us to do it ? The whole world knows about your love. Why do you make yourself an object of disdain ?"

And Hîr replied angrily and sarcastically : " From your childhood upwards you have been learning unseemly tricks. You are the sort of girls who set aside the blanket of shame and dance in public. Verily you will be the salvation of your relatives, and the people into whose houses you marry will be exceedingly fortunate."

Meanwhile Hir's heart was rent with the pangs of separation from her lover and she was devising some way of seeing Rânjha. The Jogi at the same time decided to visit the house of Mehr Ajju. So Rânjha took up his beggar's bowl and set off begging from door to door, playing on his shell and crying : " Ye mistresses of the courtyard, give alms, give alms." Some gave him flour, others bread, others dishes of food. They asked for his blessings and he invoked blessings upon them.

Some said : " We shall acquire holiness through the power of his intercession." Others said : " He is a thief spying after brides. He will seduce our women." Said one : " He pretends to be a Fakir and pours ashes on his body. But he looks like Rânjha and has a love secret in his eyes." Said another : " See, he takes wheat flour and butter, but will not touch millet or bread crusts. He is chaffing the women and is no real Fakir."

But Rânjha went on his way unperturbed. He joked with some and scolded others and made fine scenes. He set up as a conjurer and gave some of them charmed threads and lucky knots. And Rânjha looked up and said to those round him : " We have entered

a ruined village. Not a girl sings at her spinning wheel. No one plays Kilhari [a game something like 'Here we go round the mulberry bush'] or Samni [a similar game] and makes the earth dance. No one hunts for needles or plays "Welan". No one plays Maya or makes crows or peacocks fly. No one sings Choratori or plays Garidda in the street. Let us up and leave this dull village."

And the boys replied to Rânjha: "We will show you the place where the girls sit and sing." And they took Rânjha to the place where the girls sat in their spinning parties and he saw them laughing and chaffing and breaking each other's threads for fun. And they sang sweet songs as they turned their spinning wheels, and one said mischievously to Rânjha: "The loves of one's childhood do not last longer than four days." And another said: "What do you want, Jogi?" And Sehti, to cajole him, took off his necklace. And the Jogi turned and said: "Who is this hussy?" Somebody replied: "She is Ajju's daughter." The Jogi replied: "Who is Ajju and why is she making mischief? Ajju has got a bad bargain. She is very rude to Fakirs and does not kiss their beads. She is a good-for-nothing hussy who can neither card nor spin."

And Sehti replied: "Jogi your words are harsh. If you touch me I will throw you down and then you will know who I am. Your disguise is a trick. If you enter my courtyard, I will have your legs broken and pull out your hair. I will thrash you like a donkey and then you will remember God and learn wisdom."

And Rânjha exclaimed: "Why does this snake hiss at me and why does this tigress want to drink my blood? I suppose she is tired of her husband and is hunting for lovers. And the Jogi passed on into the courtyard of a Jat who was milking his cow. He blew his horn and played on his shell and roared like an intoxicated bull. The cow alarmed by this extraordinary noise kicked over the rope and spilt the milk. And the Jat in fury exclaimed: "Fancy giving alms to this poisonous snake."

And the Jogi's eyes became red with anger and he lifted his beggar's bowl to strike the Jat. Meanwhile the Jat's wife flew at him and abused him and all his kith and kin, his grandfathers and great-grandfathers for spoiling the milk. She pushed him away and tore his shirt and flung taunts at him. The Jogi in his wrath kicked her and knocked out all her teeth. She lay on the ground like a log. And the Jat seeing his wife on the ground raised a hue and cry and shouted. "The bear has killed the fairy. He has killed my wife. Friends, bring your sticks and come to my aid."

And the men cried: "We are coming, we are coming." And the Jogi in alarm took to his heels. And as he passed by one of the houses he saw a beautiful girl sitting all alone like a princess in a jewelled chamber of the king. The Jogi was hunting for his prey like a hawk. He was as bold as a dacoit robbing a banker. He was as handsome as the Subadar of Lahore. He knocked at the door and said: "Hîr, bride of the Kheras are you well? Give me alms, give me alms." And as soon as Sehti saw him, she opposed him fiercely and said to Hîr: "He is a wicked man and nobody curbs his evil ways. I will break his bones and teach him to cast love-eyes in my courtyard." What do you mean by saying: "Are you well, Hîr? You are flaunting your beauty like an enamoured peacock. You are hunting for your beloved and yet you call on the name of Pirs and Fakirs. You sing 'Alakh, Alakh' and beg with a strange mien in your eyes. You are like a camel without a nosestring and no one dares drive you away."

And the Jogi replied: "Do not try and cajole me with your charms. It is you with your clinking jewellery that look like a vain peacock. I said 'Pir' which you mistook for 'Hîr' and nobody dares set you right. Why are you speaking harshly to wayfarers and strangers? You are oppressing poor Fakirs and causing trouble in the houses of fathers-in-law. You are like an amourous cow sparring with bulls".

And Sehti said : " Listen, sisters, to what he says. He is a Jat and no Jogi. He is a liar and a lewd fellow, wheedling his shameless fat paunch into this village. He is noway-farer and stranger, for he knows Hîr's name and then immediately says he never heard it. He will get his beggar's bowl and his beaded necklaces broken and his hair pulled, if he comes near me. Who will save him from my wrath ? He is not a headman of the village. He is a wandering minstrel, or a leather worker, or a sweeper of some serai."

The Jogi replied : " You miserable hussy, you squat snubnosed village flirt, you loincloth of Satan, beware. If a Jatti [Jat woman] quarrels with a Fakir, her lot will be one of hardship and sorrow."

The women of the village hearing the noise of voices and bickering, said to Sehti : " Why do you quarrel with the Jogi ? He sings as sweetly as Jan Sen, and he knows songs by sixties and hundreds; he spends all his time singing songs and wearing charms. It is not meet to quarrel with such folk."

And Sehti replied : " It is only fat-bellied rascals that live by begging. He is obstinate and as unbending as a beam in the roof. He is as sour as an unripe sugar-cane. His lips utter pious words but his heart is set on his beloved. When he sees Hîr he sighs and his eyes melt with Love. " And Sehti turned to the Jogi and said : " You quarrel monger, you have spoilt your ears. I will spoil the rest of you. If you sing your Jogi songs I'll make the Jats sing ribald songs about you. I'll send for a couple more young rascals like you and order them to thrash you. I'll make you dance round our courtyard like a juggler's bear. I will tear open the fresh wounds of your heart and in the day of Judgment I will get redress from your taunts ".

And the Jogi replied : " Verily you are the mother of wisdom and the grandmother of understanding. Your wit has cancelled the decrees of Fate and your words are as mysterious as an Arabic verb. Surely there is no country like Kashmir, no lustre like that of the moon, nought so sweet as the sound of a distant drum, nothing so terrifying as the earthquake in the day of Judgment and..... There is nothing so quarrelsome as Sehti. Aye, there is nothing so bitter as anger and there is nothing so sweet as the kisses from the lips of the beloved. There is no book like the Koran and no silence like that of death. There are none so fortunate as the Kheras, no one so full of sin as the Poet Waris and there is no spell like that of his poetry."

And Sehti replied: " Why quarrel with women and bandy words with small girls ? What are the things that can never keep still ? Water, wayfarer's dogs, lads given to debauchery and Fakirs. You are no Jogi. Tell us from where came Jog. From whence came Shinas and Bairag ? From whence came the beggar's horn and beggar's bowl and the praying beads ? Who gave you the commandment to wear long hairs ? Who ordered you to smear your bodies with dust and ashes ? "

The Jogi replied: " Solomon is the Pir of Jinns and evil spirits. Self-interest is the Pir of all Jats and Love is the Pir of all lovers. Listen, Sehti, and I will tell you the way of Jog. We Fakirs are like black snakes and we acquire power and virtue by reading spells. We get up at midnight and pore over sacred books by the banks of untrodden streams. We expel all impurities from our speech by using the toothbrush of repentance and we sit on the carpet of true belief. We become deaf and dumb by holding our breath in the tenth position. We can ward off deceit and burn evil spirits. We can cast spells and destroy those whom we want to destroy. We can make absent lovers smell the fragrance of their beloved's presence. Women who revile us we can make ride in penance on an ass with a shaved head. Let virgins beware who oppose our power or it will fare ill with their virginity."

CHAPTER 23.

(*Rânjha meets Hîr.*)

And Sehti replied : " Jogi if you have all these powers, perhaps you can cure our bride Hîr. Every day she is getting weaker."

And Rânjha replied : " Sehti, beguile me not with vain words. Bring your bride here that I may see her and inspect the colour of her eyes and face. I will see her veins and feel her pulse. Then I will prescribe a remedy. But she must tell me when the disease began and tell me the taste in her mouth. Through the blessing of my Pir and teacher, I can tell the names of all diseases. I can whisper the call to prayer in the ears of a newly-born babe. I can weave spells and put children to sleep with lullabies. I can dry up the womb of women and slay liars, adulterers and infidels. With cunning oils and potent herbs I can cure pains and paralysis and the eighteen kinds of leprosy. With the spleen of a roasted goat I can cure blindness. With boiled Ghaghar herbs I can bring about miscarriage. I can make a perfect cure of a barren woman by letting out blood from her ankle vein. I can assuage the pain of wounds with an ointment of soap and soda. If a man has toothache I can pluck out his tooth with my pincers. Those who cannot see in the dark, I can restore to sight by giving them hot roasted oil-seeds. I can cure a withered arm or a benumbed leg by rubbing in oil of a pelican. If a man is attacked by epilepsy, I apply the leather of my shoe to his nostril. If a man's face is awry, I show him the looking-glass of Aleppo and he is cured. I cure stomach-ache with the milk of a she-camel. With cooling draughts of Dhannia, I can assuage the fires of passion. When a man is at the point of death and gasping with his last breath, I put honey and milk in his mouth. At his last hour, when the expiring life sticks fast in the gullet of the dying man, I recite the Holy Koran and his soul passes away in peace. But you must tell me what disease your bride has got or else all your talk will be vain and all my spells and power will be of no avail. Also, my beautiful one, you should not be proud of your beauty or hold your head so high, for what cares a Fakir for your beauty or for your beautiful sister-in-law Hîr ? Your Hîr is a crane and she has been mated to an owl. Your fairy has been yoked to an ass. Like to like. You should not mate a high-bred Arab mare to an ass."

About this time Hîr came into the courtyard and from one of the inner chambers she overheard the words of the Jogi. And she wondered who the speaker might be and she said to herself : " He calls me a docile mare and the Khera an ass. Perhaps he will sympathise with me. Perhaps God has sent my cowherd back. Perhaps he has obeyed my word and got his ears bored. Who else can speak in such dark riddles. The girls hint mysteriously, he is a Jogi, but perhaps he is my king Rânjha. Nobody but Rânjha could know my name. I will stand up to him and answer him face to face."

And Hîr said to the Jogi : " Jogi, go away from here. Those who are unhappy cannot laugh. Why should one disclose the secrets of one's heart to Jogis, strangers and fools ?"

The Jogi replied to Hîr : " We are the perfect Fakir of God. Ask anything from us, fair beauty, and we can bring it about. If a lover parts from his beloved one, with spells of magic numbers we can unite them. We can reconcile friends who have fallen out. We can cure all pain and disease and avert the onslaught of calamity. Do not be obstinate but give alms to a poor fakir."

And Hir replied : "It is not true, Jogi; parted friends cannot be reunited. I have searched far and wide but have found no one who can accomplish that. Tell me when will the true God bring back the lover I have lost. If anybody can remove the pain in my heart he may make shoes of my flesh. Oh Poet Waris Shah ! if I hear that my lover is returning, I will offer sweet cakes and light my lamps with rich butter for oil."

And the Jogi replied : "I know all the secrets of the universe. On the resurrection day everything will be revealed. On that day the sky and clouds will cleave asunder. When Israfil blows his trumpet all the habitations of men will fall down. The supports of heaven will be rent asunder. The snake and the bull (who according to tradition support the earth) will be filled with fear on that day. The mountains will fly into small pieces. All that will remain will be the seven last things : the chair and the throne of God, the tablet of destiny, and the pen, paradise, the soul, and hell. Everything will vanish in an instant. Only lovers and fakirs will remain constant." Then turning to Hîr he said : " If you will sit near me I will open the Holy book and by casting magic lots, I will tell your horoscope. ' You were a little girl and your hair was hanging down your back. He was a boy with the early down of manhood on his lips. He played on a flute. Your eyes clashed in love and two hearts were captivated by each other. He was sold at the very shop of love and he grazed somebody's buffaloes in hopes of his reward, but you married and his hopes were drowned in the deep waters of despair. The five Pîrs had married you to him and this second marriage was not lawful. Love has ruined him and now he is roaming about disconsolate in forests and desolate places. He went to Tilla and got his ears bored and became a Jogi. He has to-day entered your village. He is not far from you.' All this I have found in the book of the signs of the stars."

And Hîr stood up and said : "The Jogi has read the signs of the stars correctly. He is a true pandit and jotshi. Tell me Jogi, where is my lover who stole my heart away and brought ruin on himself ? "

The Jogi replied : "Why are you searching outside ? Your lover is in your own house. Put off your veil my beautiful bride and look if you cannot see your lost lover."

And Hîr said : "Jogi it cannot be true. He cannot be in the house." Then she decided to draw aside her veil. She glanced at the Jogi and behold it was her lost lover. And she said to him softly : "Our secret must be hidden from the eyes of Sehti."

The Jogi replied : " Bride of the Kheras, do not teach wisdom to the wise. Be not proud of your beauty but be kind to old friends."

CHAPTER 24.

(Sehti quarrels with the Jogi and turns him out of the house.)

When Sehti saw that the hearts of Hîr and the Jogi had become one and that Hîr had fallen under his spell, she began abusing the Jogi to her. "Sister, all Jogis are liars. This snubnosed squat dirty-faced wicked Jogi cannot be trusted."

The Jogi replied : "You should catch hold of the feet of the Fakir in humility and with supplication instead of quarrelling with him. You are a lucky woman to be so fond of camels and suchlike. Ah ! by the grace of God, my Pîr tells me everything."

Sehti flared up in wrath : "You are a lewd slippery-tongued person. What do you mean with your pointed remarks about camels. Are you charging me with theft. Your shoulders seem itching for a beating. Fat fellows like you should be sent to look after ploughs and buffaloes."

The Jogi : " A Jat woman is only good for four things : pressing wool, scaring sparrows, grazing lambs and nursing a baby. She loves quarrels and beats fakirs. She looks after her own family and abuses others."

Sehti : " I will beat you with cudgels and knock your teeth out. "

Jogi : " You are going the way to feel my stick round your legs. Girls with fringes over their foreheads should not quarrel with holy fakirs. I can ruin you utterly, as I have saintly power in each finger tip."

Hîr glanced at the Jogi and made signs to him to stop quarrelling and she urged Sehti not to quarrel with the Jogi.

And Sehti replied : " See, what has happened. The fakir has ensnared the bride of Saida. You have drunk grey buffaloes milk and make eyes at your lover. "

Hîr flashed back at Sehti : " Girls who quarrel with fakirs like this must be wanting husbands very badly. You are always interfering when grown-up boys come in sight. You are as obstinate as a negress. "

Sehti : Friends, " My sister-in-law is murdering me. She is siding with the fakir. Either the Jogi is her lover or he has brought some message from her lover."

Hîr : " My sister-in-law ever claims to be washed in milk and virtue, and now she calls me a leader of thieves. In very truth loose women have become grand ladies and ugly women are flaunting themselves as if they were peacocks in the garden of beauty. Look at this loose-tongued seductive darling of the Belooches. A crawling deceitful reptile who devours men's hearts. Look at her showing off her airs and graces like a prostitute of Lahore."

Then Sehti lost her temper and said to her maidservant Rabel : " Let us give this fakir alms and turn him out. Give him a handful of millet and tell him to go away."

So Rabel gave him a handful of millet and bade him angrily begone. Sehti had first charmed him with her blandishments. Then she turned him out and sent him packing. She entered the garden of the Feringhees [7] and set the well machinery going. She disturbed the sleeping snake.

The Jogi was furious at being treated in this scurvy manner and burst forth in anger : " You are shaving my beard in giving me mere birds' food. You have defiled my beggar's bowl and I shall have to wash my rosary."

And Rabel replied : " Why do you find fault with millet. All Jats eat it. It is the food of the hungry and poverty-stricken. It is the father and mother of the poor."

And Sehti threw some millet into his cup and the cup fell to the ground and broke.

And the Jogi cried : " A great tyranny has been committed. You have ruined the fakir by breaking his cup. May your lover die, you tyrant of a woman. You taunted your sister-in-law with her lover. Why did you fall in love with Murad the camel man ? You fell into the hand of the Belooches like a stolen camel. He looted you of your boasted virginity."

And Sehti replied : " What do we Jats know about cups ? Go and spend a farthing and ask a potter to make you a new one."

And the Jogi wept when he saw the broken cup, and he said : " My Pîr gave it to me and it was very precious. And he tried to pick the broken pieces up and in so doing he caught Hîr's eyes and he said to Sehti : " You have broken my cup and tell me to get another made by a potter. Have you no fear of Almighty God. If I tell my Pîr he will ruin your family."

7 Europeans. The only reference to them in the poem.

And Sehti replied : "Your cup got broken by fate. You can buy a tub at my expense if you like. Who can resist God's fate ? Fate expelled Adam and Eve from paradise and drove them down to earth. Fate overthrew Pharoah in the river and fate put a prince and a prophet like Joseph in the well. Fate has shaved your beard and bored your ears. No one can escape from Fate."

And Hîr said to Sehti : "What strange perverseness is this ? Why quarrel with holy fakirs whose only support is God ? Why do you break his cup and ill-treat him at my door ? Why bring down ruin on happy homes and why burn those who have already been scorched by the fire of love ?"

And Sehti replied : "O virtuous one whose sheet is as stainless as a praying mat. The whole house is yours and who are we. You are as important as if you had brought a shipload of clothes from your father's house. You flirting hussy and milker of buffaloes ! You are still running after men. You never speak a word to your husband Saida, but you are hand and glove with the Jogi."

Hîr replied : "You have picked up a quarrel with the fakir. You are sure to run away with somebody. You won't stay long in your husband's house and you will be defamed in all the streets and bazaars of the town. Beware ! The Fakir is dangerous. Do not tease him or he will cause trouble. He is simply and quietly worshipping his Guru. Take care that he does not invoke his aid. Otherwise his wrath will descend on us like a sudden invasion of Ahmed Shah and God save Jandiala.[8] Remember Alexander touched the feet of a fakir and then he conquered the fort of Daz. A fakir gave his blessing to Timurlane and sovereignty remained in his family for several generations. Go and fall at the feet of the fakir or his curse will fall on you."

Sehti replied : "Sister, I have been scorched by your taunts and bitter words. I will take poison. I will either die or kill him or get you beaten. As sure as I am a woman I will tell my brother of your disgraceful conduct with the shepherd."

Finally, after many hot words on both sides, Sehti got so enraged that she and her maid snatched up the long pestle with which they grind rice and rushed on the Jogi. They broke his beggar's bowl and rosary. They felled him to the ground. They broke his head with milk pots and crushed him even as Abu Samand fell on Nawab Hosain Khan at Chunian.

Then the Jogi was wrath. He remembered his Pîr. He girded up his loins and he smote his assailants even as the Pathan of Kasur looted the camp of the Bakhshi. He caught them by the hair and dragged them round the courtyard. He slapped them, beat them, and pinched them.

And Hîr cried out from inside : "For God's sake Jogi stay your hand." And the women of the neighbourhood hearing the altercation assembled like a flock of Cabul dogs and they thrust the Jogi out of the courtyard.

And Rânjha complained bitterly to Hîr of the way he had been used, and he entreated God, saying : "Why hast thou separated me from my beloved after bringing us together ? What sin have I committed that I have been given a glimpse of Paradise and then turned out in the wilderness ? What can I do ? I have no money to give to the officers and no tribute to enable me to reach to the darbar." And the Jogi wept bitterly and he said to himself : "I will fast forty days and forty nights and I will recite a powerful enchantment which will overcome all difficulties and will unite me to my beloved." And he swore to take vengeance on Sehti, if the five Pîrs would help him.

8 The birthplace of the poet.

CHAPTER 25.

(Rânjha retires to Kalabagh.)

And Rânjha meditated deeply in his heart, and he collected ashes from the hearth and sat down on a hillock in the garden of Kalabagh. And he kindled fire and meditated on God, and sparks came from his body. He stopped his breath and meditated like a holy mahant, and under the shadow of the tree he was absorbed in deep meditation. Then he recited spells and incantations. And a voice came from the five Pîrs saying: "Go to, My child, your grief is gone. You will meet your beloved in the morning." And Rânjha was pleased when he heard the voice of the five Pîrs, and he said to himself: "Now I shall meet my beloved."

And it came to pass that on Friday all the girls of the village assembled to pay a visit to the garden in Kalabagh. They descended on the garden in their battalions of beauty as a flock of slender cranes. The earth trembled at the onset of these fairies. And they fell on the hut of the Jogi. They put out his fire, threw away his beggar's bowl and wallet and scattered his bhang. They broke his pestle and mortar. They threw away his turban, his chain and his tongs, his cup and his horn. They destroyed his possessions and looted him as armies have looted the Panjab. Then the Jogi gave a loud roar from inside the garden and with a stick in his hand advanced to attack them even as a garrison of a fort makes a night attack on its besiegers. And he cried in his wrath: "Where is the caravan of these female devils." The girls hearing the terrible roar of the Jogi, all ran away, all save one beautiful sparrow whom he caught.

She cried: "help, help," and threw off all her clothes and ornaments to save her life. "You are a demon," she cried, "and we are helpless fairies. If you touch us we shall die. What have you to tell me? What message have you to send. My aunt Hîr has been your friend from the beginning. We all know she is your beloved. I will take her any message you give me."

The Jogi sighed when he heard the name of Hîr and he sent a message through the girl to Hîr complaining how badly she had treated him; and the girl ran off and told Hîr, saying: "I had gone to play with my girl friends and he told me his secret. All day he fixes his eyes on the path leading to the village and all night he girds up his loins and counts the stars in despair. Tears flow from his eyes like the rains in summer. When you got into your Dooli and hid yourself from your lover, all the world mocked at you. Your cruel treatment of Rânjha has pierced the heart of the whole world. Everybody says you belong to the shepherd. He is being tortured and taunted about you every day."

And Hîr replied to the girl: "Rânjha has been foolish to babble the secret of his heart to a woman. Did not Mansur get crucified for telling his secret? Did not Joseph get put in the well for telling his dream? Have not parrots been put in cages for chattering? True lovers conceal the insanity of their love. Those who disclose their secret are the losers on the battlefield of love. What has happened to Rânjha's wits that he has spoilt the whole affair? Why should not I be proud of my beauty? I will darken my eyelashes and with the power of my eyes make Rânjha and Saida fight over me. I will subdue the garden of Kalabagh and levy tribute on Jog."

The next day in order to compass the object of her desire, Hîr went to Sehti and clasped her feet and tried to win her over with soft words saying: "Sister, forgive me, I entreat you for all my faults and for having quarrelled with you. You may abuse me twice over for all I have abused you. If you will accomplish my desire and bring my lover back to me, I will be your slave for ever. My house and property, my gold and silver, all my cows and my buffaloes will be yours. Rânjha has been my lover from the beginning, when we were boy

and girl together. He has humbled himself for my sake. He has renounced home and fortune and has tended buffaloes. He has bored his ears and has become a Jogi for my sake."

And Sehti tossed her head and said: "You clasp my feet to achieve your own object. You turned me out of the house and now you come and beseech me with folded hands. Verily selfishness rules the actions of all people in this world."

And Hîr still further besought Sehti with honeyed words saying: "Sister, speak kindlly to me. You should sympathize with those who are in trouble. Let us go into the garden and become reconciled with the Jogi. Bhag bhari,[9] help me to meet my Rânjha. Those who do good actions will be rewarded in Paradise. If you restore Hîr to her lover, you will meet your own lover Murad."

CHAPTER 26.

(Sehti and Hîr make friends.)

And Sehti's heart leapt with joy even as Satan dances with delight when a sinner forgets to say his morning prayers. And she said to Hîr: "Go, I have forgiven your fault, as you have been faithful in love from the beginning. Let us go and bring about a reconciliation of the lovers."

So Sehti filled a big dish with sugar and cream and covered it with a cloth and put five rupees therein. Then she went to the garden of Kalabagh and stood with her offering near the Jogi.

And the Jogi when he saw her coming muttered: "Why does a blast from hell blow on holy men? We asked for rain and a hot wind has sprung up to scorch us."

And Sehti salaamed with folded hands, but Rânjha gave no reply. The heart of the lover however softened on seeing Sehti in a mood of entreaty.

And the Jogi said to Sehti: "Women were created as the origin of discord from the very beginning of the world. Those who wedded them were ruined while those who held aloof from women became saints and acceptable to God. It was women who got Adam expelled from Paradise."

And Sehti replied: "It was not women but the greed of men that expelled Adam from Paradise. The angel told him not to eat the grain of wheat and not to go near the forbidden tree and the same order was given to the peacock and the snake. But the lust of the belly prevailed. He ate wheat and he was expelled from Paradise."

The Jogi replied: "Why do you speak ill of men? Women have been bad from the beginning. Has not God said: 'Verily, women, your deceit is great.' Their deceitfulness is mentioned in the Koran. When have they ever been faithful to any one?"

And Sehti replied: "Why abuse women? It is men who are bad. They are not content with their lawful wives but go hunting for the petticoats belonging to other men. It is men who are shameless and black faced. They come to their senses when they lose their wives and then they say: 'It is Destiny.' They sit at the feet of Mullahs and listen to the doctrines of Hypocrisy. How goes the well-known saying: 'To have a wife is equivalent to being in possession of Half Religion.' Only he who is married can have prayers lawfully said over him when he dies. God has said in the Koran, "MARRY." A home looks well with a wife even as lamps look well on a dark night. Why do you find fault with those who gave you birth and why do you declare them to be the sisters of Satan?

[9] This is an apostrophe to the woman with whom the poet Waris Shah fell in love

If there were no women in the world the universe would come to an end. Did not God create all things in couples. The earth and the sky, day and night, man and woman. Is it not said in the Koran, 'We have created every living thing in pairs' Tell me, Jogi, why do you claim to be a great Saint? You fill your belly and you gorge your appetite like a donkey and you forget to thank God. You send messages by little girls. Your ways are full of deceit. You call yourself a wise man and boast of your knowledge. Tell me what is in the basket underneath this sheet? How much money is there and what is the vessel made of?"

And Rânjha replied: "The dish is filled with sugar and rice and you have put five farthings on the top of it. Go and see, if you have any doubt in your mind."

So Sehti uncovered the dish and looked at it, and behold, it was full of sugar and rice. And when Sehti beheld the miracle which the Fakir had performed, she besought him with folded hands saying: "I have been your slave from the beginning with all my heart and soul. I will follow your footsteps and serve you with devotion as your maid servant. My heart, my property, all my girl friends and Hîr herself belong to you. I now put all my trust in God's Fakir."

And Rânjha said to Sehti: "I have grazed buffaloes for many years for the sake of Hîr. Tell her that the grazer of buffaloes is calling her. Bring Hîr the Sial to me, and then you will obtain your lover Murad. Say to her: 'Take off your veil, my beloved, and come.' Tell me, for God's sake, what fault I have committed and shew me your moonlike face. The long snakes of your locks have entangled me. The arrows of your eyelashes have pierced my heart. Love has swept the curtain of shame. I am being pounded incessantly by the heavy artillery of love. You walk as beautifully as a partridge. Very lovely is the walking of my beloved. O sweet is the redness of your lips. Shew them to me. I have given up the world and become a fakir for your sake. Either come yourself into the garden or take me into your house my beloved."

And Sehti replied: "I can live only if I meet Murad. I can only go with your message if you will bring me my lover. If you bring Murad I will fall at your feet. His love has ruined me and I am like roasted meat day and night."

And Rânjha replied: "Sehti, be sure that God will bring your lover to you. I will recite such a powerful spell that he will come at once. God by his grace will bring him hundreds of miles in an instant."

CHAPTER 27.

(Sehti takes Rânjha's message to Hîr and Hîr meets Rânjha in the garden.)

So Sehti went to Hîr and gave her the message of the Jogi, saying: "You got him to tend your buffaloes by deceit and now you have broken your promise and married Saida. He has turned Fakir and covered his body with dust and ashes. He has ruined his name and honour. By the practice of great austerities, he has obtained the help of the five Pîrs, and he has shown me his power by a miracle. Go to him at once as a submissive subject with a present in your hand, for a new governor (Faujdar) has been appointed to rule over us. I have seen each miracle of his more wonderful than the last. It is as if Christ had come down from Heaven to earth."

Hîr replied to Sehti: "I will go and unveil myself to Rânjha and dispel his sorrow, for my life is the dust of his feet and my heart and soul belong to him. Rânjha is lying stricken sore with the pains of separation from his beloved. I will go like Jesus and bring him to life."

So Hîr took a bath and clothed herself in silk and scented her hair with attar of roses and all manner of sweet scents. She painted her eyes with antimony and rubbed 'watna' and 'dandasa' on her lips, and the beauty of them was doubled. She put handfuls of earrings in her ears and anklets on her feet. Jewels shone on her forehead. She was as beautiful as a peacock.

And when Rânjha saw her coming, he said : "This is either a fairy that I see or it is Hîr the Sial."

And Hîr salaamed with folded hands and caught Rânjha's feet, saying: "Embrace me, Rânjha, for the fire of separation is burning me. My heart has been burnt to a cinder. I return your deposit untouched. Since I plighted my troth to you I have embraced no other man. Let us go away together my beloved wherever you will. I obey your orders." And Hîr threw herself round his neck.

The moth was burnt in the flame. Out of the smoke the fire was kindled. Like mad things they swung together in the intoxication of Love. The poison of Love ran fire through their blood. The news of their meeting spread through all the world where the drums of Love were beaten.

Then Hîr left Rânjha and consulted Sehti how she might arrange to meet him again: "You will get Murad," said she, "and I will get my lover. Let us make some plan to meet our lovers, so that I may spend the rest of my life with Rânjha ; for youth and beauty are but the guests of a few days. Let us enjoy them while we can."

Now when Hir came back to her house after seeing Rânjha in the garden, her girl friends Raeban and Saifan saw her heightened colour and they said to her : "Sister, what has befallen you that your forehead shines like a rose. Your complexion is like the down on a golden oriole. When you set out you were as one dead and now your beauty is ravishingly alive. Your eyes gleam with happiness like the leaping water of a stream. Somebody has set the well of beauty in motion. Your breast is heaving under your red shirt. Somebody has kissed the lamp-black off your eyes. Somebody has been celebrating the high festival of Id in the garden of Kalabagh. The hungry have been filled and fakirs have fed to their hearts content. Pearls that Saida never touched have been polished by others to-day. Perhaps Rânjha has looted your garden of all its fruit."

And Hîr replied to her girl friends : "Why are you teasing a poor girl like me ? I have a touch of asthma and that is why the colour comes into my cheeks. I ran after a run-away calf and that is why the strings of my skirt are loose on both sides. My sides are red because I was lying face downwards looking over the top of my house. I was sucking at my lips and that is why the colour has come off them. I was looking down the path leading to my home and a calf came down the lane and pressed me against the side of the house. That is why I have scratches on my body. I swear nothing else has happened. Why do you tease me and say what is unseemly ?"

The girls replied : "Sister, the colour of your eyes is red like blood. Your beauty is like the flowers in spring. The Kheras have been put to confusion to-day."

Hîr replied: "Some spell has come over my mind to-day. And I do not feel inclined to work. I must have walked over some magic plant by mistake or some wizard has cast his enchantment over me. The red cloths of the Kheras seem to me like flames of fire to-day."

The girls replied: "Ho, Ho! To-day the Panjab has fallen into the hand of Kandharis. Some one has looted your beauty to-day."

Hîr replied: "Sisters, why do you teaze me with your taunts? I was knocked over by a buffalo in the way and he tore off all my bangles and earrings: he chased me with loud roars. I was going to run away in fright just as girls run away when they see their intended husbands. Thanks to my good fortune I met a fakir who took me safely back to the village."

And the girls replied : "Sister, this bull has been pursuing you for a very long time. It is curious he tramples on nobody's fields but yours and only steals your grapes. This bull has come from Hazara and is at the present moment lying distraught in the garden crying "HÎR, HÎR."

And Hîr said: "Sisters, I am not happy among the Kheras. God and the prophet are my witness."

CHAPTER 28.

(Sehti and Hîr plan a strategem.)

And Sehti and H r consulted together how Hîr might leave the Kheras and be united to Rânjha. Sehti invented a cunning strategem. She forsook all the traditions of the Faith. She consulted the book of the curses of God, and deceits in the volume of Satan.

Sehti went to her mother and spoke to her about Hîr saying : " Mother, Hîr is not well. She is becoming thinner every day. She lies on her couch all day and looks miserable. She will not touch her spinning wheel or her wool basket. She neither eats nor drinks and her body withers away with grief. As elephants are the pride of armies and cows and buffaloes are the pride of the farm-yard, so sons' wives are the pride of the house. But this bride whom we purchased with so much difficulty is the beginning of our misfortune. She takes fire when she sees Saida her lawful husband, and he runs away from her as from an evil spirit. We never see her happy or laughing. We have consulted Mullahs and physicians and Hakims and they cost much money. Let us conquer the obstinacy of this wilful bride. Saida should chide her and beat her and we will not interfere."

And Hîr came before her mother-in-law like Umar the trickster [Umar was a famous trickster mentioned in the stories of Faizi, brother of Abu Fazl, minister of Akbar] and wove a cunning web of deceit saying: "Mother, I am weary of staying indoors. May I go iuto the fields with Sehti ? Let me see green gardens. My heart is weary sitting in the house."

And her mother-in-law was silent and pondered the matter in her heart. And Sehti broke in saying: " Sister, come into the fields with me. Mother, she is wasting away because she never leaves her house; we are spoiling the health of this rosebud bride by keeping her indoors."

And Sehti's mother replied: "Hîr may go and walk about, and maybe she will recover her health and strength. At present she lies day and night like a sick woman. Let her rid care from her mind and laugh with her lips, and let the bud of my hope blossom again. She can go with you if she wishes and you may take her into the fields where she may enjoy the company of her girl friends. But remember, Hîr, be prudent, and when you leave this house do not do what is unbecoming to a bride. Take God and the Prophet to witness."

Having thus obtained her mother's permission, Sehti assembled her girl friends together. " Friends, " said Sehti, " You must all get up early, before daybreak, without telling your parents beforehand. To please the bride Hîr, she is to be taken into the garden and she will also pick cotton in the fields."

The girls sat up half the night weaving their plans. They were as beautiful as princesses and as wicked as the grandmother of Satan. They challenged each other to wrestle the next morning on the well. There was Kammoo the sadler's wife, Sammi the baker's wife, Bakhtawar the wife of the blacksmith, Tajo the wife of the watchman, and the wife of the barber; there was Nando the water carrier's wife and Daulati the girl with seven brothers, and many others. It was agreed that they should all go to the fields in the early morning.

So in the morning they all assembled together. Not a girl remained in the village. It was as if the Turks had drawn up their armies to invade Hindustan. There were Amir Khatun, Salamati, Bholan and Imam Khatun Gujari, Rahmatia Daulta and Bhagi the minstrel's wife, and Mîran the singing girl, and Chand Kaur the beautiful Jatti with Miman her pretty friend. There were Suhkdei, and Mangti, and Sahiba, and Jhando, the wicked girl, who teased

her friends, and Hiro with her dark painted eyes, and Darshani and Daropti from the hills with their "Achna Gachna" and queer hill jargon. There was Nur Begum from Kandahar who spoke Persian, and Kammoo from Baghdad who spoke Arabic, and Nur Bibi and Thakur Bibi who sang ravishing songs.

They laughed and sang and played games together, and one of them took a sharp thorn from an acacia bush and pricked Hîr's foot. Sehti bit it with her teeth and caused blood to flow, and they pretended Hîr had been bitten by a snake. And Hîr wept and cried and rolled on the ground saying: "I am dying; call somebody to cure me." Her face grew yellow and her eyes became pale, she clenched her teeth and fainted.

And Sehti raised a cry: "The bride has been bitten by a black snake." So the girls put her on a bed and brought her home and all the people of the village left their work and gathered together to see her. Never was such a crafty swindle found in any book. They shaved the very beard of Plato. Satan came and salaamed and said: "I have been outmatched by these girls."

The people of the village when they saw Hîr said: "A venemous snake has bitten her. Her breath comes quick; the poison has run into every vein of her body." Some said: "Give her butter and milk;" others said: "Search out an enchanter who knows powerful spells."

And the Kheras brought hundreds of Fakirs and Hakims and enchanters and they gave her cunning drugs. They brought Tiriak snakes from Hazara and amulets and incense. They applied milk of "AK" to the wound, powdered metals and curds of milk which no woman or man had ever cast eyes upon. They spent bags of money trying to cure the bride.

And Hîr's mother-in-law beat her breast and said: "These cures do no good. Hîr is going to die. Hîr's fate will soon be accomplished."

And Sehti said: "This snake will not be subdued by ordinary spells. There is a very cunning Jogi in the Kalabagh garden in whose flute there are thousands of spells. Cobras and Krites bow down before him and hooded snakes and crested snakes stand in awe of him. All evil spirits and Jinns fly away at his word".

So Ajju said to Saida: "Son, brides are precious things. Go to the Fakir and salaam him with folded hands."

So Saida got ready his shoes and girt up his loins and took a stick in his hand and walked rapidly to the garden where the Jogi was. He was as yellow as a straw from anxiety about Hîr. And he caught the feet of the Jogi and implored him saying: "My wife went into a cotton field to pick cotton and a black snake bit her. She is writhing with pain day and night. We have tried all the physicians and enchanters but to no purpose. Sehti has told us of you and the whole family has sent me to call you."

When the Jogi heard Saida's voice his heart leapt within him and he suspected that Sehti and Hîr had invented some cunning strategem.

And the Jogi spake to Saida and said: "Who can avoid destiny? Snakes bite according to the decree of destiny. Holy men who live like hermits in the jungle have no concern with the affairs of this world and shrink from the company of women. The snakes of Jhang Sial obey no one's enchantment. What if the Jatti die? Then the fakir will be happy. Fakirs should not go near women. Why should we treat your Jatti? We have ruined our own family. Why should we concern ourselves with yours, you whore's son?"

And Saida fell at his feet and implored him to come and heal Hîr, saying: "She wept when she got out of the marriage palanquin. She would have nothing to say to me or to any of my family. If I touch her she raises a cry. I cannot come near her bed as she shrinks from me in fear. She is always weeping."

Whereupon the Jogi drew a square on the ground and thrust a knife therein and said : " Sit down Jat, and swear on the Koran that you have never touched Hîr." He put the knife to his throat and made him swear and Saida swore saying : " May I be a leper if I ever touched Hîr."

Then suddenly the Jogi blazed with anger and roared at Saida : " You have come into my holy hut with your shoes on. You have profaned this holy place. And he thrust him out and beat him even as cattle are thrust out of the cattle pen. He dealt so severely with Saida that he was covered with blood, and Saida ran to his house weeping and told his story to his father saying : " He is not a Jogi but a robber and a dacoit. " And Ajju was wroth and said : " As he has treated my son so will I treat him. I will have a speedy vengeance upon him."

Thereupon Sehti said : " Father, you should go yourself to the Jogi. Perhaps Saida stood with pride before him and not with proper humility."

CHAPTER 29.

(Rânjha is called in to cure Hîr's snakebite.)

So Ajju said : " I will go if all of you wish it." So Ajju went and stood before the Jogi with folded hands and besought him to come and cure Hîr. And the Jogi at last consented, and as he went to the house of Ajju a partridge sang on the right for good luck. Thus the Kheras themselves worked their own destruction and shaved their own heads. The wolf had been called in to guard the flock . Ajju thought himself a great man as he had brought the Fakir.

" Sister," said the women : " Let us rejoice that Hir's life has been saved. The physician she longed for has now come. All her pain and trouble has gone. The perfect Saint has come, even he that deserted his home and became a cowherd and then a jogi. The man whose name was abhorred by the Kheras has been brought by Hîr's own father-in-law."

Meanwhile Sehti took charge of the Jogi and lodged him in the hut belonging to the village minstrel. And the Jogi gave his orders that bread must be cooked for the holy man. " No man or woman must come near or cast their shadow on it. A separate place must be prepared and Hîr's couch placed on it. I will burn incense at night. I will read enchantments over her. None must be allowed to come near her as the snake is a powerful one and his bite is difficult to cure. Only Sehti may come ; only a virgin girl must be allowed to cross the threshold. "

And the Kheras did as the Jogi bade them and put Hîr in the cottage with the Jogi, and Sehti was with them.

But Ranjha's heart was heavy within him as he sat in the hut, and at midnight he remembered the Five Pîrs. He kissed the handkerchief of Shakerganj and took the ring of Lal Shahbaz ; he smelt the sweet savour that came from the cudgel of Sayyad Jalal of Bokhara, and he grasped the dagger given him by Makdum Jahanian. And Rânjha prayed : " May the Five Pîrs bless my enterprise and make my way easy. And Pîr Bahaudin shook the earth and the way was opened unto Rânjha, and a voice spake : " Jat, arise, go on your way. Why are you sleeping ? The way has been opened for you."

And Rânjha went outside the house and made ready to depart, and Sehti came to him and salaamed to him saying : " For the love of God, take my poor boat ashore. I have set all the plans of the Kheras at naught and tarnished the reputation of the whole family. For the sake of your love I have given Hîr into your hand. Now give me my lover Murad. This is the only request I have to make to you."

And Rânjha lifted his hands and prayed to God: "O God restore this Jatti's lover to her. She has brought to accomplishment my desire. She has brought about the union of lovers and for the sake of love has become of ill-fame throughout all the world."

And the Five Pîrs prayed: "O God unite the girl to her lover." So God showed his kindness and Murad her lover stood before her. And Murad spake and said: "Girl, make haste and see this fairy-like camel." And the camel of Murad grunted as her master spoke. And Murad said: "Some spell or enchantment fell on me; some one caught the nose string of my camel and brought me to your door. I was riding in the long line of camels half asleep. Then a voice from heaven came into my ear; my camel heard it and grunted. She sped as quick as an arrow or a stormwind. My string of camels has been lost. You have exercised some sorcery over me. My camel is the grand-daughter of the best camel in the world. Come up, my bride, and mount on my camel. Is not her mouth soft? Her back is as firm as a mountain. She has been moulded by angels."

So Murad took Sehti on his camel and Rânjha took Hîr. Thus the bridegrooms set forth with their brides.

CHAPTER 30.

(The discovery of Hîr's escape with Rânjha.)

The next morning the ploughmen yoked their oxen and went forth to plough, and lo! the house of the sick bride was empty. They looked inside and outside and they woke up the watchman who was asleep near the door. There was a great stir in the town and every body said: "Those wicked girls Hîr and Sehti have brought disgrace on the whole village. They have cut off our nose and we shall be defamed through the whole world."

So the Kheras drew up their armies on hearing the news. The soldiers took spears and daggers and set out to pursue them. The people said to Ajju: "Your house has been ruined to-day. The stain will not be washed away for many generations." And the women beat their sides and wept. Now the armies of the Kheras succeeded in overtaking Murad. But the Balooches drew up their forces and drove back the Kheras. They rushed on them with spears and arrows and routed them, even as Alexander routed Darius.

Now there was a man-eating lion in the jungle through which Hîr and Rânjha had to pass. He smelt them and came towards them with a roar. And Hîr said: "Rânjha, the lion is coming: remember the Pîrs for God's sake." And Rânjha remembered the Five Pîrs and they came in the twinkling of an eye. They said: "Go to, my son, and you will be victorious. Abandon all pride and beseech the lion with entreaty. And if he will not listen to your entreaty, slay him."

And Rânjha said: "Gallant lion, I beseech you by Pîr and Fakir, do not kill us who are helpless. In the name of Hazrat Pir Dastgir (the lord of Pîrs) I beseech you go away."

And the lion replied: "Rânjha listen to me. For the last seven days, I have not had food. I have been much troubled by hunger and thirst. Now God has sent me a victim." The lion roared: "I will eat both of you." And he leapt towards Rânjha.

And Rânjha said to Hîr: "You stay here, beloved. I will go and kill the lion and will then come back to you."

The lion ground his teeth hearing the words of Rânjha. And he said: "What does this mortal say?" And he made another spring at Rânjha.

Then Rânjha took the cudgel of Jahanian, and thrust it into the side of the lion, and he drove the dagger of Sayyad Jalal Bokhari into his belly. And then Rânjha skinned the

lion and put his nails and flesh in his wallet. And they set forth and came into the country of Raja Adali, and slumber overcame Rânjha, and despite the warnings of Hîr he fell asleep. And sleep overcame Hîr also.

Destiny overwhelmed both the lovers. For the Kheras came in pursuit and found Rânjha asleep, his head resting on Hîr. They took Hîr away and beat Rânjha unmercifully withwhips until his body was swollen.

And Hîr advised Rânjha to seek for justice from Râja Adali. And Rânjha cried out aloud, and the Raja heard it and said: " What is this noise ?" And the Raja's servants said: " A jogi has come asking for justice."

CHAPTER 31.

(Rânjha and Hîr before the Raja.)

Rânjha came before the Raja and his body was sore with the blows of the Kheras' whips and he said: " May you and your kingdom live long. The fame of your justice has spread even to Turkey and Syria. I have been beaten in your kingdom and have committed no fault."

So the Raja issued orders to his armies and they overtook the Kheras and brought them before the Darbar of the Raja.

And Ranjha said: "I am a poor fakir and these dacoits and robbers have taken away my wife from me."

And the Kheras replied: "This Thug[10] of the Manjha is very clever; he knows all kinds of powerful enchantments. One day our daughter-in-law was bitten by a snake, and Sehti told us there was a Jogi in the garden of Kalabagh who was cunning in spells and could cure her; and O Rajah, this saint and fakir of God decamped with both of the women one night. He is a thief and should be killed. You should not be deceived by his rosaries and beads. He is a cunning rogue and clever in disguises."

And Rânjha said: " They saw she was beautiful and they took her away. Hîr is mine and I am Hîr's. The five Pîrs gave us in marriage. I have been dealt with in a tyrannous fashion and ask for justice."

And the Raja was angry with the Kheras and said: " You have committed a great sin in troubling this holy fakir. I will cut your nose and ears off and hang you all, if the Kazi says you are liars. I will crucify you on the stake ".

So they came before the Kazi, and the Kazi said: " Let each side make a statement on oath and I will administer the Justice of Amar Khatib".

So the Kheras spake saying: "Hîr was the daughter of Chuchak the Sial. Many were the suitors for her hand, but her father betrothed her to the son of Ajju. We took a marriage procession and brought back our bride and spent much money. Thousands of people, Hindus and Muhammadans, were present at the marriage ceremony. The proper rites were performed. The Mullah read the Koran and witnesses were present. The whole country side knows she was given to us in marriage. This swindler took her away as Raman ran away with Sita. He came when there was a great famine and grain was very dear. He grazed Chuchak's buffaloes and then claimed the hand of his daughter. His horn and beggar's bowl are all lies. He is a swindler who can bring down the very stalls with spells.

10 Robber.

Then the Kazi turned to Rânjha and said: "Fakir, have you got any witnesses? Without witnesses to the marriage she can be no wife."

And Rânjha replied: "Listen to my words, you who know the law and the principles of religion. On the day our souls said yes, I was betrothed to Hîr. In the Tablet of Destiny, God has written the union of our souls. What need have we of earthly love when our souls have attained the Divine Love?"

The Kazi replied: "Speak the truth, and have done with these falsehoods. You have brought shame on the Sials and the Kheras. Give up your evil ways or you will taste my whip."

And Rânjha replied: "See what harm these Kazis do in the world. They preach the doctrine of the wicked and live on stolen property. If you sympathise so much with the Kheras, Kazi, give them your own daughter."

And the Kazi was angered and snatched Hîr from Rânjha and gave her to the Kheras saying: "This fakir is a swindler and a pious fraud."

Whereat Hîr was sore perplexed and her countenance became pale and lifeless.

And Rânjha said: "Go away. Separation is worse than death. These dacoits have looted me. What do people know of the pain I suffer? I am a poor fakir and have no money to give to the officers in whose hands the decision lies. He has Hîr and I have the pain."

And Hîr sighed with grief and said: "O God, see how we are consumed as with fire. Fire is before us and snakes and tigers behind us and our power is of no avail. O Master, either unite me with Rânjha or slay both of us. The people of this country have exercised tyranny against us. O God, consume this city with fire. Let your wrath fall on this city even as it fell on Pharoah whom you drowned, even as it fell on Solomon and caused him to be dethroned."

Thus did Hîr invoke curses on the city. And Rânjha lifted up his hands likewise and invoked curses on the city saying: "O God, all powerful and mighty, give these tyrants their reward at once. Put the city to fire. Burn the whole city, save only the herds and the cattle."

See the power of God. Owing to the sighs of the lovers, the city caught fire. Fire broke out in all four quarters of the city. It destroyed houses both small and great. The news spread all over the country. Then the Raja said: "What act of oppression has been done?"

So the astrologers cast their lots and said to the Raja: "The pens of your officials are free from sin. But God has listened to the sighs of the lovers. Hence this misfortune has overwhelmed us. Fire has descended from Heaven and it has burnt the palaces, forts and ditches of the city. If you will call up and conciliate the lovers, perhaps God will forgive all those who have sinned."

So the Raja sent out his soldiers and they caught the Kheras and brought them in to his presence. And the Raja took Hîr from the Kheras saying: "I will hang you all. Hîr the Jatti belongs to Rânjha. Why do you oppress strangers?"

And the Kheras went away disappointed.

So Rânjha and Hîr stood before the Raja, and he said to them: "God's curse on those who tell lies. I will kill those who oppress the poor. I will cut off the nose of those who take bribes. You may go to your rightful husband. Grasp the skirts of his clothing and the arm of him that belongs by right to you and see that you never desert the true faith."

CHAPTER 32.

(The poisoning of Hîr and the death of Rânjha.)

Thus God showed His mercy and the Raja caused the two lovers to meet again. And Rânjha called down blessings on the Raja saying: " God be praised and may weal and wealth come to your kingdom. May all troubles flee away and may you rule over horses, camels, elephants, batteries, Hindustan and Scinde."

So Rânjha set off towards his home taking Hîr with him, and he said to her: " Girl, you have been bestowed by God and the five Pîrs on me."

And Hîr replied: "If I enter the country like this, people will say I am a runaway woman, and that you have been the ruin of the houses of fathers and father-in-laws. Of what avail will such a victory be? The women will say I have not been properly married. My aunts will taunt me and ask me why I have come back in this way."

And after they had gone some distance on their way Hîr said: " This is the valley where we met. This is where we beat Kaido, bound him with ropes and dragged him along the ground. This is where we used to talk together and this is where destiny overcame us. When the marriage procession of the Kheras came up it was as if the flood of Noah had overwhelmed us."

Now the shepherds were grazing their buffaloes in the jungle and they espied Hîr and Rânjha, and when they drew close they recognised them, and the shepherds said to Rânjha: " Who has bored your ears?"

And they went and told the Sials: "Behold the shepherd has brought the girl Hîr back. He has shaved the beard of the Kheras without water."

And the Sials said: " Do not let them go away. Bring Hîr to her aunts and tell Rânjha to bring a marriage procession in order to wed Hîr." And they brought Hîr and Rânjha to the Sials.

Now at the same time a barber came up on an embassy from the Kheras to demand back Hîr, and the Sials said to the barber: " You must make some good excuse to the Kheras for us and give this message and say: 'We gave you Hîr in marriage. After that she was dead to us. You never showed us the face of our daughter afterwards. She and you are both dead to us. Why are you now asking us about her? From of old time you were mean. You are publishing your own disgrace by making these inquiries. The army of the enemy has looted you. Why are you now beating your drums? The conquerors have already divided the spoils of victory. You have ruined our daughter. We will take in exchange a girl from you by way of satisfaction." And they sent back the barber with taunts saying: " Do not come again on an embassy to us."

Then the brotherhood brought Hîr and Rânjha to their home and laid a rich couch for them to sit on and all the family were happy. They took the Jogi's rings out of his ears. They shaved him and put a rich turban on his head, they gave him a silk shirt and sat him on the throne, even as Joseph was placed on the throne after having been brought out of the pit. They ensnared the heart of Rânjha with their cunning, for they were communing in their heart how they might kill Hîr. Kaido was for ever plotting evil against them. Thus they became responsible for the murder and they themselves caused the blot on their own fame.

Meanwhile, Rânjha at the suggestion of the Sials had gone to his home, and he told his brethren to prepare a marriage procession so that he might go and marry Hîr. Many baskets of fruit and sweets were put on the heads of the barbers. They prepared bands of minstrels and fireworks, and Rânjha's brothers' wives danced with happiness and sang songs.

Ah, put not your trust in life. Man is even as a goat in the hands of the butchers.

Meanwhile somebody whispered into Hîr's ear that her parents were going to send her back to the Kheras and that they had already sent a message to have her fetched away. And Kaido chided Hîr saying : " If the Kheras come there will be trouble, many quarrels and much disturbance. The witnesses of the marriage will come and they will confound your mad tales."

And Kaido and the Sials held counsel together, and Kaido said : " Brethren of the Sials, such things have never before been said of our tribe as will be said now. For men will say : Go and look at the faithfulness of these Sials. They marry their daughters to one man and then contemplate giving her in marriage to another."

And the brethren made answer : " Brother, you are right. Our honour and your honour are one. All over the world we are taunted with the story of Hîr. We shall lose fame and gain great disgrace if we send the girl off with the shepherd. Let us poison Hîr, even if we become sinful in the sight of God. Does not Hîr always remain sickly and in poor health ? "

So Kaido in his evil cunning came and sat down beside Hîr and said : " My daughter, you must be brave and patient."

Hîr replied : " Uncle, what need have I of patience."

And Kaido replied : " Rânjha has been killed. Death with glittering sword has overtaken him."

And hearing Kaido's word Hîr sighed deeply and fainted away. And the Sials gave her sherbet and mixed poison with it and thus brought ruin and disgrace on their name. The parents of Hîr killed her. This was the doing of God. When the fever of death was upon Hîr, she cried out for Rânjha saying, " Bring Rânjha here that I may see him once again."

And Kaido said : " Rânjha has been killed. Keep quiet or it will go ill with you." So Hîr breathed her last crying " Rânjha, Rânjha."

And they buried her and sent a message to Rânjha saying : " The hour of destiny has arrived. We had hoped otherwise but no one can escape the destiny of death. Even as it is written in the Holy Koran : 'Everything is mortal save only God.' "

And they sent a messenger with the letter and he left Jhang and arrived at Hazara, and he entered the house of Rânjha and wept as he handed the letter.

Rânjha asked him : " Why this dejected air ? Why are you sobbing ? Is my beloved ill ? Is my property safe ? "

And the messenger sighed and said : " That dacoit death from whom no one can escape has looted your property. Hîr has been dead for the last eight watches. They bathed her body and buried her yesterday and as soon as they began the last funeral rites, they sent me to give you the news."

On hearing these words Rânjha heaved a sigh and the breath of life forsook him.

Thus both lovers passed away from this mortal world and entered into the halls of eternity. Both remained firm in love and passed away steadfast in true love.

Death comes to all. Even Noah the father of many children, the master of the storm, the king of religion and the world, died at the last of a good old age and was buried.

The world is but a play and fields and forests all will melt away in the final day of dissolution. Only the poet's poetry remains in everlasting remembrance, for no one has written such a beautiful Hîr.

EPILOGUE.[11]

Fools and sinners offer counsel in the world. The counsel of the wise is held of no account. No one speaks the truth. Lying has become the custom of the world. With gangs of ruffians men commit iniquity. Tyrants have sharp swords in their hands. There is no Governor, Ruler or Emperor.

The country and the people have all been reduced to ruin. There is great disturbance throughout the country. Everybody carries a sword in his hand. The curtain of all modesty has been lifted. People commit deeds of shame in the open bazaar. Thieves have become headmen and harlots have become mistress of the household. Bands of devils have multiplied exceedingly all over the land. The nobles have fallen in their estate. Men of menial rank flourish. The peasantry are waxen fat.

The Jats have become rulers in the country. Everybody has become lord of his own castle. When love came to me I felt a desire to write this story in verse. I wrote it in the year 1180 Hijri in the southern country. [Lamman Des is the present Montgomery district of the Panjab.] It was the year 1820 of the Birkramajit era. [These two dates do not exactly correspond, but the poem was written in A.D. 1766.]

When I produced the tale among learned men it became known to the world. Waris, those who have recited the Holy Kalma have attained salvation. Kharral Hans is a well-known place. Here I composed this story. Poets, you should determine the worth of my poem. I have let my horse loose in the arena. Other poets have wasted their efforts in writing on petty themes [*lit.*, ground in an handmill]. I have composed a grand poem [*lit*, ground my grain in a bullock-driven mill].

O wise man, you should note that there is a secret under the guise of my words. I have written this Hîr with care and meditation. Young people read it with pleasure. I have planted a flower to give a sweet savour. Thank God my purpose is achieved. I have worked at it anxiously day and night. I have no capital of good works. Of what can I be proud? I have no hope without Thy grace. I am only a poor sinner. Without the favour of the Prophet I am helpless. I am ashamed of my unworthiness. The sinner trembles at the thought of the last trump even as the faithful are afraid for the faith and as pilgrims long for the sight of the Kaaba, even as the General thinks about the state of his army and as servants are afraid of their pay being cut for neglect of duty.

Of all the wretched Panjab I am most concerned for Kasur. I am concerned for my faith and conscience even as Moses was frightened on Holy Sinai. Ghazis will get paradise and martyrs claim their houris. The world is outwardly fair but inwardly it is bad even as the sound of a drum is beautiful from afar. O God! grant me faith and dignity and honour. Our hope is only on God the Bountiful. Wâris Shâh, I have no capital of good works. God grant me Thy presence.

Wâris Shâh lives at Jandiala and is the pupil of the Saint of Kasur. Having finished the story I presented it to my master for his acceptance. (He elevates whom he will and throws down whom he will. God alone is great. All excellences and dignity are in God alone. I am helpless.)

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11 [This interesting but somewhat rambling Epilogue is translated at full length without any attempt at excision or condensation. The rest of the poem has been considerably condensed but nothing important has been omitted.—C. F. USBORNE.]

With the aid of Shakerganj I have conferred this benefit on the world. **Wâris Shâh,** your name will be famous, if God be kind. O Lord! accept my humility. Dispel all my infirmities. Wâris Shâh has shed the light of his genius over all the faithful in the world. O God! this is always my prayer that I may lean always on Thy support. Let me depart from this world in peace and give me Thy grace in the end. Keep me in Thy love and take the load of trouble off my shoulders.

May he who reads or copies my poor efforts derive pleasure. May the Prophet be your intercessor and watch over you, past, present and future. O Almighty God! overlook the fault of poor Wâris Shâh. By the grace of God I have fulfilled the request of my dear friends. The story of true lovers is like the scent of a rose in a garden. He who reads it with love in his heart will be able to separate the truth from the false.

I have written a poem of much pith even as a string of royal pearls. I have written it at length and embellished it with various beauties. I have written it as a parable. It is as beautiful as a necklace of rubies. He who reads it will be much pleased and the people will praise it.

Wâris Shâh is anxious to see God's face even as Hîr longed for her lover. I make my request before the Holy Court of God, who is the Lord of Mercy. If I have let fall a word in ignorance may God forgive me. Without Thy justice I have no shelter. My safety depends on Thy grace. May my anxieties about my faith and the world vanish. This is my only prayer. May God pardon him who copies these words and give his bounty to those who recite it. May its readers enjoy the book. O God! preserve the honour of all men. Let every man depart from this world with his shortcomings hidden from the public. God give all the faithful faith, conscience and a sight of His presence in the Day of Judgment.

APPENDIX.

HÎR AND RÂNJHA OF WÂRIS SHÂH, 1776 A.D.

(A Critical Analysis.)

BY MULTANI [C. F. USBORNE].

[This analysis is based on Piran Ditta's edition printed for Mian Muḥammad Din. The most complete edition of this poem is probably that lately published by the Newal Kishore Printing Works, Lahore, by L. Kashi Ram, 1332 A.H.=1915 A.D. (1000 copies). It professes to be Muḥammad Din's edition of Piran Ditta's text.]

The love story of Hîr and Rânjha is the most famous of all Panjabi tales. There have been at least twenty different versions of the story printed in the vernacular written at different times by different poets. As far as the European public is concerned, the story was first brought to their notice by Garcin de Tassy, the French scholar, who published in French a translation of Makbul's version. Next came Captain (now Sir Richard) Temple, who printed in his "Legends of the Panjab" two other versions, one from Jhang, the other from Patiala. Last came the Rev. Mr. Swynnerton, who gave an Abbottabad version of the story in his "Romantic Legends of the Panjab."

Temple in his book alludes to the version by Wâris Shâh and says he has been told that it is the most popular of all and that it has the reputation of having been written in the most idiomatic Panjabi. Temple is right in both of these criticisms.

There are many reasons why an English translation of Wâris Shâh's poem would be welcome. In the first place it is the most popular and best written book in the Panjabi language. The language of the dialogues—and the book is made up principally of dialogue—corresponds almost exactly with the vernacular spoken in the Central and West Central parts of the Panjab. There could be no better text book for students of the language.

The Central dramatic situation—a girl in love with a man whom she is not allowed to marry, hurriedly married elsewhere against her will—is a good one and it must strike a sympathetic chord in the heart of every man and woman in the Panjab.

But the chief merit of Wâris Shâh's poem is that round this interesting central problem, he has woven an excellent description of Panjab village life. I doubt if there is any other book which gives such a good picture of the village life of this province.

We are told that Bullah Shah, a Sufi poet and contemporary of Wàris Shâh was a great friend of Darshani Nath. The latter from his name appears to have been a Jogi. Possibly Wâris Shâh too was personally acquainted with some of the Jogis. From internal evidence of the poem I should gather this was the case. His description of the Jogis on Tilla, of their jealousy of Rânjha and of their quarrels with Balnath, gives the impression of a picture drawn from personal experience.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the whole poem is the light it throws on the Jat character. It is admitted, I think, by everybody that Wâris Shâh has drawn the Jat to the life. The Jat is a rough and violent person. His chief weapon of offence is cunning or brute force. Rânjha overcomes the scruples of the Mullah by the mere violence of his abuse and one is rather surprised that the Mullah gives way so tamely. Hîr does not hesitate to thrash her lame uncle Kaido most unmercifully ; Kaido retaliates later on in the story by an equally savage onslaught on Hîr's girl friends. Both sides indulge in a lot of very rough horse play. Chuchak remarks with pride that Jats are crafty swindlers.

When Chuchak finds that his buffaloes refuse to eat after Rânjha's dismissal, he at once recalls him, being apparently more concerned with the welfare of his cattle than with the reputation of his daughter. This attitude of Hîr's parents is a little puzzling, because shortly before this Chuchak has been declaring that Hîr ought to be poisoned and killed for her outrageous conduct, and her mother Milki had been equally emphatic, and yet they ask Rânjha to come back, thus inviting a repetition of the scandal.

Their whole attitude towards their daughter is interesting. Their anger seems mainly prompted by personal pride; what they are chiefly concerned about is not that Hîr has done what is wrong, but that they will get taunted about it by other people in the village. When Kaido proposes to poison Hîr, the chief argument he uses is that if the Sials let Rânjha marry Hîr, the Sials in future will incur the reproach of double dealing. They poison Hîr not to punish Hîr or Rânjha but to save themselves from the sarcasms of their neighbours.

The interview between Rânjha and Balnath throws an interesting light on the characters of both sides. When once Rânjha has been initiated as a Jogi by Balnath, he throws off all disguise and admits that his real object in becoming a Jogi was to obtain in that disguise an interview with Hîr. Balnath is naturally angry at having been thus deceived, and yet at the end of a very few minutes Rânjha wins him round to such an extent that he induces him to offer a solemn prayer for the success of his adventure.

Is it to Rânjha's merit to have taken in a holy man, or the holy man's merit to have perceived a real case of true love, or is the holy man a bit of a muff and easily swindled ? It may be that Wâris Shâh is intentionally painting the Jats in rather black colours, for he goes out of his way on two occasions to indulge in a violent tirade against them.

Legend relates that the Dogar Jats of Thatta Zahid turned the poet out of their village, because they thought he was on too friendly terms with a woman called Bhag Bhari. This is probably true. There is a reference to Bhag Bhari once in the poem and it is not unlikely that the poet's love affair with Bhag Bhari inspired him to write his Hir. I have no doubt, that he drew freely on his own experiences in describing many of the episodes.

I will now give a brief analysis of the story. As far as I know, Wâris Shâh has never been translated into English before. Piran Ditta's text is not very accurate and it contains many obvious repetitions and interpolations. I have unfortunately not had time to check the translation as carefully as I could wish, and if it is in places inaccurate I should be very glad if any mistakes could be communicated to me.

The poem opens with a typical Muhammadan preface, the praise of God in somewhat Sufiistic phraseology. " Praise be to God who made Love the foundation of the world." "God was the first lover ; he loved the Prophet Muhammad." Next comes an invocation to the Four Friends of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali followed by an invocation to Pirs and more especially to Mohiuddin, the special Pir of the Poet and to Shakar Gunj the famous saint of Pak Pattan. "When Shakar Gunj made his abode at Pak Pattan the Punjab was delivered of all its troubles." Then come a few lines explaining how the book came to be written. " My friends came to me and said 'rewrite for us the forgotten story of the love of Hîr and Rânjha.' " The poet explains the pains he has taken in writing the poem. " I have bridled the steed of rare genius, set love on his back and let him loose in the field."

The style then drops to a more sober narrative, a description of Takht Hazara and the Ranjha Jats. We are then introduced to the family of Mauju headman (Chaudhri) of the village and Dhido his youngest and favourite son known later in the story as Rânjha. Mauju dies. Rânjha quarrels with his brothers and their wives. The dialogue between Rânjha and his sisters-in-law is most vivacious and natural. The Kazi is called in to partition the family land and, being suitably bribed, he gives the worst land to Rânjha. Rânjha on account of these family disagreements decides to leave his home and seek his fortunes elsewhere. His first adventure is at a mosque where he wishes to put up for the night. He has a battle of words with the Mullah.

The incident is interesting partly for the satirical description of the Mullah and partly for the light it throws on the free-thinking attitude of the Jats. " Tell me, " says Rânjha, " the difference between what is holy and what is unholy ; what is prayer made of ? Who ordained prayer ? " It is noticeable that the Mullah is unable to answer any of these questions and the interview ends in a typical exchange of abuse. Rânjha is ultimately allowed to spend the night in the mosque. The next incident is Rânjha's adventure at the ferry where he comes into collision with Luddan the boatman. We are introduced here for the first time to the fascination which Rânjha's musical powers and his beauty exercise over the people he meets. The character of Luddan the ferryman is treated on the same broad humourous lines as that of the Mullah. The next scene is at this same ferry and the first meeting of Rânjha and Hîr is described.

The beauty of Hîr and her girl friends is detailed in a somewhat high flown language, but a good deal of the imagery is interesting and some of it is worth quoting. Hîr's beauty "slays Khatris and Khojas in the bazaar" like a murderous Kazilbash trooper riding out of the military camp. We meet here the word which gave its name to the Urdu language "urd bazaar." Incidentally this gives us an interesting glimpse of the terror inspired by the Kazilbash horseman and perhaps recalls the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah. "The eyes of Hîr's girl friends were pencilled with the collyrium of Ceylon and Kandahar." "Their eye-brows are like the bows of Lahore." "The ring in Hîr's nose shone like the polar star." "Her beauty was as mighty as the onset of a storm." "Her features were as lovely as the curves of a manuscript" and "her teeth were as beautiful as the seeds of pomegranate." "Her locks are like black cobras sitting on the treasures of the Bar." (The belief is fairly widespread that cobras sit guarding buried treasure). "The onset of her beauty was as if armies from Kandahar had swept over the Punjab." This simile gives us an interesting picture of the recurrent invasions of India by the Muhammadans of Afghanistan and Central Asia. It is a simile that often recurs in the poem. Hîr then abuses the boatman for letting Rânjha sleep on her couch. "They—Hîr and her girl friends—descended on the boatman like a hailstorm sweeps over a field." Hîr then addresses Rânjha and the interview ends in both falling in love with each other.

The conversation of the two lovers is particularly interesting to English readers as the position of women in the east and the west is quite different. Hence the love scenes are cast in a different mould and the whole atmosphere of the love-making is quite different from that to which we are accustomed in the romantic literature of Europe. In the west the man is the lover and the woman the beloved. It is the man who falls in love with the woman and tries to win her affection. Man is the hunter, the pursuer, and woman the object of his pursuit. In the Panjab, and possibly in the east generally, the situation seems somewhat reversed. In nearly all Panjab literature the woman is the lover. More emphasis is laid on the woman's affection for the man than on the man's for the woman. It is she who makes love to the man. It is the woman who takes the initiative in all the strategems and escapade incident in the adventure of love. The wives of Luddan fall in love with Rânjha, not Rânjha with them. They start off making love to him with alacrity long before he has ever noticed their existence. When Hîr and Rânjha first meet, it is Hîr who first falls in love with Rânjha. The affection of course rapidly becomes mutual, but the dialogue clearly shows that Hîr is the lover and that the first advances come from her. It is Hîr not Rânjha who suggests Rânjha shall become Chuchak's cowherd. In any European story the initiative in this respect would surely have been taken by the man. Then, later on in his story, it is Hîr who suggests that Rânjha should turn Jogi and meet her in this disguise. It is the woman who suggests the ruse by which Hîr shall feign snake-bite and Rânjha shall be called in as a physician to cure her. Throughout the story indeed the whole initiative lies with Hîr, and as far as the love-story is concerned Rânjha is a very poor spirited creature compared with Hîr. The hero of the love-story is certainly Hîr not Rânjha.

If this is typical of Panjabi love affairs at the present day, it is doubtful whether the framers of the Indian Penal Code were well advised when, on matters of abduction and running away with other peoples' wives they decided not to punish the woman. If the woman is the lover and author of all the initiative in such affairs, she certainly ought not to get off scot free. This is I believe and has been for a long time the opinion of the Indian public. But this is a digression and I will return to the story.

From the English point of view it is, as I have said, interesting to note that the principal advances come from Hîr and that Rânjha somewhat condescendingly agrees to accept them. It is Rânjha who is doubtful about Hîr's fidelity and he has no hesitation in informing the lady of this fact.

Hîr then goes to her parents and persuades her father and mother to take on Rânjha as their cowherd.

" My father ", urges Hîr, " he is as learned as Solomon and he can shave the very beard of Plato. He has cunning to trace out thefts and he speaks with wisdom in the assembly of the elders. He can decide thousands of disputes and is learned in the wisdom of the Dogar Jats. He can swim buffaloes across the river and recover stolen cattle. He stands steadfast in his duty as a wrestler stands firm in the midst of the arena."

Hîr is successful in her endeavours and Rânjha is taken on as cowherd.

We then get a picture of Rânjha looking after the cattle in the Bar. In the forest he meets the Five Pîrs—Khwaja Khizar, the God of waters; Shakr Gunj, the saint of Pak Pattan; Shahbaz Kalandar of Uch; Zakaria of Multan, and Sayyad Jalal of Bukhara, also known as Makhdum Jahanian. The Pîrs console Rânjha and promise that he shall be successful in his pursuit of Hîr, " Hir has been bestowed on you by the Darbar of God."

Each of the Pirs then gives him a present, Khwaja Khizar a turban tuft, Sayyad Jalal a dagger, Zakaria a stick and blanket, Lal Shahbaz Kalandar a ring, and Shakar Ganj a handkerchief.

Then comes a passage in praise of buffaloes, " They swim in the deep waters; their soft eyes were like lotus buds and their teeth like rows of pearls." After this Hîr comes to visit Rânjha in the forest.

These frequent visits of Hîr to Rânjha in the forest start scandal among the village gossips and Hîr's mother Milki gives her a severe lecture.

" The taunts of the village folk have burnt me up utterly. Would to God no daugther like Hîr had ever been born to me." Hîr, however, will not listen to her mother and refuses to give up Rânjha.

Next, Hîr's crippled uncle Kaidu, the villain of the piece, comes on the scene. He has heard rumours of the love affair and he determines to see for himself if it is true. Disguised as a fakir, he gets into the forest and begs food from Rânjha. Rânjha unsuspectingly gives him part of the food Hîr has brought him from her home. When Hîr comes back from the river, Rânjha tells her of the visit of the fakir. Hîr rounds on him for being such a fool as to be taken in by Kaidu, and she runs off and catches Kaidu on the way to the village and gives him a severe thrashing.

Kaidu, however, escapes with a piece of the food which Rânjha gave him and he shows it to the village elders as evidence of the shame which Hîr is bringing on the village; he advices Hîr's parents to get her married at once.

There is another scene between Hîr and her mother. Hîr throughout is unrepentant.

The scandal is so pronounced that Chuchak decides to send Rânjha away. " Tell me, brothers of the Sials", he says reflectively, " what use have we for a cowherd like this? I did not engage him to be a bull among my cows. I meant him to take my buffaloes and not girls into the forest!"

Rânjha then leaves Chuckak's service exclaiming, "May thieves take your buffaloes and dacoits run away with your calves! What do I care for your buffaloes or your daughter, for twelve years I have grazed your buffaloes and now you turn me out without wages."

When Rânjha leaves, the buffaloes refuse to graze and many of them get lost, so Chuchak decides to ask Rânjha to come back. Rânjha agrees to come back and is installed again as cowherd. The Five Pirs again appear to Hîr and Rânjha and assure them of their ultimate happiness.

The Kazi then appears and scolds Hîr for her conduct. Hîr argues with the Kazi and her parents and flatly refuses to give up Rânjha. Hîr sends a message to Rânjha that she is unhappy with her parents. Rânjha again has an interview with the Five Pîrs; he sings before them and gains their further approval. Rânjha's skill in music is explained at some length. If the passage is not an interpolation, it is rather an unnecessary display of musical learning on the part of the author.

This appears to be rather typical of Wâris Shâh. On several occasions he is rather fond of displaying his learning. For instance in his description of the different kinds of grasses and buffaloes in the Bar and in his description of Rânjha's medical skill. Indian readers of the poet are greatly impressed by this and they regard his learning as little less than miraculous.

After this musical interlude Rânjha discusses the nature of love with Mithi the barber woman. Mithi professes to explain the differing nature of woman of various castes in love affairs, Sikh women, Bengali women, Hill women, etc. This passage is rather an insipid *tour de force* and probably a good deal of it is interpolated.

Rânjha and Hîr then take Mithi into their confidence and arrange to meet in her house.

Then comes rather an interesting description of Hîr and her friends and Rânjha bathing in the Chenab. Kaido again hears that Rânjha and Hîr are meeting in the forest and he tells Hîr's parents. Hîr and her mother have angry words. Hîr's mother indulges in some very pointed criticism of her daughter's conduct.

The author shows himself completely acquainted with the more pointed features of the feminine vocabulary. This passage is probably the most complete dictionary of Panjabi feminine abuse that has yet appeared in print. For obvious reasons I do not venture to translate it.

The wicked uncle Kaido again distinguishes himself by discussing Hîr's escapades with the elders of the village. Hîr's girl friends tell her Kaido has been spreading scandal about her. They catch him and give him a thorough thrashing. The violence of the Jat girls is well brought out in this and other passages. "The girls encircled him even as police guards encircle Lahore. They burnt his hut and let dogs and chickens loose all over his things."

This passage perhaps refers to the police-guards put round Lahore by Adina Beg to watch over the Sikhs.

The return of the girls after wrecking Kaido's hut is described in another historical simile. "It was as if the royal armies had returned to Lahore after subduing Muttra." This probably refers to the invasion of Muttra by Ahmad Shah in 1758.[12]

12 See *Elliot*, Vol. VIII, page 168, quoting from *Farhat-un-Nazarin* written by Mahammad Islam, a contemporary writer. "Najibudaula, having found means of secretly communicating with the Abdali, invited him to come to Hindustan. Accordingly, in the beginning of the fourth year of the reign (S.C. of Alamgir II), he came to Delhi, and, having ravaged it, proceeded to Muttra, where he massacred the inhabitants, broke the temples, and having plundered the town of immense wealth in property and cash, he cut the very nose of Hindustan, and returned to Lahore, where he gave his youngest son the title of Timur Shah, and left Jahan Khan there with the designation of Minister."

Kaido then complains to the panchayat who try and sooth his wounded feelings. They call up the girls and ask them why they have treated Kaido in this way. The girls make a spirited but obviously untrue defence. They put their fingers into their mouths with amazement and replied, " He is a lewd and wicked fellow, he pinches our cheeks and handles us in a mighty unbecoming fashion."

The girls then go and complain to Milki. They exclaim sarcastically, " You are kind to a quarrelsome knave like this cripple, and make your daughters stand before the village elders. This is a new kind of justice."

Kaido is discontented with his treatment at the hands of the panchayat and accuses them of partiality. Chuchak rebukes Kaido saying, " Ours is not a panchayat of men without shame or fear of God. We do the thing that is just and hate the thing that is evil. Let me see with my own eyes that your story is true and I will cut the throat of this wicked hussy and turn the shepherd out of this country."

Kaido then lies in ambush in the forest and seeing one day Hîr and Rânjha together he runs off and tells Chuchak. Chuchak saddles his horse and surprises the lovers in each other's company. Hîr with admirable commonsense and presence of mind suggests that her father had better overlook and pardon this escapade and that the less he talks about it the better it will be for the family honour and peace of mind. Chuchak with equal commonsense comes to the conclusion that the sooner he gets Hîr safely married the better.

The scene then shifts to Rânjha's home at Takht Hazara. His brothers and their wives exchange letters with Hîr and her father suggesting they shall let Rânjha come back to his home. Chuchak replies with spirit, " We will not turn him out but if he wants to go and see his brothers nobody will prevent him."

Rânjha's sister-in-law has a distinctly feminine slap at Hîr: " If you want boys to debauch we can supply you with plenty." She then adds with an admirable touch of feminine jealousy, " If you wish to compete with us on the score of beauty we are quite ready to accept the challenge."

Hîr is quite ready with her retort : " Did Rânjha's sisters-in-law love him so much that they turned him out of his father's house " ? Hîr firmly refuses to give up Rânjha, saying maliciously, " He refuses to go however much you may exert yourselves." I have quoted some of the remarks in the letters to show that Wâris Shâh is not without some skill in drawing characters.

Chuchak next discusses to whom he shall marry Hîr. It is pointed out to him by the brotherhood that the Sials have never given their daughters to Rânjha Jats ; hence marrying her to Rânjha is vetoed as out of the question. Chuchak is advised by his friends and relations to marry Hîr to Saida, a Khera. The Kheras had suggested the alliance, and as it was a good match, Chuchak decides to give Hîr in marriage to Saida.

Hîr upraids her mother when she hears of these matrimonial arrangements being made behind her back. The Sial girls come and sympathize with Rânjha on his bad luck and they upraid Hîr for being faithless to Rânjha. Hîr tells the girls to bring Rânjha to see her in the disguise of a girl and she defends herself saying, " I have been telling my lover to run away with me, but the silly fellow missed his chance. Why does he turn round now and blame his bad fortune ?" Then follows the description of the preparations made by Chuchak for the marriage.

APPENDIX V.

SPECIMEN OF THE SOUTH ANDAMAN LANGUAGE.

(Recorded in 1879, since when the race has been gradually dying out.)

Wai dôl âkà-jûwai êrem-tâga-, d'a bâraij l'ôt ting tōlo bòicho,
Indeed I (name of tribe) jungle-dweller, my village of name (name of village),
jûru tek elarpâla-, môda ela-wânga-ya bûd tek tôt-gōra len nàunga-bêdig
sea from far, if day-break-at home from coast to walking while
tilik dîla len dālagke. m'ar-ârdûru ôgar jibaba êkan bâraij len
perhaps evening in reach-will. We all months several own villages in
bûduke, ñgâ (târ-ôlo-len) jeg l'edâre âryōto l'ôt-paicha-len lìrke. ōna
dwell-do, then (afterwards) dance for coast-people among go-do. When
kichi-kan jeg-ìkke ōko-jāranga îgal l'edâre mîn kâtik-ìkke,
like-this go for a dance-do habitually barter for something (thither) take-do,
kichikan reg-dama, êâte reg-kòiob, êâte râta, êâte jôb, êâte
namely pork, also red-pigment, also wooden-arrows, also baskets, also
châpanga, êâte kûd, êâte râb, êâte tâla-ôg, êâte
reticules. also hand-nets, also netting (see App. XIII), also white pigment, also
tâlag, êâte pärepa, êâte kâpa-jâtnga, â-wêh.
hones, also sleeping-mats, also leaf-screens, et cetera.

m'akat-tî-dôinga-bêdig ekâra(-tek) oto-lâ râmit-lôyuke ôl-bêdig kôike,
We arriving on according-to-custom first sing-do and dance-do,
târ-ôlo-len ârdûru mîn îgalke, ñgâ med'ìkpōr dûtnga len ig-bâdig-nga
afterwards all things barter-do, then some of us spearing to seeing
l'edâre âryōto l'ôt-paicha-lat ôdam len âkan-gaike, marat-dilu
for coast-people with bottom of boat in go (in canoe)-do, the rest of us
âryōto-ngîji mitiknga êrem-deleke.
coast-kinsfolk accompanying hunt-pigs-in-jungle-do.

ârla l'ìkpōr târ-ôlo-len meda mîn ârdûru kichi-kan ēla, ēla-tâ, chō,
Days a few after we things all such-as pig arrows. iron. knives,
wôlo, bîjma, yâdi-kòiob, yâdi-dama, ōdo, chìdi,
adzes, bottles, turtle-unguent (see **pigment**), turtle-flesh, *Nautilus* shells, *Pinna* shells,
garen, rêketo-tâ, â-wêh, igalnga len ōrok- yâte
Dentalium octogonum, Hemicardium unedo, et cetera. bartering in obtained which
eninga-bêdig chêlepâke, ñgâ m'ar-ârdûru wijke.
having-taken take-leave-do, then we-all return-home-do.

ignûrum âryōto len yât-taijnga -tek. ôl-bêdig pänenga -tek. ôl-bêdig
Just as coast people to shooting fish from, and netting-fish from, and
yâdi-lôbinga -tek, ôl-bêdig ōko-delenga -tek, ôl-bêdig yât-dilu
turtle-hunting from, and hunting pigs along coast from, and other means
-tek, eba-kâchya âkà-wêlab yāba-, châ êrem-tâga -len bêdig wâblen-wâblen
from, ever food-difficult not, so jungle-dwellers to also every season
yât ûbaba wai-.
food plenty indeed.

m'ar-êrem-tâga-l'ârdûru gûmul-ya êkan bûd- len arat-tìtegike, ôgun
We jungle-dwellers all rainy-season during own homes in remain-do. only
râp-wâb -len yûm pîtainga l'edâre êr-tälke, m'at-ngîji
fruit-season in rain absence of (without) because-of pay-visits-do, our kinsfolk
ârdûru igbâdignga l'edâre, ôgar ûba-tûl an ìkpōr len meda wîjke,
all seeing because of, moon one or two in we return-home-do,
ôt-pägi baila - wâb len kai-ita-ban jûranga l'eb bûd
again (name of tree)-season (see App. IX) in jack-fruit-seed burying for homes

APPENDIX V—*contd.*

tek meda jālake. ôgar ûbatûl - len êkan bâraij lat wîjke.
from we shift-our-quarters-do. Moon one in own villages to return-do.

m'atngîji len âryōto tek êremtâga at-ûbaba. bâr-l'âkà-
Our tribesfolk among coast-people from (than) jungle-men numerous. (name of vil-
bîl tek tōlo-bòicho bôdia-, dôna êrem koktâr len tōlo-bòicho
lage—see Map) than (name of village) large. but jungle interior in (name of village)
tek bâraij jîbaba bôdia. mêta bûd âryōto l'ia bûd tek chânag-,
than villages several large. Our huts coast-people of huts than large,
tâlik jîbaba meda gôi yôblake yāba-.
years several we fresh (new) thatch-do not.

tâlik ûma len m'ar-ârdûru êkan êkan bâraij lagiba yât dôgaya ōroke.
Year whole in we all own own villages near food plenty obtain-do.
ñgâtek-ñgâtek yât têpnga l'eb met at dûruma-. med' iji-lôinga kôike
Now-and-then food getting for us for sufficient. We frequently dance-do
ôl-bêdig râmit-tôyuke.
and sing-do.

ōna mêta bâraij len ûchin-ôl oko-lìke ñgâ m'ar-ârdûru êr l'ârlûa len
When our village in any-one die-does then we-all place vacant to
jālake, kâto châng-tōrnga an daranga len ekâra naikan ôgar l'îkpōr
migrate-do, there hut or (see hut) in custom like moons few
pòlike, târ-ōlo-len tâ ōrokngа bêdig t'î-tōlatnga l'eb tōlo-bòicho
stay-do, afterwards bones obtaining on tears-shedding (dance) for (name of village)
lat wîjke.
to return-do.

môda oko-lìnga yābalen med'êremtâga l'ia bâraij len at-jang'gi ligala
If dead without we jungle-dwellers of villages in old-persons children
bêdig ârlalen bûduke. ôgun râp-wâb len m'ôtot-paichalen mêtat (â) pail
also always reside-do. Only fruit-season in us-with our women
jeg-îknga l'êdâre arat-barmike: kînig ôl-l'âr-
paying-entertainment-visits for pass-night-away-from-home-do; otherwise they
dûru at-jang'gi ligala naikan êkan bâraij len bûduke.
all old-people children like own villages in reside-do.

gûmul -len reg-delenga l'edâre med' bûla iji-lôinga ârla l'îkpōr m'arat-
Rainy-season in pig-hunting for we men often days few spend-
barmike.
night-away-from-home-do.

med'êremtâga, âryōto iglā, ōko-jāranga jālake yāba l'edâre
We jungle-dwellers, coast-people unlike, habitually migrate-do not because-of
med'ârlalen mêta bêra ôl-bêdig âkà-kîchal lagiba kōrke yāba-, kîanchâ
we always our rubbish and food-refuse near cast-aside-do not, therefore
mêta bâraij len ôt-àu jābag yāba-.
our villages in smell bad not.

mêtat âryōto len bêdig bâraij l'îkpōr, kâto ed' ōko-jā-
Our coast-people among also villages (permanent) few, there they habit-
ranga ôgar jîbaba bûduke, tōba-tek arat-dilu iji-lôinga jāla-
ually moons several dwelt-do, while the rest (of them) frequently shift-their-
ke.
quarters-do.

APPENDIX V—*contd.*

mad-éremtâga	*ôl-bêdig*	*âryōto*	*l'ia*	*bâraij*	*lagya*
Us jungle-dwellers	and	coast-dwellers	of	villages (permanent)	near

bûd-l'ârtâm	*dóga-*	*júru*	*l'ông-pâ-len*	*ârla-dilu-rêatek*	*êrem*	*tōbo-*
kitchen-middens	large	sea	vicinity in	from time immemorial	jungle	dense,

dôna	*dîn*	*len*	*tōbo*	*yāba-.*
but	interior of jungle	in	dense	not.

âkà-kede	*l'ia*	*êrem*	*koktâr-len*	*lirnga-*	*bêdig*	*wai*	*dò*	*êrem-tâga*
(Name of tribe)	of	jungle	inside (interior)	going	on	indeed	I	jungle-dwellers

at-ûbaba	*ig-bâdigre.*	*meda*	*lúake*	*aña*	*kâto*	*mat-dúru*	*tek*	*at-ûbaba-.*
numerous	see-did.	We	consider-do	that	there	us-all	than	numerous.

êrem - len	*dilu-rêa-tek*	*chàuga-tâbanga*	*l'idal*	*tek*	*tinga-bā*	*bêringa.*	*wai*
Jungle in	everywhere	ancestors (post-diluvial)	time	since	paths	good.	Indeed

dôl	*âchitik*	*âkà-bêa*	*l'ârdûru*	*ig-bâdigre,*	*akat-bîra-bûdya*	*ka-wai-ârlalen*	*yabā-.*
I	now	(name of tribe)	all	seen-have,	inhabitants	now-a-days	few.

med'ârdûru	*âkà-bôjig-yâb*	*ôl-bêdig*	*âkà-kōl*	*l'ia*	*ekâra*	*ti-daike.*	*ōnt'*
We all	(name of tribe)	and	(name of tribe)	of	customs	know-do,	their

ekâra	*makat -*	*pâra ;*	*et-tek*	*bêdig*	*m'akat-júwai*		*naikan*
customs	our	similar ;	them-among	also	as of the *âkà - jûwai*	tribe	like

aryōto	*ôl-bêdig*	*êrem-tâga-*	*kâto*	*bêdig*	*êrem-tâga*	*ôgar*
coast-people	as well as	jungle-dwellers,	there	also	jungle-dwellers	moons

jîbaba	*dîn*	*len*	*ōko-jāranga*	*bûduke,*	*êkan*	*êkan*	*bâraij*	*len*	*bêdig*
several	heart-of-jungle	in	habitually	dwell-do,	own	own	village	in	also

âr-ti-tegike.	*âkà-bôjig-yâb*	*l'ia*	*dîn*	*kêtia*	*l'edâre*	*kâto*
remain-do.	(Name of tribe)	of	jungle-interior	small	because-of	there

êrem-tâga	*yabā-.*
jungle-people	few.

Free Translation.

I belong to the inland section of the *âkà-jûwai* tribe (see Map, *I.A.*, 1919, facing p. 24). The name of my village is *tōlo-bòicho*. It is far from the sea. If one were to start for the coast at daybreak one might perhaps by walking all day reach it in the evening.

We all live for several months at a time in our own villages, and then we visit the coast people for a dance. On such occasions it is customary to take with us articles for barter, such as :—pork, red pigment mixed with pig's fat, wooden-headed arrows, baskets, reticules, hand-nets, ornamental netting, white clay for personal adornment, hones, sleeping-mats, leaf-screens, etc.

On our arrival we first, according to custom, sing and dance, after which we barter all our things, and then some of us accompany parties of coastmen in their canoes in order to witness their skill in the use of the harpoon, we meanwhile squatting in the bottom of the canoes. The rest of our party join their coast-friends at pig-hunting.

After a few days we pack up all the articles we have received in exchange from the coast people, such as iron-headed pig-arrows, scrap-iron, knife-blades, adzes, glass-bottles and red-pigments mixed with turtle-fat, turtle-flesh, *Nautilus* shells, *Pinna* shells, *Dentalium octogonum* shells, *Hemicardium unedo* shells, etc., and then taking leave we return to our village.

APPENDIX V—*contd.*

Just as the coast-people by shooting and netting fish, by harpooning turtles and hunting pigs along the coast and by other means experience no difficulty in regard to food, so also do we who live in the jungle find plenty to eat in every season.

All who live in the jungle remain in their villages during the rainy season. We go our rounds of visits only during the fruit-season when there is no rain. It is then we go to see our kinsfolk at a distance. After an absence of a month or so we return. We again leave our homes towards the close of the dry-season in order to collect and bury jack-fruit seeds (*Artocarpus chaplasha*) for subsequent consumption. In about a month we return to our homes.

In our tribe those living in the heart of the jungles are more numerous than those living on the coast. *tōlo-bòicho* is larger than *bârlâkà-bil,* but there are several villages in our jungle larger than *tōlo-bòicho.* Our huts are also larger than those of the people on the coast, and last several years without renewal.

During the whole year we find plenty of food near our villages. We find it sufficient to go only now and then to get food. We frequently spend our time in dancing and singing.

When any death occurs in our villages we all migrate to some vacant camping-ground, where we provide ourselves with temporary huts, in which we live according to custom for a few months; after which we recover the bones of the deceased. and return to *tōlo-bòicho* in order to perform the prescribed "tear-shedding" dance. Only under such circumstances is an established village vacated entirely for a certain time.

Women pass the night away from homes only when they accompany us (men) in the fruit-season for the purpose of paying our (annual) visits to our friends; otherwise, they, like the old people and young children, always remain in their own villages.

When engaged in a pig-hunting expedition during the rains, we men often spend two or more days away from our homes.

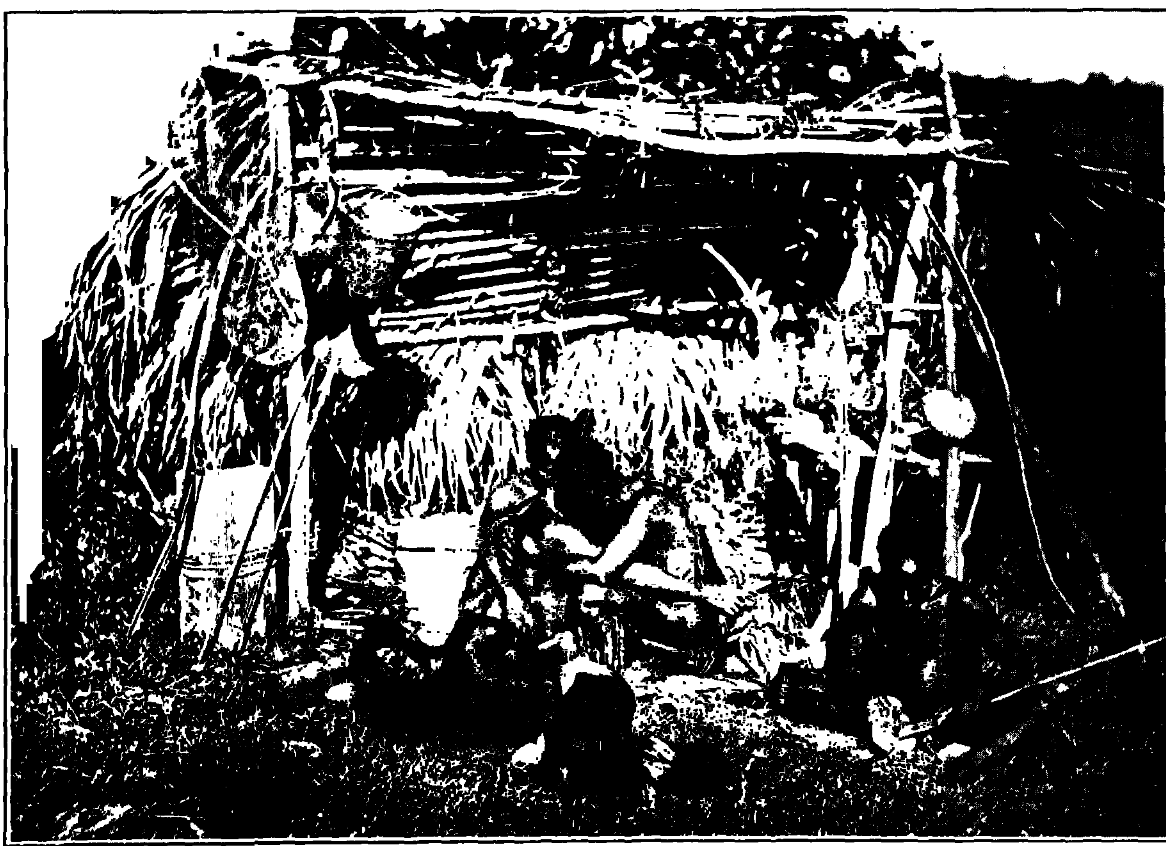
As we who live in the jungle, unlike the coast-dwellers, are not in the habit of migrating from one camping-ground to another, we deposit all our rubbish and refuse-matter at a distance from our villages, so that we are not troubled with offensive odours.

There are a few permanent villages among the coast-people, where some of the inmates usually dwell continuously for many months, while the rest of the community are constantly shifting their quarters.

There are large kitchen-middens near our villages as well as those of the permanent coast-dwellers. In the vicinity of the coast the jungle is denser than in the interior.

I have visited the interior of the *âkà-kede* territory, where I observed that there were a considerable number of people. We believe that they are more numerous than ourselves. We have had good jungle paths from remote times. I have now seen all the members of the South Andaman tribe; their number is small.

We are acquainted with the habits and customs of the *âkà-bōjig-yâb* and *âkà-kōl* tribes, they resemble ours. As with us so among them there are both coast-dwellers and jungle-dwellers. There also the latter are in the habit of living for months together in the heart of the jungle, and remaining each one at his own village. As only a small portion of the *âkà-bōjig-yâb* territory is any distance from the sea there are but few jungle-dwellers in that tribe.



A "chang-tornga" (see Hut p. 74) with Andamanese, showing (a) attitude when sleeping, (b) sharpening arrow-head, and (c) greeting after long separation. (See Weep).

APPENDIX VI.*

COMPARATIVE LIST OF WORDS IN CERTAIN ANDAMAN DIALECTS AS RECORDED IN 1876-79. WORDS INDICATING VARIOUS ORGANS AND PORTIONS OF THE HUMAN BODY.

—	*âkà-bêa-*	*âkà-balawa-*	*âkà-bôjig-yâb-*	*âkà-jûwai-*	*âkà-kōl-*	*âkà-yêre-*
abdominal walls	*ab-âpa-chàu-*	*ôab-ōpa-chôàu*	*ab-kòicha-*	*râ-mûl-la*	*mûla(che)*	*ē-pilu*
ankle	*ông-tôgur-* ; *ông-târ*	*ôong-poâ-tal*	*ông-tûgar-*	*ông-tôgar-*	*tôgar(che)*	*ông-brûno*
arm	*ig-gûd-*	*ig-gûd*	*ìr-kìd-*	*ì-kìt-*	*kìt(che)*	*ìr-kìt*
arm, fore-	*ig-kōpa-*	*ig-kōpa*	*ìr-pâla-*	*ì-pâlak*	*pâlak(che)*	*ìr-bâla*
arm, fore- (fleshy portion)	*ab-kōpa-dama-*	*ab-kōpa-dôamo*	*ab-pâla-thôma-*	*a-pâlak-tôma*	*pâlak-tâma (che)*	*ông-bâla-thômo*
arm, upper-	*ig-kûrupi-*	*ig-gwarab*	*ìr-kûrpi-*	*ì-kurûpi*	*krûpi(che)*	
arm, upper (fleshy portion)	*ab-kûrupi-dama-*	*ab-gwarab-dôamo*	*ab-kûrpi-thôma-*	*a-kurûpi-tôma*	*krûpi-tâma (che)*	
arm, biceps of	*ig-gōra-*	*ig-gōrka*	*ìr-kûra-*	*ì-kiro*	*kûroi(che)*	
arm-pit	*ab-âwa-*	*ôab-kàukan*	*ab-kâran-*	*â-kōran*	*ab-kâran(che)*	*ông-pông*
back	*ab-gûdur-* ; *ab-lân-*	*ôab-gûdur*	*ab-kìtar-*	*kìtar*	*kìtar(che)*	*ôt-bâ*
beard (jaw-hair)	*âkà-êkib-pìj-*	*ô-aka-êkib-pìt*	*ô-têib-paij-*	*ôōka-têib-paij*	*têb-pai(che)*	*ìr-tap-bê*
beard (chin-hair)	*âkà-âdal-pìj-*	*ô-aka-darêka-pìt*	*ô-têrya-paij-*	*ôōka-trêya-paij*	*trìya-pai-(che)*	
bladder (*lit.* urine-of-place)	*âr-ûlu-l'ìa-êr-*	*ôar-ûlo-l'oge-êr*	*ar-chäle-l'ìya-tìwa-*	*râ-châla-lâiya-tìwa*	*chäla-l'ìya-tìwa(che)*	
blood (if of hand)	*ông-tì-*	*ô-ong-tei*	*ông-têwa-*	*ông-têwa*	*têwi(che)*	
body	*ab-chàu-*	*ôab-chôàu*	*ab-kılak-*	*â-kêlik*	*ab-kêlik(che)*	
bone (if of leg)	*ar-tâ-*	*ôar-tō*	*ar-tō-*	*râ-tō*	*tō(che)*	
bowels (intestines)	*ab-jôdo-*	*ôab-jôodo*	*ab-chûta-*	*â-chûta*	*chûta(che)*	*jekâ-kät*
brain	*ôt-mûn-*	*ôat-môun*	*ōta-mìna-*	*ōta-mina*	*ōta-mìna(che)*	

* As it is found that the material available for Appendix VI would, if incorporated in its entirety in this place, not only entail delay in preparation—consisting as it does of notes written more than 40 years ago—but also increase to an unreasonable extent the space occupied by the appendices, it is considered desirable to furnish here *one* only of the many sections or parts pertaining thereto, reserving the remaining comparative tables for subsequent consideration. They relate to the following subjects :—Terms indicating degrees of relationship ; Articles made and used by the Andamanese ; Their various occupations ; Living objects known to them ; Miscellaneous natural objects ; Vocabulary of words in common use ; Tables of pronominal forms ; Tables illustrating pronominal declension and the conjugation of verbs.

APPENDIX VI—*contd.*

—	*âkà-bĕa-*	*âkà-balawa-*	*âkà-bôjig-yâb-*	*âkà-jùwai-*	*âkà-kōl-*	*âkà-yêre-*
breast (*mamma*)	*ig-kâm-*	*ig-kôam*	*ir-kòma-*	*i-kōma*	*kami (che)*	
breast, nipple of	*ig-kâm-l'ôt-chêta-*	*ig-kôam-l'oat-cheketôa*	*ir-kòma-l'ōto-tō-*	*i-kōma-l'ōta-tō*	*kami-to-püt (che)*	
buttocks	*ar-dama-*	*ôar-dôamo*	*ar-thôma-*	*râ-tôma*	*tôma(che)*	*era-thômɔ*
calf of leg	*ab-châlta-dama-*	*ôab-chôaltō-dôamo*	*ab-chòltō-thôma-*	*â-chōltō-tôma*	*châr-tôma (che)*	
cheek	*ig-âb-*	*ig-ko-ōrmo*	*ir-kâb-*	*i-kâp*	*käp(che)*	*ir-nôko*
chest	*ôt-chälma-*	*ôat-chôalam*	*ōta-chälam-*	*ōta-châlam*	*ōta-pâk(che)*	*ê-bûrongo*
chin	*âkà-âdal-*	*ô-aka-darêka*	*ô-têrya-*	*ōōka-trêya*	*trīya(che)*	
coccyx	*ar-gûdwin-*	*ôar-gûdain*	*ar-gûdin-*	*râ-pōtal*	*gûdin(che)*	
collar-bone	*âkà-gôdla-*	*ô-aka-gôdla*	*ô-kûtal-*	*ōōka-kûtal*	*kûtal(che)*	
ear	*ig-pûku-*	*ig-pûku*	*ir-bô-*	*i-bôka*	*bōka(che)*	*ir-bô*
eye	*ig(or i)-dal-*	*ig-dôal*	*ir-kōdak-*	*i-tôl*	*kâdik(che)*	*ir-ûlu*
„ -brow	*ig-pûnyur-*	*ig-pûngu*	*ir-bêng-*	*i-bêa-kain*	*bêa-kaiñ(che)*	*ir-ûlu-bê*
„ -lash	*ig(or i)-dal-l'ôt-pîj*	*ig-dôal-pît*	*ir-kōdak-l'ōta-paij-*	*i-tôl-l'ōta-paij*	*kâdik-pai(che)*	*ir-ûlu-tû-bê*
„ -lid	*ig(or i)-dal-l'ôt-êj-*	*ig-dôal-kait*	*ir-kōdak-l'ōta-kait-*	*i-tôl-l'ōta-kait*	*kâdik-kait (che)*	
face	*ig-mûgu-*	*ig-mûgu*	*ir-mîka-*	*i-mîka*	*mîka(che)*	*ir-mîko*
finger	*ông-kōro-*	*ô-ong-yûkur*	*ông-nōchap-*	*ông-mîl*	*pûta-tōka-dông(che)*	*ông-kōra*
„ middle	*ông-kōro-mûgu-châl-*	....	*ông-nōchap-mîka-châl-*	*ông-mîl-mîka-chōl*	*nòichap-miki châl(che)*	
„ little	*ông-iti-pîl-*	*ô-ong-kêtepî*	*ông-kätap-*	*ông-kät-tap*	*pûta-tō-kätap (che)*	
foot	*ông-pâg-*	*ôong-pôag*	*ông-pòg-*	*ông-tòk*	*tōk(che)*	*ông-mû-tō*
foot, sole of	*ông-elma-*	*ôong-kalma*	*ông-kalam-*	*ông-kâlam*	*kälam(che)*	*ông-kōtra*
forehead	*ôt-mûgu-*	*ôat-mûgu*	*ōta-mîka-*	*ōta-mîka*	*ōta-mîka(che)*	*ir-mîko*
gall-bladder	*ab-nêma-*	*ôab-toâkar*	*ab-täm-*	*â-tâkam*	*täm(che)*	
gullet	*âkà-delta-*	*ôaka-gōrgam*	*ô-kōtâta-*	*o-ōka-kûktâtak*	*kōtâta(che)*	
hair (of head)	*(ôt-)pîj-*	*(ôat-)pît*	*(ōta-)paij-*	*(ōta-)paij*	*(ōta-)pai(che)*	*(ir-)bô*
hand	*ông-kōro-*	*ôong-kōro*	*ông-kōra-*	*ông-kōra*	*kōrai(che)*	*ông-kōra*
head	*ôt-chêta-*	*ôat-chektoa*	*ōta-tō-*	*i-tō*	*ir-tō(che)*	*ir-chô*
heart (seat of affections, etc.)	*ôt-kûg-*	*ôat-kûq*	*ōta-pō-*	*ōta-pōk*	*ōta-pōk(che)*	*ir-châr*

APPENDIX VI—*contd.*

—	*âkà-bêa-*	*âkà-balawa-*	*âká-bôjig-yâb-*	*âkà-jûwai-*	*âkà-kōl-*	*âkà-yêre-*
heart (the organ),	*ôt-kûk-tâ-bana-*	*ôat-kûg-tō-boana*	*ōta-kō-pôna-*	*ōta-pōk-tō*	*ōta-kô-pôna (che)*	
heel	*ông-gûchul-*	*ôong-kûdgo*	*ông-kétel-*	*ông katel*	*kêtel(che)*	
hip	*ar-chōrog-*	*ôar-chooōro*	*ar-bòt-*	*râ-bòt*	*bòt(che)*	
jaw-bone	*âkà-êkib-tâ-*	*ôaka-êkib-tō*	*ô-têib-tō-*	*o-ōka-têib tôka*	*têb-tôka(che)*	*ìr-tâp*
kidney	*ông-châg-*	*ôong-chôag*	*ông-chòg-*	*ông-chòk*	*chòg(che)*	
knee	*ab-lô-*	*ôab-lô*	*ab-lû-*	*â-lû*	*lû(che)*	
knuckle	*ông-kûtur-*	....	*ông-pòkter-*	*ông-tògar*	*kûtar(che)*	*òng-kide ; òng kûju*
lap	*ab-paicha-*	*ôab-poaicho*	*ab-baicha-*	*â-bâcha*	*baicha(che)*	*ê-chō-thômo*
leg	*ar-châg-*	*ôar-chôag*	*ar-chòg-*	*râ-chòk*	*chòg(che)*	
lip	*âkà-pai-*	*ôaka-pâ*	*ô-paia-*	*o-ōka-pâka*	*paiaka(che)*	*ìr-nûku*
liver	*ab-mûg-*	*ôab-moûg*	*ab-mîg-*	*â-mîk*	*mîk(che)*	
loin	*ar-ête-*	*ôar-koâto*	*ar-kàta-*	*râ-kâta*	*käta(che)*	
lung	*ôt-âwa-*	*ôat-kâukō*	*ōta-kâran-*	*a-kōran*	*ōta-kōran(che)*	
marrow (also brain, pus)	*(ôt-)mûn-*	*(ôat-)môun*	*(ōta-)mīna-*	*(a-)mīna*	*(ōta-)mîna (che)*	
marrow, spinal	*ab-mûrudi-*	*o-ab-mûrudi*	*ab-mîratil-*	*â-marîtil-*	*marîtil (che)*	
milk	*ig-kâm-raij-*	*ig-kôam-roij*	*ìr-kòma-räj-*	*ì-kòma-räj*	....	
moustache	*âkà-pai-la-pîj-*	*ôaka-pâ-pīl*	*ô-paia-paij-*	*oōka-pâkà-paij*	*paiaka-tâ-pai (che)*	
mouth	*âkà-bang-*	*ôaka-bôang*	*ô-pông-*	*oōka-pông*	*pông(che)*	*ìr-bôa*
muscle	*(ab-) yîlnga-*	*(ôab-)yîlnga*	*(ab-)yîlang-*	*(â-)jilîng*	*yîlang(che)*	
nail (of finger or toe)	*ông-bô'doh-*	*ôong-bôdo*	*ông-pûta-*	*ông-pûta*	*pûta(che)*	*òng-kâra*
navel	*ab-êr-*	*ôab-âkar*	*ab-tär-*	*â-tâkar*	*tàkar(che)*	*ing-it*
neck	*ôt-lôngota-*	*ôat-yôau*	*ōta-lônga-*	*ōta-lônga*	*ōta-lōkar(che)*	*ōt-lôngo*
nose	*ig-chōronga-*	*ig-chōrnga*	*ìr-kâta-*	*ì-kōta*	*ìr-kōta(che)*	*ìr-kâto*
palate	*âkà-dêliya-*	*ôaka-doâr*	*ô-tèriya-*	*oōka-tarêya*	*täriya(che)*	
palm	*ông(or ig)-elma-*	*ôong-kalma*	*ông-kälam-*	*ông-kâlam*	*külam(che)*	*òng-kōtra*
pus (see marrow)					•	
rib	*ab-pâri-tâ-*	*ôab-pòram-tō*	*ab-bōranga-*	*â-barônga*	*barônga(che)*	*ê-burònga-tòi*
saliva (spittle)	*âkà-tûbal-*	*ôaka-tûbal*	*ô-täp-*	*o-ōka-têap*	*têap(che)*	
shin	*ab-châlta-*	*ôab-chôaltō*	*ab-chòltō-*	*â-chōltō*	*kûrub(che)*	
shoulder	*ig-tōgo-*	*ig-tōgo*	*ìr-pàrà-tō-*	*ê-parak-tôka*	*pârak-tôka(che)*	*ìr-kûm*

APPENDIX VI—*contd.*

—	*âkà-bêa-*	*âkà-balawa-*	*âkà-bôjig-yâb-*	*âkà-jûwai-*	*âkà-kōl-*	*âkà-yêre-*
shoulder-blade	*ab-pōdikma-*	*ôab-po-ōdikmo*	*ab-ben-*	*â-ben*	*bén(che)*	
side	*âkà-châga-*	*ôaka-chôago*	*ô-chōka-*	*o-ōka-châka*	*châka(che)*	
skin (of body)	*(ab-)êj-*	*ôab-kait*	*ab-kait-*	*â-kait*	*kait(che)*	
spine	*ab-gôrob-*	*ôab-chôanoma*	*ab-kûrab-*	*â-kûrup*	*kûrup(che)*	*ôm-rap*
spinal-marrow (see marrow)						
spleen	*ab-pîlma-*	*ôab-pîlmō*	*ab-pären-*	*â-pären*	*pären(che)*	
stomach	*ab-ûpta-*	*ôab-kôupta*	*ab-kâptu-*	*â-kaptô*	*käpta(che)*	
supra-renal fat and omentum	*ab-jîri-*	*ôab-jîri*	*ab-chîra-*	*â-chîra*	*chîri(che)*	
sweat (of body)	*(ab-)gûmar-*	*ôab-gûmar*	*ab-kîmar-*	*â-kîmar*	*kîmar(che)*	
tear (of eye)	*îg-t'î-*	*ig-t'î*	*îr-wér-*	*î-wär*	*war(che)*	
temple	*ig-tîmar-*	*ig-tîmar*	*îr-tänga-*	*î-tânga*	*tânga(che)*	
testicle	*âr-ōta-*	*ôar-ōōta*	*ar-tōta-*	*râ-tôtak*	*tótai(che)*	
thigh	*ab-paicha-*	*ôab-poaicho*	*ab-baicha-*	*â-bâcha*	*baicha(che)*	*ê-chō-thōmo*
throat	*âkà-ōrma-*	*ôaka-lōr*	*ô-nûram-*	*o-ōka-lôkar*	*nûram(che)*	*âkà-nōro*
throttle (windpipe)	*âkà-ōrma-bā-*	*ôaka-lōr-kînab-*	*ô-nûram-kätya-*	*o-ōka-lôkar-ñàu*	*nûram-kätawo (che)*	
thumb	*ông-kōro-dôga-*	*ôong-gûchul-tâ*	*ông-nôchap-dûrnga-*	*ông-mîl- chi-kōk*	*nôichap-dûrnga(che)*	
toe	*ông-pâg-*	....	*ông-rêpa-*	*ông-rāpi*	*rêapala(che)*	
toe, large	*ông-tûchab-*	*ôong-kóadgo*	*ông-rêpa-dûrnga-*	*ông-tòk-chikōk*	*réapala-dûrnga(che)*	
toe, middle	*ông-rôkoma-*	....	*ông-répa-mîka-châl-*	*ông-tòk-mika chōl*	*réapala-miki-châl(che)*	
toe, small	*ông-îlam-*	*ôong-kâtap*	*ông-rêpa-kätam-*	*ông-räpi-chûtai*	*tōk-kätap(che)*	
tongue	*âkà-ételٍ-*	*ôaka-âtal*	*ô-tâätal-*	*o-ōka-tâtal*	*tâtal(che)*	*âkà-tât*
tooth	*ig-tûg-*	*ig-tôug*	*î-péla-*	*î-pélak*	*pêlak(che)*	*îr-pilê*
urine	*âr-ûlu-*	*ôar-ûlo*	*ar-chäle-*	*râ-châla*	*chäla(che)*	*arâ-kêt*
uvula	*âkà-ted'imo-*	*ôaka-dar*	*ô-täd-dem-*	*o-oka-tadä-kam*	*tadäkam(che)*	
waist	*ōto-kînab-*	*ô-ōto-kînab*	*ōto-kōdang-*	*o-ōka-kadîulak*	*kōdang(che)*	
whiskers	*ig-âb-pîj-*	*ig-ko-ōrmo-pît*	*îr-kâb (lâr) paij*	*î-kâp-paij*	*käp-tâ-pai (che)*	*îr-nóko-bê*
windpipe (see throttle)						
wrist	*ông-tōgo-*	*oong-tōgo*	*ông-tô-*	*ông-tô*	*tô(che)*	*ông-tō*



Types at Port Blair "Home". (cir. 1883).

APPENDIX VII.

LIST OF TERMS APPLIED TO MALES AND FEMALES FROM BIRTH TO OLD AGE IN ORDER TO INDICATE THEIR AGE, CONDITION, ETC.

Males.

During the first year ..	*ab-dīreka-*	*ōla-(b)*	The term *ab-lâpanga-*(long) is applied to a boy who is tall for his age.
,, ,, second year ..	*ab-kētia-*	*ōla-(b)*; *ab-līga-(ā)*	
,, ,, next year or two.	*ab-dôga-*	*ōla-(b)*; *ab-līga-(ā)*	
From about four till about ten years of age.	*â-walaganga-* or *â-walagare*	*ab-līga-(ā)*; *dâla-*	Until the commencement of the probationary fast, which merely entails abstention from certain favorite articles of food, and again for some months after its termination, he is styled "*bōtiga-*".
During the next year or two.	*âkà-kâdaka-* or *ablīga-ba-* (*lit.* child-not)	*dâla-*	
From about twelve till attaining puberty (the usual "fasting" period). See **fast**.	*âkà-kâdaka-dôga-*	*dâla-*	During his novitiate he is styled "*âkà-yâb-*" [*i.e.* "(certain) food-abstainer"] or "*âkà-yāba-*" [*i.e.* "(certain) food-not"].
After termination of his novitiate (during first few weeks).	*âkà-gôi-* *ab-wâra-gôi-*		
From then till he becomes a father, or is still in his early prime.	*âkà-gûmul-*		He is now a "*gûma*" as well as "*mar*" (see **master**) and is so regarded and addressed until he is about to become a parent or, if childless, is no longer young, when he is addressed or referred to as "*maia.*" See **sir**.
Single { bachelor	*ab-wâra-*		
Single { whether bachelor .. or widower ..	*kâga-tôgo-*		
Adult, married or single, *lit.* man.	*â-bûla-*		
Bridegroom (before the ceremony).	*ab-dīrebīl-*		
Ditto (after the ceremony and for a few days after).	*ar-wīred-*; *ông-tăg-gôi-(c)*		
Husband (newly married).	*īk-yâte(-bûla)-*		
Ditto (after a few months).	*ab-bûla-*		
Newly-married (during first few months only).	*ûn-jâti-gôi-*		This term is applied to young persons only.
Married (while still without a child).	*ông-tăg-(c)*		While his wife is *enceinte* he is styled *pīj-jăbag-*(*lit.* hair-bad).
Married (having had a child).	*ab-châbil-*; *châbil-chàu-*		*Lit.*, a father. During the first few months after the death of his child he is addressed or referred to as *maia-oko-līnga-*
Married more than once (not applied during widowhood)	*tar-wâki-*		
Widower	*mai-arlība-*		The survivor of an old couple united since their youth is styled *ab-râji-gôi-*
Old	*ab-jang'gi-*; *ab-chōroga-*		
White-haired	*ab-tōl-*		

(*a*) Signifies child. (*b*) In reference to the testes. (*c*) Their jungle-bed of leaves is called *tăg-*

APPENDIX VII—*contd.*

Females.

During the first year ..	*ab-dêreka-(a)*	*kâta-(b)*	The term *âkà-tâng*-(tree) is applied to a girl who is tall for her age.
Ditto second year ..	*ab-këtia-(a)*	*kâta-(b)*; *ab-lïga-(c)*	
Ditto next year or two.	*ab-dôga-(a)*	*kâta-(b)*; *ab-lïga-(c)*	
From about four till about ten years of age.	*â-walaganga-(a)* or *â-walagare.*	*ab-lïga-(c)*; *pôi-lola*	As in the case of males both before and after the probationary period she is a *bōtiga-*, *i.e.*, not restricted as to diet.
During the next year or two.	*âr-yôngi-*	*pôi-lola*	
From about twelve till about sixteen years of age (her usual term of probation).	*âr-yôngi-pôi-*	*pôi-lola*	During her novitiate she is also styled *âkà-yâb-* or *âkà-yāba-*. As soon as she attains maturity she is called *ûn* (or *âkà*)-*lâwi-* and then receives her "flower" name (see App. IX), after which for a year or more she is *ab-jadi-jôg-gôi-*
After termination of her novitiate, for first few weeks.	*âkà-gôi-(a)*		
Spinster	*ab-jadi-jôg-*		
Adult (married or single) *lit.* woman.	*â-pail-*		
Bride (before the ceremony).	*ab-dêrebil-(a)*		
Bride (after the ceremony and for a few days).	*ar-wêred-(a)* *ông-täg-gôi-(a)*		
Newly-married (during first few months).	*ûn-jâti-gôi-(a)*		Applied to young persons only.
Wife (newly-married) ..	*îk-yâte-(a)*		
Wife (after some months)..	*ab-pail-*		
Married (while still without a child).	*ông-täg-(a)*		While *enceinte* she is called *pîj-jābag-*
Ditto (or with no surviving child).	*ab-lûga-*		During the first few months after the death of her child she is addressed and referred to as *chấna-okɔ-lïnga-*
Ditto (after becoming a mother).	*ab-chânre.*		See **madam** and **mother.**
Ditto more than once ..	*tar-wâki-(a)*		Not applied during widowhood.
Widow	*chân-arlêba-*		
Old	*ab-jang'gi-(a)* ; *ab-chōroga-(a)*		
White-haired	*ab-tōl-(a)*		
Twins (whether of the same sex or not).	*ab-dïdinga-*		

(*a*) In those cases in which the term is common to both sexes and ambiguity would otherwise exist the word *pail-*(female) is added when that sex is referred to ; *e.g.*, *ông-täg-pail-*; *ab-tōl-pail-*

(*b*) Signifies the genitals of a female.

(*c*) A child.

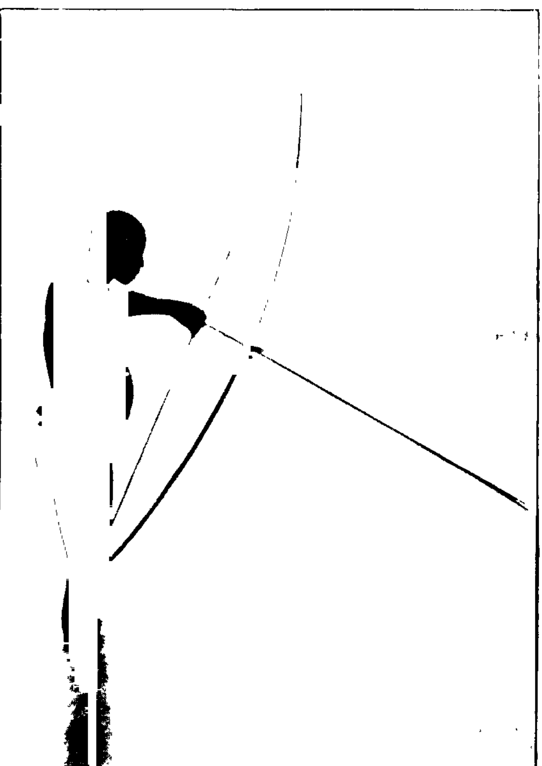


Photo by C. B. Kloss.

fig. 1. Native of Little Andaman shooting fish



fig. 2. Loyal and influential Chief, died during epidemic of measles, 1877.

[Note the striking dissimilarity between the Little and South Andaman bows].



fig. 3. Carrying skull of husband as memento.

APPENDIX VIII.

TERMS INDICATING VARIOUS DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP.

My father (male or female speaking)	*d'ab-maiola* ; *d'ab-châbil-* ; *d'ar-ôdinga-*.
My step-father (ditto)	*d'ab-châbil-*.
My mother (ditto)	*d'ab-chânola*; *d'ab-ètinga-*; *d'ab-wèjinga-* ; *d'ab-wèjeringa-*.
My step-mother (ditto)	*d'ab-chânola*.
My son (if under 3 years of age, either parent speaking).	*dîa ōta-*. See App. II and VII.
My son (if over 3 years of age), father speaking.	*d'ar-ôdire*; *d'ar-ôdi-yâte-*.
My son (if over 3 years of age), mother speaking.	*d'ab-ètire* ; *d'ab-èti-yâte-*; *d'ab-wèjire* ; *d'ab-wèji-yâte-*; *d'ab-wèjerire* ; *d'ab-wèjeri yâte-*.
My daughter (if under 3 years of age, either parent speaking).	*dîa kâta-*.
My daughter (if over 3 years of age, either parent speaking).	*dîa bā-*.
My daughter (if over 3 years of age, father speaking).	*d'ar-ôdire* (or *d'ar-ôdi-yâte*)*-pail-*.
My daughter (if over 3 years of age, mother speaking).	*d'ab-ètire* (or *d'ab-èti-yâte*)*-pail-*. *d'ab-wèjire* (or *d'ab-wèji-yâte*)*-pail-*. *d'ab-wèjerire* (or *d'ab-wèjeri-yâte*)*-pail-*.
My grandson (either grand-parent speaking). My brother's (or sister's) grandson (m. or fem. speaking).	*dîa bālola* [for grand-daughter "*pail-*" is added].
My elder brother (m. or fem. speaking)	*ad entōbare* (or *ad entōbanga-*). *ad entōkare* (or *ad entōkanga-*).
My elder brothers (m. or fem. speaking)	*am-ettōbare* (or *am ettōbanga-*) ; *am ettōkare* (or *am ettōkanga-*) [for elder sister (or sisters) "*pail-*" is added].
My younger brother (m. or fem. speaking)	*d'ar-dôatinga-*; *d'ar-wèjinga-*. *d'ar-wèjeringa-*; *d'âkà-kâm-*.
My younger brothers (m. or fem. speaking)	*m'arat-dôatinga-*; *m'akat-kâm-* etc. [for younger sister (or sisters) "*pail-*" is added].
My uncle, whether my father's (or mother's) elder or younger brother, or aunt's husband : My husband's (or wife's) grand-father : My husband's (or wife's) sister's husband (if elder).	*dîa maia*.
My aunt, whether my father's (or mother's) elder or younger sister, or uncle's wife : My grand-mother or grand-aunt : My husband's (or wife's) grand-mother : My husband's sister (if senior and a mother): My elder brother's wife (if a mother).	*dîa c'ân'ı.*

APPENDIX VIII—*contd.*

My grand-father or grand-uncle (m. or fem. speaking). My elder sister's husband (m. or fem. speaking).	*dîa maiola.*
My husband	(recently married) *ad îk-yâte-.* (after a few weeks or months) *d'ab-bûla-.*
My wife	(recently married) *dai îk-yâte-.* (after a few weeks or months) *d'ab-pail-.*
My husband's (or wife's) father or mother. My ,, ,, brother (if older). My ,, ,, brother-in-law (if older). My ,, ,, sister-in-law (if older). My ,, ,, sister (if older and a mother).	*dîa mâmola.*
My ,, ,, brother (if of equal standing) My ,, ,, sister's husband (if of equal standing).	*dîa mâma.*
My ,, ,, sister or sister-in-law (if younger). My daughter-in-law (m. or fem. speaking).	*dîa ōtîn*—(if not a mother her name would be used).
My son-in-law (ditto.). My younger sister's husband (m. or fem. speaking).	*dîa ōtōniya.*
My husband's brother (if younger) ..	*d'âkà-bū-bûla-.*
My younger brother's wife (m. or fem. speaking).	*d'âkà-bū-pail-.*
My foster-father (ditto).	*d'ab-mai-ôt-châtnga-.*
My foster-mother (ditto).	*d'ab-chân-ôt-châtnga-.*
My parents (ditto).	*d'ab-maiol-chânol.*
My adopted son (ditto).	*d'ôt-châtnga-.*
My adopted daughter (ditto).	*d'ôt-châtnga-pail-.*
My step-son (ditto).	*d'eb-adenire.*
My step-daughter (ditto).	*d'eb-adenire-pail-.*
My nephew (brother's or sister's son) (m. or fem. speaking). My half-brother's (or half-sister's) son (m. or fem. speaking). My first cousin's son (ditto).	*d'ar-bū-.*
My niece (brother's or sister's daughter) (m. or fem. speaking). My half-brother's (or half-sister's) daughter (m. or fem. speaking). My first cousin's daughter (m. or fem. speaking).	*d'ar-bū-pail-.*
My nephew's wife (m. or fem. speaking) .. My first cousin's daughter-in-law (m. or fem. speaking).	*d'ar-bū-l'ai-îk-yâte-.*
My niece's husband (ditto). My first cousin's son-in-law (m. or fem. speaking).	*d'ar-bū-l'â-îk-yâte-.*

APPENDIX VIII—*contd.*

My male first cousin (if older) (m. or fem. speaking). My elder half-brother (whether uterine or consanguine) (ditto).	*d'ar-châbil-entōbare.*
My male first-cousin (if younger) (ditto).	*d'ar-dôatinga-.*
My younger half-brother (if uterine) (ditto).	*d'âkà-kâm-.*
My „ „ (if consanguine) (ditto).	*d'ar-dôatinga-; d'ar-wējinga-.*
My first-cousin's wife (if older) (ditto). My elder half-brother's wife (whether uterine or consanguine) (ditto).	*d'ar-châbil-entōbare-l'ai-ìk-yâte-.*
My first-cousin's wife (if younger) (ditto).	*d'ar-dôatinga-l'ai-ìk-yâte-.*
My younger (uterine) half-brother's wife (ditto).	*d'âkà-kâm-l'ai-ìk-yâte-.*
My younger (consanguine) ditto (ditto).	*d'ar-dôatinga* (or *d'ar-wējinga*)*-l'ai-ìk-yâte-.*
My female first cousin (if older) (ditto). My elder half-sister (whether uterine or consanguine) (ditto).	*dîa chânol-âentōba-yâte-.*
My female first cousin (if younger) (ditto).	*d'ar-dôatinga-pail-.*
My younger half-sister (if uterine) (ditto).	*d'âkà-kâm-pail-.*
My „ „ (if consanguine) (ditto).	*d'ar-dôatinga-pail-.* / *d'ar-wējinga-pail-.*
My first cousin's husband (if older) (ditto). My elder half-sister's husband (whether uterine or consanguine) (ditto).	*dîa chânol-âentōba-yâte-l'â-ìk-yâte-.*
My first cousin's husband (if younger) (ditto).	*d'ar-dôatinga-pail-l'â-ìk-yâte-.*
My younger (uterine) half-sister's husband (ditto).	*d'âkà-kâm-pail-l'â-ìk-yâte-.*
My younger (consanguine) ditto (ditto).	*d'ar-dôatinga* (or *d'ar-wējinga*)*-pail-l'â-ìk-yâte-*
The relationship subsisting between a married couple's parents.	*âkà-ya-kât-*

APPENDIX IX.

LIST OF PROPER NAMES, TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF THE "FLOWER" NAMES BORNE BY YOUNG WOMEN DURING MAIDENHOOD AND EARLY MARRIED LIFE, AND A LIST OF THE VARIOUS SEASONS.

Proper names (*common to both sexes*).*		"Flower" name.[1]	Name of tree (or insect) in season.[2]	Names of the various minor seasons.		Names of the principal seasons.
baléa	*kätiola*	*chîlipa*	*lêkera-*	*lêkera-wâb-*[3]		*pâpar*[4] (*-wâb*)-
bêrebi	*lîpa*		*chîlip-*	*chîlip-wâb-*		
bîa	*lôkola*	*môda*	*pâ-*	*pâ-wâb-*		*yêre-bô:lo-*[5] also *râp-wâb-*[6]
bîalu	*lōra*		*jōr-*	*jōr-wâb-*		
bîra	*mêba*	*ōra*	*ōro-*	*ōro-wâb-*	7	
bîrola	*mêbola*	*jîdga*	*jîdga-*	*jîdga-wâb-*		
bōra	*ñgôngala*		*tâtib-*	*tâtib-wâb-*		
bûlbula	*niâli*	*yêre*	*yêre-*	*yêre-wâb-*		
bûrla	*pärila*		*bâja-*	*bâja-wâb-*		
bûrñga	*pôtya*	*pâtaka*	*pâtak-*	*pâtak-wâb-*		
chêtla	*pôwiola*	*balya*	*baila-*	*baila-wâb-*		
chōrmila	*pûnga*	*rêche*	*rêche-*	*rêche-wâb-*	8	*gûmul-*[12]
dōra	*rîa*		*châdak-*	*châdak-wâb-*		
gôlat	*rîala*	*châgara*	*châlanga-*	*châlanga-wâb-*		
îra	*tōtōl*	*chärapa*	*bûtu-*[10]	*tōpnga-wâb-*	9	
îrola	*tûra*		*chârap-*	*chârap-wâb-*		
järo	*wôi*	*chenra*	*ōiyum-*[11]	*ōiyum-kôpnga-wâb-*		
jôplola	*wôichola*		*chenara-*	*chenara-wâb-*		
kâla	*wôloga*	*yûlu*	*râr-*	*râr-wâb-*		
kätya	*yêga*		*yûlu-*	*yûlu-wâb-*		

* The following remarks may serve to illustrate the use of these names :—When a woman is *enceinte* she and her husband decide what name the child shall bear; as a compliment, they often select that of a relative, friend or chief. Supposing the name selected to be *bîa*, should the infant prove to be a boy, he is called *bîa-ōta*, or, if a girl, *bîa-kâta* (see App. VII, footnote *b*). These suffixes are applied only during the first two or three years, after which, until the period of puberty, the lad would be known as *bîa-dâla*, and the girl as *bîa-pôi-lola* until she arrived at womanhood, when she is said to be *ûn* (or *âkà*)-*lâwi-* and receives a "flower" name, as a prefix to her proper, or birth, name. By this method it becomes known when their young women are marriageable. There being eighteen prescribed trees which blossom in succession throughout the year, the "flower" name bestowed in each case depends on which of these trees happens to be in season when the girl attains maturity. If, for instance, this should be about the end of August, when the *châlanga-* (Pterocarpus dalbergioides) is in flower *bîa-pôilola* would become *châgara-bîa*. and this compound name would be borne by her until she married and was a mother, when the "flower" name would give place to the term *chàna* (or *châna*), answering to Madam, which she retains unaltered for the rest of her life. If, however, she remain childless a woman has to pass some years of married life before being addressed as *chana*. As it rarely, if ever, happens that in any of their small communities two young women are found bearing the same "flower" *and* birth names, the possibility of confusion arising in this respect is very remote.

Since no corresponding custom exists in regard to the other sex, nick-names are frequently given to young men in allusion to some personal peculiarity, as for example, *bîa-pâg* (*bîa*-foot), he having big feet; *balêa-jôbo* (*balêa*-snake), he having lost a hand from a snake-bite; *îra-jôdo* (*îra-* entrails), he having had a protuberant belly in his youth. These nick-names cling to the bearer through life, especially if they refer to some physical defect or deformity. [Further details on this subject will be found in the *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* (1883), Vol. XII, pp. 127-9.]

APPENDIX IX—*contd.*

Explanatory Remarks.

1. Bestowed on girls on attaining maturity.

2. For the botanical names of trees, see App. XI.

3. *wâb-* signifies "season."

4. The "*pâpar-*" commences about the middle of November and terminates about the middle of February. It comprises the "cool season".

5. This embraces the Summer and Autumn of the year. Honey is abundant at the commencement of the season, during the course of which the principal fruit trees are in bearing. It lasts about three months, *viz.*, till about the middle of May.

6. *Lit.*, season of abundance.

7. This period is called *lada-chàu* (dirt-body) owing to their practice of smearing their persons with the sap of a plant of the Alpinia sp. (called *jîni-*) when engaged in removing a honey-comb, swarming with bees, from a tree.

8. Is known as *tâla-tòng-dêreka-* [*lit.* (fruit)-tree leaflet] in allusion to the fresh foliage of Spring, and lasts about 3½ months, *i.e.*, till about the close of August, more than half "the rains."

9. Is known as *gûmul-wâb-* and lasts about 2½ months, *viz.*, till about the middle of November, and comprises the latter portion of the rainy season.

10. The *bûtu-* is a slug found in rotten logs of gurjon wood (see *ârain-* App. XI). It is wrapped in a leaf and cooked before it is eaten. Prior to this its tail is *broken off* and thrown away (hence *tōpnga-*).

11. The *òiyum-* is the larva of the great capricornis beetle (Cerambyx heros), and is found in newly-fallen logs, whence it is *scooped out* (hence *kôpnga-*), and then cooked and eaten.

12. This embraces the six months of the rainy season.

APPENDIX X.

TERMS INDICATING CERTAIN PERIODS OF THE DAY AND NIGHT, THE PHASES OF EACH LUNATION, VARIOUS TIDES, WINDS, CLOUDS, ETC.

Though the Andamanese are naturally content with a rough method of reckoning *time*-diurnal as well as nocturnal-the terms in use amply serve to meet all requirements. They are as follow :—

First appearance of dawn		*wângala-*
Between dawn and sunrise		*ela-wânga-*
Sunrise		*bôdo-la-dôatinga-*
From sunrise to about 7 a. m.		*lĭli-* ; *dîlma-*
Forenoon	rising sun	*bôdo-la-kâg (al)- nga-*
	big sun	*bôdo-chânag-*
Noon		*bôdo-chàu-*
Afternoon	from noon till 3 p. m.	*bôdo-la-lōringa-*
	from 3 p. m. till about 5 p. m.	*bôdo-l'âr-dĭyanga-* ; *el-âr-dîyanga-*
From 5 p. m. till sunset		*dîla-*
Sunset		*bôdo-la-lōtinga-*
Twilight		*el-âkà-dàuya-*
After dark till near midnight		*el-âr-yĭtinga-*
Midnight		*gûrug-chàu-*

Owing to their inability to count they have no means of denoting the number of *lunations* occurring during a solar year which, with them, consists of three main divisions, viz : *pâpar-*, the cool season ; *yêre-bôdo-*, the hot season ; and *gûmul-*, the rainy season. These again are sub-divided into twenty minor seasons (*see* App. IX), named for the most part after various trees which, flowering at successive periods, afford the necessary sources of supply to honey-bees.

The *lunar periods* recognised are :—

The waxing moon	*ôgar-la-walaganga-*	(*lit.* "moon-growing").
The waning moon	*ôgar-lâr-ôdowânga-*	(*lit.* "moon diminishing").

while the four phases of each lunation are indicated as follows :—

New moon	*ôgar-dêreka-yabā-*	(*lit.* "moon-baby-small").
First quarter	*ôgar-chânag-*	(*lit.* "moon-big").
Full moon	*ôgar-chàu-*	(*lit.* "moon-body").
Last quarter	*ôgar-kĭnab-*	(*lit.* "moon-thin").

That they, moreover, recognise the influence of this luminary upon the *tides* (*kâla-*) is manifest from their terms denoting high and low tide at full-moon in the following list of recognised tidal phases :—

High-tide	*kâla-chânag-* ; *êr-l'âr-to-têpare*
Low-tide	*kâla-bā-*
High-tide at full-moon	*ôgar-kâla-*

APPENDIX X.—*contd.*

Low-tide at full-moon	*ôgar-pâdi-*
High-tide at new-moon	*yêchar-kâla-*
Low-tide at ditto	*yêchar-pâdi-*
Ditto at day-break	*tōya-*[1]
Flood-tide (generic)	*la* (or *kâla*)-*bûnga-*
Ditto at full- and new-moon (forenoon)	*gûmul-kâla-*[2]
Ditto ditto (afternoon)	*târ-bôrong-kâla-*[3]
Ditto between sunset and rising of waning moon ..	*âkà-tig-pâla-*[4]
Ebb-tide (generic)	*ela* (or *kâla*)-*êrnga-*
Ditto at full- and new-moon (forenoon)	*gûmul-pâdi-*[2]
Ditto ditto (afternoon)	*târ-bôrong-pâdi-*[3]
Neap-tide	*nōro-*

The four *cardinal points of the compass* are distinguished. The terms used are not derived from prevalent winds, but, in the cases of *east* and *west*, have reference to the *sun*; the word for the former (*el-âr-mûgu-*) signifying "appearing-face-place," and for the latter (*târ-mûgu-*) indicating "disappearing-face-place." The term for *south* (*el-iglā-*) is the "separate (distinct) place," while the meaning and derivation of that denoting *north* (*el-âr-jana-*[5]) remain doubtful.

The *winds* are distinguished as follows :—

N.E. wind	*pûluga-tâ-*; *pâpar-tâ-*
S.W. wind	*dêria-tâ-*; *gûmul-tâ-*
N.W. wind	*châl-jôtama-*
S.E. wind	*chîla-tâ-*

The second names of the first two refer to the seasons in which these winds are respectively prevalent (see App. IX). The reason assigned for the name of the N.E. wind ("God's wind") is that it blows from that region in which is situated the invisible legendary bridge (*pîdga-l'âr-chàuga-*) which connects their world with paradise (*see* **paradise**).

They recognise three forms of *clouds* indicating them thus :—cumulus......*tōwia-*; stratus......*ara-mûga-barnga-* and nimbus....*yûm-li-diya-*

Of the *stars* and *constellations* "Orion's belt" alone is found to bear a name (*bêla-*): this is due to the fact that they never venture out of sight of land, and experience no necessity for studying the bearing of the various planets at different seasons, or for distinguishing them by name. They, however, identify the "Milky-way," which they name *ig-yôlowa-*, and poetically describe as "the path used by the angels" (*mōrowin-*).

1 Occurs 3 or 4 days after new and full-moon and is a favorite time for collecting shell-fish.

2 Between 3 and 9 a.m.

3 Between 3 and 9 p.m.

4 Favorite time for turtle hunting.

5 "*àr-jana*" appears to occur in only one other word, viz., "*târ-jana*," see App. III.

APPENDIX XI.*

LIST OF SOME OF THE TREES AND PLANTS IN THE ANDAMAN JUNGLES.

Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
âbnga- (*a*) [1]	Dillenia pilosa	
aiña-	Dipterocarpus alatus.	(Burm.) *Kanyin ngi.*
alaba-	Melochia velutina.	(See App. XIII, item 66).
âm- (*a*) (*e*)	Calamus, sp. No. 1.	
âpara- (*d*) (*k*) also *âbad-*	Ptychosperma Kuhlii.	
âraga-	....	(Hindi) *Palawa.* (Burm.) *Bebia.*
ârain- (*m*)	Dipterocarpus laevis	(Burm.) *Kanyin byu* Gurjon-oil tree.
bada- (*o*)	Rhizophora conjugata	(Burm.) *Byūma.* (See App. XIII, item 1.)
badama-	....	
badar- (*a*)	Sometia tomentosa (?)	
baila- (*a*) (*b*)	Terminalia procera	(Burm.) *Bambway byu.*
bâja- (*y*)	Sterculia (? villosa)	(Burm.) *Sabu-bani.*
bâlak-	....	(See *Journ. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. XII, p. 161).
balya-	....	
bârata- (*c*)	Caryota sobolifera	
bâtaga- (*a*)	Ceriops Candolleana	(Burm.) *Madama.*
bêla-	Natsatium herpestes	
bêma-	Albizzia Lebbek (?)	(Burm.) *Kukko.*
bêrekâd-	Glycosinis pentaphylla	
bêrewî-	Claoxylon affine (?)	
bîbi-	Terminalia (? citrina)	
bîriga-	Planchonia valida	(Burm.) *Bambway ngi.*
bîrtät-		
bîtim-	Sophora sp.	
bôl- (*v*)	Calamus sp.	Ground Rattan.
bôma-	Claoxylon sp.	
bôrowa- (*u*)	Myristica longifolia	(Hindi) *Jaiphal.* (Burm.) *Zadipho.*
bôtokōko- (*p*)	Sabia (?)	
bûb-	Ancistrocladus extensus (?)	
bûkura- (*i*)	Diospyros (?) nigricans	Bastard ebony, or marble wood (superior variety). See *pîcha-*.
bûr-	....	
bûtu-	....	Extensively used in making arrows.
châb- (*a*)	....	(Hindi) *Badâm.*
châdak-	Rubiaceae	
chäge-	Paratropia venulosa	
chai-	....	Bows are generally made from this tree.
chaij- (*a*) (*b*)	Semecarpus anacardium	(Hindi) *Bilâwa.*
châkan- (*b*)	Entada pursoetha	
châlanga- (*q*)	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	(Hindi) *Sisu.* (Burm.) *Padauk.*

* It was chiefly owing to the kind assistance afforded by the late Sir George King, when Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens at Howrah (Calcutta), that I have been able to ascertain the scientific names of many of the trees in this list.

[1] See Notes at end of this Appendix

APPENDIX XI—*contd.*

Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
châm- (*j*)	Areca laxa of Hamilton (a variety of Areca triandra)	
châmti-	Cynometra polyandra	
chângta-	Calamus sp.	Leaves used in thatching huts, and for making the warning wreaths round a grave or deserted encampment.
châp-	Terminalia sp	
châto-	Albizzia Lebbek (?)	(Hindi) *Siris.* (Burm.) *Tsit.*
chàuga-yûanga-	Hopea odorata	(Burm.) *Thingam-byu.*
chênir- (or ***chenara-***)	Leea sambucina	
chîlip-	Diospyros densiflora (?)	
chôad-	....	(Burm.) *Maukaraung.*
chôbal-	Atalantia sp.	
chôngara- (*a*)	....	
chôpa- (*a*)	Leguminosae	
chōb- (*a*)	Calamus sp. No. 2	The fruit somewhat resembles a medlar in flavour.
chōknga-	Goniothalamus Griffithii	
chōlij-	Hypolytrum trinervium	
chōr- (*i*)	Celtis cinnamonea	
chōram-	Scolymus cornigerus	
dâkar-tâla-	Hydnocarpus	(Hindi) ? *Lâl chîni.* (Burm.) ? *Chându.*
dêdebla-	Xanthophyllum glaucum	
dôd-	Myristica Irya	Sometimes used for paddle making.
dôgota- (*d*) (*f*)	Mimusops Indica (*or* ? littoralis)	(Hindi) *Môwa.* (Burm.) *Kapâli thit.*
dômto- (*p*)	Guettarda speciosa	
dûmla-	....	(Burm.) *Fishum.*
dûra-	Barringtonia racemosa	
elêtâla-	....	
êmej- (*b*)	Terminalia bialata	
engara- (*a*)	Musa sp.	Wild plantain.
êrepaid-tät-	Strychnos nux vomica	
gâcho-	....	
gad-	Calophyllum spectabile	
geldim- (*a*)	Leguminosae sp.	
gereng- (*n*)	Bombax malabaricum	(Hindi) *Sembal.* (Burm.) *Didu.*
gûgma-	Trigonostemon longifolius	Its leaves are crushed and applied to malarial fever patients.
ìtil- (*b*)	Pandanus (?)	
jâ- (*a*)	Gluta longipetiolata	(Burm.) *Thip-pyû.*
jāla-	Rubiaceæ	
jangma- (*a*)	Stephania hernandifolia	
jîdga-	....	
jîni- (*a*)	Alpinia sp.	See *Journ. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. 12, p. 353.
jōr-	Odina Wodier	(Burm.) *Nubbhê.*

APPENDIX XI—*contd.*

Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
jûlaij- (*b*)	Dendrolobium umbellatum	
jûmu- (*a*)	? Bruguiera gymnorhiza, *or* Rhizphora mucronata.	(Burm.) *Byûbo.*
kâdaka-	Ficus hispida	
kai- (*a*)	Mangifera sylvatica	Wild mango.
kai-ita- (*a*) (*b*)	Artocarpus chaplasha	(Hindi) *Kathar.* (Burm.) *Toung-peng.*
kâpa- (*a*) (*h*)	Licuala (probably peltata)	
käred- (*a*)	? Sterculia (*or* Sanadera Indica)	The fruit contains a nut which after being sucked is broken when the *shell* is eaten and the *kernel* is thrown away.
kärega- (*a*)	Diospyros sp.	
kōkan- (*r*)	Pajanelia multijuga	
kōn- (*a*)	Diospyros sp	
kōrtâla-	Griffithia longiflora	
kûdnga-	One of the Rubiaceæ	
kûnra-	Dracontomelum sylvestre	
lêche-	Lactaria salubris	The fruit being large and round is often used as a moving target by being rolled along the ground or down a slope and shot at while in motion.
lêkera-	Leguminosæ sp.	
lôgaj- (*a*)	Angiopteris evecta	
lôkoma-	....	
mâchal-	Atalantia sp.	
maiî- (*x*)	Sterculia (?)	(Burm.) *Auk yenza.*
mâng- (*a*) (*b*) (*l*)	Pandanus Andamanensium	(Hindi) *keora.*
mōnag-	Mesua ferrea	(Hindi) *Sâl.* (Burm.) *Gangua.*
mōt-	Heritiera littoralis	
mûtwin- (*a*)	Anacardiaceæ	
ñgâtya- (*a*)	Bruguiera sp.	
ñgêber- (*b*)	Cycas Rumphii	
ñûraimo-	Ficus sp. No. 1	
ôdag-	Eugenia sp.	
ôdorma- (*a*)		
ôli-(*a*)	Ficus (probably macrophylla)	
ôlma-	....	(Burm.) *Thisunûwe.*
ōro-	Chickrassia tabularis	(Burm.) *Ngâzu.*
ōropa- (*a*) (*b*) (*i*)	Baccaurea sapida	(Hindi) *Khatta phal.* (Burm.) *Kanazo.*
ōrta-tät- (*a*) (*g*)	Uvaria micrantha	
pâ- (*b*)	Semecarpus (?)	(Burm.) *Thikadoe,*
paima-	Clausena (probably Wallichii)	
paitla- (*b*)	....	
pâb-	Lagerstroemia regina (? hypoleuca)	(Burm.) *Pima.*
pâr-	Leguminosae sp.	

APPENDIX XI—*contd.*

Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
pâra-	....	
pârad-	Gramineæ	
pâtak-	Meliosma simplicifolia	Leaves sometimes used as "aprons" by women. See *dôgota* and (*f*). The kernel of the seed is eaten.
pâtla-	Asplenium nidus	See *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. 12, p. 151.
pêdag-	....	
pêli- (a)	Gnetum scandens	
pêtaing-	Memecylon varians	
pîcha- (i)	Diospyros	Bastard ebony or marble wood (inferior variety). See *bûkura-* (ante).
pîdga- (w)	....	Common cane.
pîlita-	Gnetum edule	Fibre extensively used, vide *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. 12, pp. 383-5.
pîrij-	Afzelia bijuga	
pîti-	Derris scandens	
pō- (t)	Bambusa Andamanica	(Female)
pōr- (a)	Korthalsia (*or* Calamosagus) scaphigera.	
pōrud-	probably Schmeidelia glabra	(Burm.) *Kimberlin.*
pûa-	Bambusa	Male variety, used for making the shaft of the turtle-spear and for poling canoes.
pûlain- (b)	....	(Burm.) *Ngâzu* sp. No. 1.
pûlia- (b)	Mucuna sp.	
pûlka-	Memecylon (probably capitellatum).	
pûta- (b)	Nipa fruticans	Dhunny leaf palm.
râ-	Dendrobium secundum	
râb-	Phoenix sp.	(Hindi) *Kajûr.*
râr-	Eugenia (?)	(Hindi) *Chandan.* (Burm.) *Tau-ngim.*
ràu-	Ficus laccifera	(Hindi) *Bargat.* (Burm.) *Ngiàu.*
rêche-	Eugenia sp.	(Burm.) *Mai-âmbu.*
reg-l'âkà-châl-	Polyalthia Jenkinsii	
rîdi-	Bambusa (?) nana	Used for making the shafts of the *râta-*, *tirlêj-*, and *tōlbôd-* arrows.
rîm- (s)	Celtis (*or* Gironniera)	(Burm.) *Tingam.*
rōtoin-	Syzygium Jambolanum	
tâlanga-tät-	Antitaxis calocarpa	(Burm.) *Gangua ngee.*
tâlapa-	Terminalia trilata (?)	(Burm.) ? *Ngâzu* sp. No. 2. or *Kyu na lin.* (Hindi) *Chuglam.*
tän-	Corypha macropoda	

APPENDIX XI—*contd.*

Andamanese name.	Botanical name.	Remarks.
tâpar-	Erycibe coriacae	
tâtib- (*a*) (*i*)	Croton argyratus (Blyth)	(Burm.) *Chaunu.*
tî-	....	
tŏkal-	....	(Burm.) *Kiâtalung.*
tŏl-	Amomum dealbatum (*or* sericeum)	
tôp-	Barringtonia Asiatica	
tôta-	....	(Burm.) *Pyu.*
ûd- (*b*)	Menispermaceae	
ûdala-	Pandanus verus	
ûj- (*a*)	Tetranthera lancoefolia	See App. XIII, item 76.
ûl-	Carapa obovata	(Burm.) *Penleong.*
ûtara-	Maranta grandis (*or* Phrynium grande)	
waiña-	....	
wânga-	Pterospernum acerifolium	
wai'unga-	....	(Hindi) *Jungli saigon.* (Burm.) *Pânu.*
wîlima-	Podocarpus polystachia.	(Burm.) *Thit min.*
yârla-	....	
yâtigi-	Rubiaceae	
yêre-	Sterculia sp.	
yôlba-	Anodendron paniculatum	See App. XIII, item 64.

(*a*) Fruit is eaten.

(*b*) Seed is eaten.

(*c*) Heart of the tree is eaten.

(*d*) Pulpy portion of spathe is eaten.

(*e*) Leaf stems used in manufacture of sleeping-mats. (App. XIII, item 23.) Leaves used for thatching purposes.

(*f*) Rotten logs used as fuel; leaves used by women as "aprons" (*ôbunga-*) (see *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. 12, pp. 330-1 and App. XIII, item 79.)

(*g*) Stem of this plant used for the frame and handle of the hand-net (*kûd-*), see App. XIII, item 20.

(*h*) Leaves used for thatching, for screens (see App. XIII, item 74), for bedding, for wrapping round corpse, for packing food for journey, prior to cooking, etc.

(*i*) Rotten logs used as fuel.

(*j*) Used in manufacture of the fore-shaft of the *râta-*, *tirlêj-*, *tŏlbôd-*, and *châm-* arrows (*vide* App. XIII, items 2, 3, 4, and 8) and sometimes also the skewer (item 77).

(*k*) Leaves used for thatching and for bedding.

(*l*) Leaves used in the manufacture of articles of personal attire (see App. XIII, items 25, 27, 28, 31).

(*m*) The middle portion of rotten logs used for torches.

(*n*) Rarely used for making canoes.

(*o*) Used for adzes, sometimes for foreshafts of arrows and for making children's bows.

(*p*) Leaves used for the flooring of huts.

(*q*) Buttress-like slab roots used for making the sounding-boards employed when dancing.

(*r*) Used for making canoes.

(*s*) Resin used in manufacture of *kânga-tâ-bûj-* (see App. XIII, item 62).

(*t*) Used in making the *gôb-*, *kai-*, and sometimes the *tŏg-* (see App. XIII, items 82, 80 and 10).

(*u*) Generally used for making paddles and the leaves for bedding.

(*v*) Used for making shaft of hog-spear.

(*w*) Used for making baskets, fastenings of adzes, turtle-spears, torches, (*tôug-*) and of bundles; also for suspending buckets, for stitching cracks in canoes and in thatching.

(*x*) Used for making canoes; the resin is employed in making torches.

(*y*) Used for making canoes, pails, and eating-trays.

APPENDIX XII.

LIST OF SHELL-FISH COMMONLY KNOWN TO THE ANDAMANESE.

Andamanese name.	Scientific name.	Remarks.
bad- (*a*)	....	Large edible crab. See Dict.
bada-ōla- (*a*)[1]	Monodonta (? labeo)	
badgi-ōla- (*a*)	Delphinula laciniata	
bê-	Pecten (?) Indica	Scallop.
châpata- (*b*)[1]	Pteroceras chiragra	Scorpion shell.
chàuga-l'ôt-chûkul-	Murex tribulus	
chej- (also *chôla*)	Pinna (? squamosa)	Bouquet-holder shell.
chîdi- (*b*)	Pinna (?)	
chōkotâ-	? Conus eburneus	
chōrom- (*a*)	Scolymus cornigerus	
chôwai- (*a*)	Tridacna crocea	
chû- (*a*)	Murex (? palma-rosae)	Rose-bud shell.
êla-	Perna ephippium	
garen-	Dentalium octogonum	
garen-ōla- (*a*	Turbo (?)	Top-shell.
îna-ōla- (*a*)	Nassa (? toenia)	*Dog-whelk.*
järawa-ōla- (*a*)	Purpura Persica	
jîrka-û-	Cyrena (?)	
jōrol- (*b*)	Cerithidea telescopium	
jûruwin-l'âkà-bang-	Solen vagina	Razor-fish.
kâmruj-	Trochus (? obeliscus)	
kârada-	Arca granosa	
kâta- (*a*)	....	Small edible crab. See Dict.
kōnop- (*a*)	Tridacna squamosa	
kai- (*a*)	....	Prawn. See Dict.
kaibij- (*a*)	....	Shrimp. See Dict.
lîdo-	Turbo marmoratus	Is eaten by the *Balawa* tribe only.
lita- (*a*)	Cassis glauca	Helmet-shell. King-conch.
mälto- (*a*)	Venus (?)	
märed- (*a*)	Venus meroë	Pattern-shot Venus.
märeno- (*a*)	Patella variabilis	Rock-limpet.

[1] (*a*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten by all, while (*b*) indicates those that are cooked and eaten by *married* persons only.

APPENDIX XII—*contd.*

Andamanese name.	Scientific name.	Remarks.
ñêred-	Mitra adusta	Mitre-shell.
ōdo-	Nautilus pompilius	
ōla- (*a*)[1]	Cerithium (? nodulosum)	
ōla-l'ig-wōd	....	Hermit-crab. See Dict.
ōlog-	Strombus (? pugilis)	
paidek- (*a*)	Arca (?)	
pail- (*b*)	Mytilus smaragdinus	Sea-mussel.
pailta- (*b*)	Pharus (?)	
pâp-ōla- (*a*)	Turbo porphyreticus	
pête- (*a*)	Circe (?)	
pōrma- (*a*)	Arca (?)	
pûluga-l'ar-âlang-	Dolium latelabris (? galea)	
rêketo-	Hemicardium unedo	
rōkta- (*b*)	Cyrena (?)	
târa-ōla- (*a*)	Natica albumen	
tailig-pûnur-	Conus (? nobilis)	
teb- (*a*)	Bulla naucum	Bubble-shell.
têlim-	Cypraea Arabica ,, Mauritiana ,, Talpa ,, Tigris ,, Vitellus	Cowry.
tîl-	Cassis Madagascariensis (? also tuberosa)	Queen-conch.
tòiña-	Ostrea (?)	Eaten many years ago but not now.
tûa- (*a*)	Trochus Niloticus	
û- (*a*)	Cyrena (?)	See App. XIII, item 51 (*û-ta-lit.*, *û-shell*).
ûchup-	Conus textile	Cone shell.
ûyo-	? Turbinella pyrum	Chank (*or* shank)-shell.
wal- (*b*)	Spondylus (?)	Thorny oyster.
wâka- (*a*)	....	Lobster, also craw(or cray)-fish.
wângata- (*a*)	Arca (? granosa)	
wōp- (*b*)	Ostrea (?)	Oyster.
yâdi-l'âr-ête- (*a*)	Haliotis glabra (also H. asininus)	Ear-shell.

[1] (*a*) denotes those that are cooked and eaten by all, while (*b*) indicates those that are cooked and eaten by *married* persons only.



fig. a. Natives of Great Andaman at Port Blair "Home".



fig. b. Back-tattooing, as practised by the Yerewa tribes. [See Dict'y. p. 24.]



fig. c. Natives of Little Andaman.



fig. a. Some inmates of the "Home" at Port Blair, (cir. 1890). [Note woman-mourner in centre with clay head-covering].

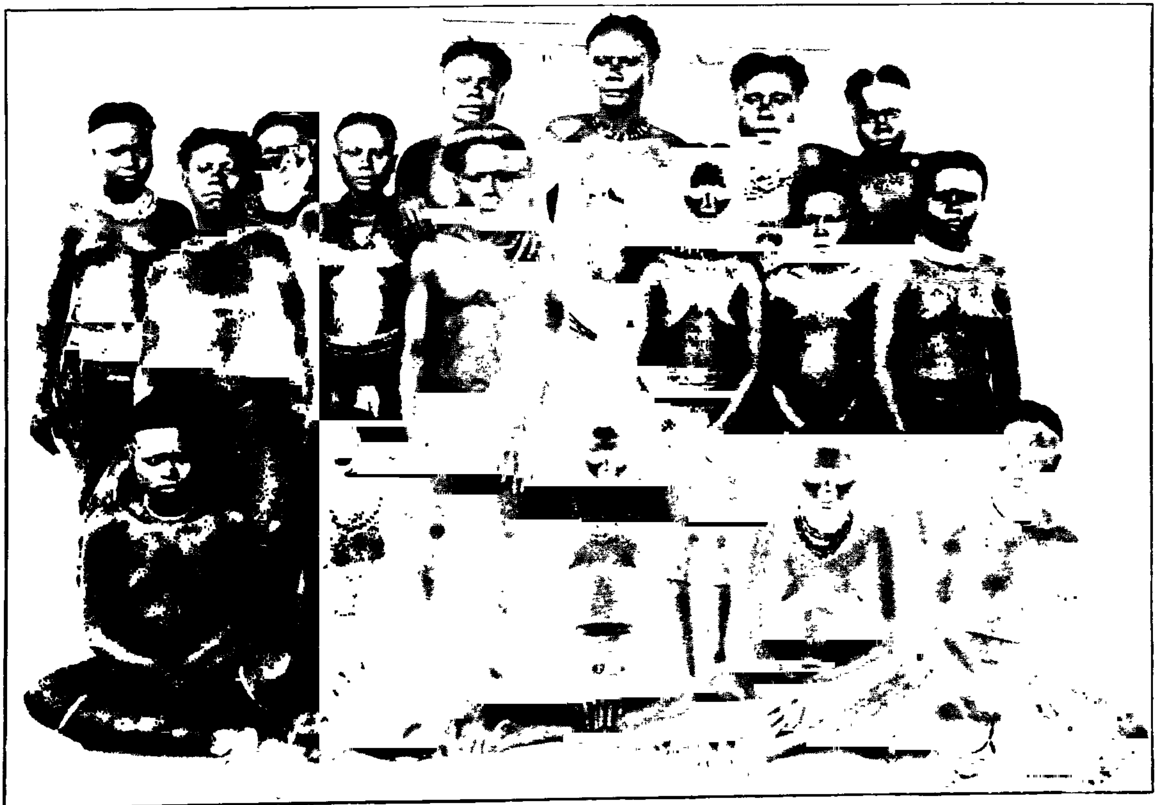


fig. b. Port Blair "Home" inmates, 1901.



Photo by Bourne & Shepherd, Calcutta.

fig. a. Types of the early inmates of the "Home" at Port Blair. (cir. 1880).



fig. b. Group taken in 1875-6 at Port Blair. The majority are smeared with either clay or red oxide of iron pigments. (See Paint, items 4 & 5, p. 99 and App. Xiii).

